

BETWEEN THE DICTATORSHIP AND THE DIASPORA: an analysis of Portuguese emigration in the 1960s

Entre a ditadura e a diáspora”: uma análise à emigração portuguesa dos anos 60

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Abstract

This article aims to begin a detailed analysis of the Portuguese emigration during the 1960s, with the main objective of understanding the underlying reasons and describing a chronological line that explains the topic. Likewise, focus will be placed on migratory flows, to the same extent as the alternation between the main destination countries chosen by the Portuguese population, on different continents, will be studied. We will also seek to account for the impact of forced emigration, in the context of the Colonial War, through an empirical but also practical basis.

Resumo

Este artigo visa encetar uma análise detalhada acerca da emigração portuguesa no decorrer da década de 60, tendo como objetivo principal compreender os motivos subjacentes bem como descrever uma linha cronológica elucidativa do tema. De igual modo, vai ser dado enfoque aos fluxos migratórios, na mesma medida em que se irá estudar a alternância entre os principais países de destino eleitos pela população portuguesa, nos diferentes continentes. Ademais, dar-se-á conta do impacto da emigração forçada, em contexto de Guerra Colonial, através de uma base empírica, mas também prática.

Key-words: *Portuguese emigration; 60's; migratory fluxes; colonial war; forced emigration.*

Palavras-chave: *Emigração portuguesa; década de 60; fluxos migratórios; guerra colonial; emigração forçada.*

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INTRODUCTION

The present investigation concerns the dimension assumed by Portuguese emigration in the 60s of the last century. In this way, it aims to constitute a useful contribution to the interpretation and analysis of the socioeconomic and political vectors that gave rise to a decade of national emigration full of ups and downs.

The 1960s marked a period of profound social and economic transformations in Portugal, propelling the country into an era of transition marked by political, social and economic processes and progress. In this context of change, Portuguese emigration emerged as a phenomenon of significant importance, shaping not only the destiny of thousands of individuals, but also leaving an indelible mark on the sociodemographic configuration and cultural dynamics of the nation. Therefore, it is proposed to thoroughly explore Portuguese emigration in the 1960s, revealing the underlying reasons, the predominant migratory patterns and the socioeconomic and cultural impacts that reverberated both in the homeland of origin and in the host lands.

The mass exodus of Portuguese people during this decade represents a multifaceted phenomenon that requires a holistic approach to be taken. To frame the roots of this movement, it is imperative to understand the socioeconomic pressures faced by Portugal in light of the time, including political instability, industrial underdevelopment, lack of employment opportunities and regional economic disparities. These factors provided fertile ground for large-scale migration, in which the search for more promising living conditions and employment opportunities abroad became an attraction, almost mandatory, for countless families and individuals.

In addition to responding to the driving causes, this study will analyze the preferred destinations of Portuguese emigrants, outlining geographic and demographic patterns that characterized this migratory flow. Emigration to Western Europe, with a greater incidence in French territory, emerged as the magnetizing zone of the Portuguese diaspora, due to the offer of jobs in industrial and construction sectors that became crucial for the economic development of these nations in the period under study.

Finally, this article not only undertakes to expose the threads of voluntary emigration, but also outlines an interpretation of what was, and continues to be in certain territories, forced emigration. The historical period that will serve as an argumentative basis for this last point will, without a shadow of a doubt, be the great episode of the Colonial War (1961-1974). *Between*

Brief Chronological Clarification

In terms of the structural change observed within Portuguese society, from the Second World War to the period under study, the emigration situation can be summarized according to the method that will be used in this historical clarification.

Regarding the period after the Second World War, Portugal found itself imbued with a spirit of clandestine emigration, which led to an increase in the number of engagers, that is, the so-called emigration agents. The War proved to be a clear reflection of the fragility of the Portuguese economy, making the country increasingly dependent on external aid. Consequently, the population was forced, legally or illegally, to look for other, more favorable territories to live and work. Due to this growing desire for emigration, Salazar, in mid-1947, found himself forced to temporarily suspend legal emigration until the Ministry of the Interior defined “the principles and provisions relating to the protection of emigrants and the conditioning of authorized emigration”:

considering the need to regulate Portuguese emigration, taking into account the protection due to emigrants, the economic interests of the country and the valorization of the Ultramar territory due to the increase in the white population” (preamble to Decree-Law n°. 36 199, of March 29 1947).⁵

It is essential to take into account that in the period under scope, in official terms, there was no body that was effectively responsible for the country’s emigration matters, with the General Commissariat of Emigration Services, created in 1919, demonstrating itself as lacking competences, not proving efficient or functional. It is

⁵ <https://files.diariodarepublica.pt/1s/1947/03/07200/02430251.pdf>

in this context that, replacing this inoperative body, the Emigration Board emerged in 1947, which, dependent on the Ministry of the Interior⁶, aimed to “defense the emigrant against various speculations of which he has been an easy victim”.⁷

With this official change in the reference panorama, since the subject of emigration has become recognized as being of national interest, this body (JE) will outline its activity aiming to prioritize the departure of relatives of emigrants by these so-called, as well such as returnees and isolates. Subsequently, the number of departures, through legal means, increased significantly, going from 12.8 thousand nationals in 1947 to more than 47 thousand in 1952 (Galvanense, 2013, 28-29)

Regarding the last decade preceding the period under study, few changes were visible, and it is more relevant to highlight the deviation in the population’s geographic preferences. When calculating emigration data in this decade, it is estimated that the annual average number of departures was around 35.3 thousand individuals (Carvalho, 2011, 46).

Following the explanation of data and taking into account the intensification of clandestine emigration, mainly to France, the Portuguese government promulgated, in the years 1959 and 1960, two amnesties. In this way, this allowed individuals who had left the country irregularly the possibility of returning to Portugal to legalize themselves. However, it should be noted that this was only permitted if military service was actually completed.

Regarding the decade on which this investigation focuses, there is a worsening in terms of emigration, Portugal. Therefore, this is proven by the following data: from 1960 to 1964, 55 thousand inhabitants and, in the period from 1965 to 1969, there was an average volume of departures of around 110 thousand Portuguese (Baganha, 2000: 217). When dissecting this period, we notice a critical leak in 1966. Furthermore, it is important to note that the annual differences are also striking: in 1964, 14 thousand more individuals left than in the previous year. And in 1966 this annual difference

⁶ The Emigration Board (Junta da Emigração) was made up of eight members selected by the Ministry of the Interior, and, logically, the president would also be appointed by the same Ministry, thus making the new emigration control body completely dependent on it.

⁷ “Preamble” of the decree-law n° 36:558, October 28, 1947. Diário do Governo, I Série, n° 250, p. 1071. Available on <https://files.diariodarepublica.pt/1s/1947/10/25000/10711074.pdf>

increased by 40 thousand inhabitants, totaling, in that year, an outflow of 120,3 thousand people (Carvalho, 2011, 46).

In the period between 1967 and the end of the decade, the official emigration movement was abruptly and continuously subverted, with in 1967, emigration weakened by 28.7 thousand nationals than in the previous year and, in 1970, the number of departures – the lowest in this five-year period – represents just over half of that recorded in that critical year of 1966: 66,4 thousand individuals (Carvalho, 2011, 46 - 47).

Once all relevant quantitative data has been gathered, it is strictly required to briefly understand the factors that were at the root of these increases and decreases in emigration in question.

It is worth mentioning Manuel de Lucena's thoughts during his analysis of the 60s: «The change does not begin after the retirement of the old master. On an economic and social level, it was outlined in Salazar's last years. Only the political opening comes after it» (1976:24).

It is common knowledge that Portugal, still in the 1960s, was under the rule of the Estado Novo, marked by an authoritarian regime of censorship, political repression and an economy run by the State. Precisely in 1961, the country found itself in a dead end, the Colonial War (1961-1974), which began in Angola in 1961 and, later, in Mozambique at the end of 1964.

The government, faced with the spread of this armed conflict, found itself forced to encourage collective emigration to overseas colonies, thus aiming at their "white" settlement. If it were not successful, there would not be enough resistance to ensure the colonialization of the territories. This settlement policy, with enormous influence on the high emigration figures presented at the beginning of the decade, had positive effects, however, only in terms of containment, it never constituted anything decisive.

In this context, the emigration contraction observed in the years after 1966 is explained by the harmful consequences of this regime, including the general discontent of the population and the external isolation of the country. As an obvious consequence, it contributed to the weakening of the dictatorial regime. To this extent, we are witnessing the beginning of the decline of the expression "Proudly alone", which personified a symbol of national courage, of the homeland. However, this decline in emigration was not only influenced by Portugal but also reflected the slowdown in the

economic development of certain countries. It should be noted that the latter constituted the main recipients of the Portuguese population, namely Germany, with a greater focus on France. Massive emigration to these countries forced them to limit the number of work contracts, leading to the return of individuals. However, there was also an increase in the percentage of unemployment in these territories.

In summary, these nuances of emigration are a result of the conditioning and restriction policy of the Estado Novo, in the 1960s, combined with the necessary population of the national territory and the lack of official registration/accounting of illegal emigration. This was all in favor of the demographic interests of the Estado Novo and the external isolation to which the country was subject.

Emigration

The high demand for better living conditions by the Portuguese, during the Estado Novo, triggered a spike in emigration to several countries in the rest of the world, spread across Europe, America and Africa and even Oceania. But, after all, what led so many Portuguese people to abandon their home in search of better living conditions in completely unknown territories?

It is worth mentioning that it is the problems with the nation that led so many people to leave the country, the vast majority of them. By way of example, the following stand out: the crisis in Portuguese agriculture, in which a small number of the population was dedicated to agriculture; the underdeveloped industry that constituted a serious problem, as it sought to progress without offering decent wages to employees, adding the prohibition of strikes and union demonstrations (this contrasted with the high supply of work and a better salary present in other places); the mandatory model of military service that eventually included participation in the Colonial War and, finally, the country's highly unstable economic and political situation.

North America

United States of America

Portuguese emigration did not always have the American region in mind as a potential emigration destination to escape the adverse conditions of the Portuguese-speaking nation. However, in the 19th century, from 1870 onwards, the first waves of migration towards the United States began to make a difference through an increase in departure statistics. In the 1910s and 1920s, the greatest pre-World War II current was felt, highlighting the period of the “Roaring Twenties”, however, with the fall of the Wall Street stock market and the passage into the Great Depression, this country has lost most of its interest (Cepeda, 1995: 35).

It should be noted that the Land of Opportunity once again attracted Portuguese interest at a time when, after the Second World War, the economy flourished, showing signs of receiving approximately 20 thousand people in the 1950s alone. In the 1960s, this pace remains in its first half, attracting an average of 3 thousand new Portuguese per year. From 1966 onwards, there was a considerable increase in new interested parties in the country, reaching numbers higher than the half mentioned above. In this way, an average of 10 thousand people was recorded annually during the following 5 years (Baganha, 2000: 219). It should be noted that the least populous year was 1966, receiving 8482 people, and the most populous, in 1969, with 15875 Portuguese newcomers to the American country (Cepeda, 1995: 36).

Furthermore, it is interesting to note the fact that the main migrants heading to the United States came from the Azores and Madeira archipelagos, representing up to a fifth of the total flow:

Between 1950 and 1988, the migratory flow from the islands represented 21% of the total and was mostly directed towards the American continent. The Azorean flow had as its main destination the United States of America and grew significantly during the 60s and 70s, particularly after 1965, when the USA introduced legal reforms that favor family reunification and revised the 1924 quota system. They increased the Southern European share and, consequently, the Portuguese share (Baganha, 221).

Despite this, Madeira contributed little, as it mainly targeted the former Portuguese colony, Brazil. However, when Portugal began to lose migratory interest in Brazilian territory, the Madeiran islands drastically slowed down their emigration numbers to all destinations.

Canada

The main stage for Portuguese immigration in the northern region of America, as mentioned, was the United States, which does not invalidate the fact that its border neighbor was not an equally attractive place for the Portuguese people.

Canada, like the USA, saw the level of Portuguese population increase, thus witnessing a significant increase in the first half of the 60s until 1964. In this sequence, at the transition of the year, there was a drastic increase in the number of Portuguese departures until 1969. It is estimated that, from 1960 to 1964, an average of 4 thousand Portuguese would enter annually, resulting in an expansion to 6 thousand annual migrants from 1965 onwards (Baganha, 2000: 219).

This attraction to the country is due to the border policy for emigrants:

As early as 1947, Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King stated that the government's policy is to develop the growth of Canada's population by encouraging emigration. The government will seek, through legislation, regulation and energetic administration, to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of a number of immigrants capable of being advantageously absorbed into our national economy." (Cepeda, 1995, 36).

However, despite the border motivation, a very selective policy stands out for foreigners who could cross the border to inhabit this country. As the Canadian region was looking for labor, aiming for the country's evolution, they only accepted people with an appropriate profile. In the case of the Portuguese, the majority of those authorized to enter were specialized workers or part of technical staff (Cepeda, 1995, 37).

South America (Brazil)

The most attractive region in South America, in the eyes of the Portuguese, was the territory that was once a Portuguese colony – Brazil. This migratory wave became more evident in the 1950s, when departures to Brazilian soil represented 68% of the nation's total abandonment, compared to the rest of the world. At this time, with no relevant job offer in Europe and with familiarity in terms of the language, the trip across the Atlantic proves to be the most appealing option: "Portuguese emigration to Brazil experiences yet another surge, as is well demonstrated the more than 26,000 individuals who, on average, left Portugal for those parts in the period between 1951 and 1960" (Cepeda, 1995: 19).

From 1960 onwards, economic growth was recorded, thanks to the industrial sector's links with the USA, which consequently reduced the number of individuals successful in crossing the Brazilian border. This change triggered an incessant search for higher quality in human resources, despite the need for labor. Thus, with the requirement for workers to be specialized, several Portuguese were unable to find a way to leave the country. However, the Portuguese population still represented 38.3% of the emigrant population in that territory during the 1960s.

Europe

Despite the possibility of leaving Portugal for the rest of Europe, without necessarily resorting to sea or air routes, the method of clandestine transport was similar: certain individuals went through the villages (particularly in the North) looking for people interested in finding a job in Europe. Central. To this extent, this process involved crossing borders, resulting in complicity between smugglers and local authorities, in order to facilitate escapes from national territory. However, they also used the sea route to travel, taking France as their destination, despite this route being very different, resulting from the conditions and comfort that the transatlantic route did not offer.

Regarding land transport, several testimonies were gathered: some reported the appearance of the vans as transporting animals, while others observed the simultaneous smuggling of materials and people outside the Iberian Peninsula (Cepeda, 1995, 26-29).

The various countries that welcomed new inhabitants include France, Germany, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and Spain. However, we will only focus, next, on the specific case of France, as the various reasons for emigration to the other countries are similar to those that will be enumerated.⁸

The France

With the shock of the conflict in World War II, Central Europe found itself disfigured, compared to its previous prosperous situation. Therefore, these countries were looking for an effective and quick reparation force – which caught the attention of inhabitants of several nations. It was from 1962 onwards that the Portuguese presence in France began to be significant, with entries doubling in number with each passing year, causing the first wave of major migration to French territory. Of all departures from Portugal in the 1960s, 68% were destined for Europe, with France accounting for 59% of this emigration. Although part of this number is migration approved by the Portuguese state – less than half – the remainder are part of the smuggling network that ran through Portuguese and Spanish areas. It is also at this time that clandestine emigration begins to be a more consensual option among those who wish to leave their homeland in search of a better quality of life.

In addition to the tempting offer of well-paid labor, the French government took the decision, in 1962, to open the borders to illegal emigrants, also opting to regularize the status of those who were already within the territory illegally.

With a large number of inhabitants asking for permission to leave the country in search of work in other territories, Salazar expresses his desire to prevent the Portuguese from traveling to Europe, wanting to send them to the colonies affected by the Colonial War. Despite several propaganda attempts to encourage Portuguese-speaking people to head towards the African continent, the high demand for the reconstruction of Europe overcame the Portuguese government forces (Castelo, 2009: 76).

⁸ Spain proves to be the only exception, due to political conditions, quite similar to Portuguese authoritarianism, which represented the only reason why the Spanish population could want to emigrate to Portugal.

Africa

The Former Colonies

The attempt to change the migratory flow from Europe to Portuguese overseas territories proved to be a failure to the extent Salazar intended. However, several people, previously and subsequently, had been sent, mainly by the state, to the colonies, namely Angola and Mozambique.

Emigration to these centers began after World War II, increasing in the following decade, with the new coffee trade. Similarly, the first half of the 60s maintained the numbers of the 50s, slowing down in the second half of the decade, with colonial conflicts.

The creation of the Emigration Board deceived the Portuguese people into believing that they could freely choose the country to which they would move. Those who make the decision see their destination option restricted to two locations: Angola or Mozambique. Thus, the government had greater control over legal exits.

The propaganda didn't just stop at this point. In the 1960s, when clandestine emigration became a serious problem for the government, several advertisements were created to demote clandestine methods, pointing out "failures" (deaths, poor transport conditions, etc.). Consequently, taking advantage of this moment, there was an attempt to "glorify" the advantages of emigration to the African continent, more particularly, to the colonies. Finding a way to control overseas territories, migration began to distort legal flows.

The government's objectives were then defined:

Two objectives were at the basis of this change in attitude of the Portuguese State: on the one hand, and as a political objective, the attempt to maintain Portuguese sovereignty in those territories, which implied a strong presence of population from the Mainland; on the other, and as an economic objective, the attempt to create a protected market in the former colonies, from which raw materials were purchased at prices lower than those practiced on the world market and products originating from the uncompetitive national industry were sold, products with low elasticity of search (Cepeda, 1995: 42).

However, when the economy began to flourish, Salazar sent an order to close the borders. It adopted a measure very similar to that of Canada and Brazil, only accepting those that would be a greater good for the country's economic flourishing. But something forced the borders to open again.

With the beginning of the Colonial War, a large group of people tried to leave the colonies for fear of being harmed by the conflict. Despite this, Salazar had a resolution: the creation of boards in Angola and Mozambique, in order to control the people's movements. For Angola, the plan was effective – the movement of people entering the country to face the Angolan threat was greater than the abandonment of the country, constantly increasing the number of emigrants. In Mozambique, the problem was greater for Salazar. Every year, the number of native Portuguese speakers in Portugal fell steadily, but with the army fighters, the number remained stable.

The amount of white population in these two countries, even with the resistance of the Estado Novo's anti-immigration policy, was drastically massive. In the 1950s, in Angola and Mozambique, they had 78,826 and 48,213 inhabitants, respectively. In the 1960s, these numbers rose to 172,529 and 97,245. The big peak in these numbers was present in the decade following the end of the war, in the 1970s, with 280,101 and 162,967 white people (Castelo, 2009: 77).

Characterization of the emigrant population

The Portuguese emigration of the 1960s, as a significant phenomenon in our culture, had important repercussions on Portuguese society at the time. To this extent, after focusing on the main destination countries of this effective verified emigration, it is important to characterize it and pay attention to its specificities.

The population that emigrates to the colonies, at a social level, is very heterogeneous, with differences in their profiles depending on the destination colonies. These people, historically, have been influenced by various factors, such as political, economic and social issues. To this extent, part of the population was mainly dedicated to agriculture, constituting the class of rural workers, while others were traders, businessmen or public servants belonging to the tertiary sector.

It should be noted that this social diversity perfectly reflects the different motivations for emigration, including economic opportunities, escaping political instability or even the search for new cultural experiences.

Regarding the similarities and differences of emigrants whose main destinations were America and Europe, there are distinctive motivations that drive them to leave the country. Thus, while emigrants heading to America often looked for better economic opportunities, those who chose former colonies may also have been influenced by Portuguese colonial history, reflecting the effective existence of cultural ties with these regions. That offered specific opportunities.

On the economic and social side, clear contrasts are also observed. Those who emigrated to former colonies may have faced unique challenges related to adapting to post-colonial contexts, while those who went to Europe or America may have faced different realities in terms of cultural integration and job opportunities.

It is therefore notable that, compared to emigration to other regions, movements to colonies are numerically significant. The reduced size of the migratory movement to other regions, such as Europe and America, can be explained by the influence of the historical and cultural relations that Portugal had with its former colonies.

These represented a context where historical and cultural ties were stronger, leading to greater migration to these regions. Furthermore, specific economic opportunities and the appeal of the development of former colonies may have played a fundamental role in this choice.

In 1966, the total volume of emigration to the colonies reached 111,903 thousand individuals, contributing significantly to the total of 120,300 emigrants that year. The referenced number highlights the importance of former colonies as a preferred destination for Portuguese people looking for opportunities outside the country. Therefore, it is clear that this specific period can be related to historical events, such as the ongoing decolonization and the political changes that affected migratory dynamics. Pay attention to the following data provided in the article by José Carlos Laranjo Marques, which provides us with a global vision of the evolution of this emigration:

Until the 1960s, the majority of Portuguese who emigrated went to Brazil. From this decade onwards, Portuguese emigration will be directed, above all, towards Europe, integrating the national migratory flow progressively into the processes of transferring workforces from Southern to Northern European countries that began in the 1950s. This delay did not prevent the Portuguese emigration movement from recording, during this cycle, values never before achieved. Thus, between 1962, the year in which for the first time a European country (France) emerged as the main destination for Portuguese emigration, and 1973, around one million people left Portugal for other European countries, at an annual average of 85,515 exits. The main destinations of these emigrants were France and Germany, which absorbed, respectively, 80.9% and 16.6% of the Portuguese who, legally or clandestinely, went to Europe during this period (calculations based on Baganha, 1992) (2001, 2).

Emergence of Returnees: Social consequence of forced emigration

One of the most striking social consequences associated with the phenomenon of emigration was the effective emergence of returnees.

The term “returnado” refers to the Portuguese who returned to Portugal after the process of decolonization and independence of former colonies, mainly in the 1970s and 1980s. This phenomenon occurred largely due to the withdrawal of Portuguese forces and the end of the colonial rule, resulting in the need for many Portuguese, who lived in former colonies, to return to their country of origin. It is therefore important to note the following quote related to the aforementioned nomenclature:

The exiles, like me, are people who were unable to return to the place where they were born, who severed legal ties with it, not emotional ones. They are unwanted in the lands where they were born, because their presence brings back bad memories. In the land where I was born I would always be the settler’s daughter. There would be this stain on me. Retaliation is more than likely. But the land where I was born exists within me like a stain that cannot be erased (Figueiredo, 2009, 133).

This author who wrote *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* demonstrates to us the moral condition in which the “outcasts” found themselves. These, says Isabela Figueiredo, are people who, like her, were torn from their place of birth due to the conjecture of war or even by the imposition of the current law, against their will. It is noticeable that she identifies with the aforementioned returnees, objects of repression whose lives oscillate between tension and humanitarian morality.

It is also worth mentioning that the word “returned” appears as a result of the actions of the Portuguese state in responding to the massive migratory movement from the colonies triggered by decolonization, a response that took shape, in March 1975, in the creation of the Instituto de Apoio ao Retorno de Nacionais (IARN) through Decree N°. 169/75. In a period in which events were rushing forward without it being possible to envisage predictable paths or outcomes, but also when we were beginning to witness the arrival of many thousands of residents from the colonies in the metropolis, the IARN was established to prevent “the possible return of emigrants” due to the “ongoing decolonization process”.

But the very name of “returnee” establishes, from the beginning, an identity fracture within Portuguese society, which was then immersed in a profound process of transformation. Many of the people included in this “returned” category do not see themselves in this classification, considering it to be inaccurate.

Analysis of an interview: element that supports the theoretical basis presented

Because it takes time to remember what you don't forget, and return to speech, to witness the memory.

Peralta, Elsa (2021)

In order to give a personal touch to this investigation and, simultaneously, corroborate all the information presented, capable of supporting the theoretical basis developed, an interview with the grandfather of one of the authors of this investigation is included. Note that this is a former combatant in the colonial war, so he can give us, in the first person, his perspective on the impact of this war, as well as how he was forced to leave his country.

In this context, it is important to highlight the importance of perpetuating the memory of former combatants for the construction of a common identity that is perfectly associated with the concept of our Portuguese culture.

We then proceed to analyze this interview. The interviewee reveals that he was sent to Mozambique due to military obligation, being mobilized to fulfill his mandatory service in the Air Force, more specifically as a war dog instructor. Furthermore, it highlights the fact that he was effectively forced to leave his country, reinforcing the topic of this investigation, which was influenced by the political factor of the war. It is clear that the population did not emigrate of their own free will, given that ideas of military propaganda, patriotism and defense of colonization were instilled in them, which is why military service was understood as an essential duty to defend the homeland.

Throughout the interview, he also describes the living conditions at the military base in Mozambique, addressing aspects such as the intense heat, coexistence with wild animals, as well as the emotional impact that the death of colleagues caused him. This reveals to us the negative side of war, making us aware of the difficult times experienced by former combatants who were forced to deal with adverse weather conditions and emotional issues that the conjecture of war led to and perpetuated, often under the name of stress. Post-traumatic.

It also highlights a relatively respectful relationship with Mozambican citizens, contrasting with the inhumane attitude of some soldiers who practiced extreme violence. This denotes the disregard for Mozambican citizens that occurred at the time, with the Portuguese, who felt superior, trying to impose, at all costs, their white supremacy. Still, this attitude contrasts with that of a specific combatant – in this case the interviewee – as well as that of some officers who showed respect for indigenous communities. Additionally, difficult/traumatic moments and experiences are portrayed, including constant worry about the possibility of attacks and the emotional difficulty of dealing with imminent mortality.

Despite the hostile environment, it highlights the importance of leisure moments, such as participating in a Rock musical group, as a way of relieving tension and providing some emotional comfort.

The account of the return trip to Portugal is also included, mentioning the emotional difficulties faced after the war – recurring nightmares and insomnia.

The difficulty of saying goodbye to your war dog is also narrated, which gives a dimension of great humanity to this interview. At this moment, we are also provided with relevant information about the process of return of the population (in this case, ex-combatants) to Portugal, as well as the impact that the post-war period caused.

It is important to mention the comparison made of the situation in Portugal upon the interviewee's return, highlighting the development of the overseas region in comparison with the metropolis. This demonstrates the social, economic and civilizational backwardness of the metropolis in relation to the colonies.

The inclusion of the grandmother's testimony adds an emotional dimension, highlighting the suffering and concern of families during the war period.

In short, the interview provides a detailed and personal view of the interviewee's experience during the war in Mozambique, addressing not only the military aspects, but also the emotional and social implications of that period. Undoubtedly, it contributes to the understanding of the emigration phenomenon observed within Portuguese culture during the period under scope, providing an immersion in the individual experiences and challenges faced by those who were mobilized to serve their homeland.

CONCLUSION

After this in-depth analysis of Portuguese emigration in the 1960s, it becomes clear that this period was marked by a critical intersection of historical events and population movements that shaped, in an indelible way, the destiny of thousands of Portuguese people. The dictatorship, with its repressive policies and limitations on freedom, created a favorable context for massive emigration, as citizens sought to escape unfavorable political and social conditions.

It is worth mentioning that Portuguese emigrants in the 1960s faced substantial challenges when they tried to settle in new lands. Living and working conditions abroad were often arduous, although they were driven by a remarkable determination to improve their living situation. Therefore, their contributions in the host countries were notable, both at an economic and cultural level.

It is also clear that the Portuguese diaspora was not just a migratory phenomenon, as it proved to be an important means of combating the dictatorship due to its vital role in the fight for freedom and democracy. The Portuguese emigration panorama emerged as a driving force in the transition to democracy, contributing significantly to the construction of a new era for Portugal.

In short, in current times, we can observe the lasting legacy of Portuguese emigration at the time on which the investigation began. Thus, it is considered a resilient diaspora that transcends borders, enriching both the homeland of origin and the lands that welcomed it. The combination of political, social and economic factors, such as the dictatorship, the lack of opportunities and the desire to improve living conditions, contributed to the significant emigration of Portuguese people in the 1960s, marking two distinct phases of migratory destinations.

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ANNEX 1 - INTERVIEW

Grandfather, what was your role in the context of the Colonial War?

I was part of the Air Force – specifically, I was the war dog instructor. One dog was assigned to me – Dicke – who would help me patrol the unit. During the night, he always followed me around, to check if the sentinels were doing their job and hadn't fallen asleep. Back then, I found a lot of them sleeping. I remember one falling asleep on top of his rifle and having it stolen by a group of Mozambican citizens. Afterwards, my dog and I tracked them down, finding them in a *palhota* (traditional Mozambican straw huts) holding the stolen gun. Standing before this situation, I was forced to arrest the sentinel, later being handed to PIDE (International and State Defense Police), who punished him accordingly.

How long were you in Mozambique?

30 months. I went in 1967 and returned in 1969.

I left the Military Air Base No. 6 in Montijo, heading towards Base No. 10 – Beira – Mozambique.

Tell me how the trip went.

I travelled in a ship called *Príncipe Perfeito* (Perfect Prince) for 18 days. Our daily life was, simply, waking up, eat (there was an abundance of food) and sleep. During the day, we would hang out, to pass the time, sharing our worries about the times ahead of us. I recall having a lot of people getting sea-sick, but we would always attempt to distract them from the instability of the sea so they could get by better.

Were you recruited by force, or did you go willingly?

I didn't go willingly, I was forced, since "no one could escape military service". Clearly no one wanted to go to a middle of a war, we were too scared of the unknown. However, I felt we were encouraged to fight a lot, getting a kind of "brainwash": they told us we were going there to defend our nation, which gave us motivation to hold our ground. Back

then, after hearing it all, I felt I was serving my duty to defend my country from an enemy nation.

I knew back then several people took part in emigration, seeking better lives, but we didn't have that luck, seen as we were mobilized and forced to go defend the country.

What was life like in Mozambique, in this case, the former colony, and what differences can you point out in relation to the metropolis?

Generally, the living conditions were better there. We had a lot more food, the mentality was more developed than in the metropolis. We had warm water and had better infrastructures: the containers where we lived were much better than the houses.

A typical day in the base would be getting up, having breakfast (which was almost exclusively cocoa, peanuts and sweet potatoes), followed by the unit maintenance activities. Sometimes, we would help the artillery mechanics placing bombs in the planes.

How were the times lived during the time of what difficulties do you point out as important?

Generally, times were really tough.

The heat was unbearable, being in average 52°C in the shade. Many times, we would place some tin foil in the sun and put fish over it to grill, and a few minutes later it was ready to eat.

The fact of having to deal with spitting cobras and wild animals was also very complicated.

I also saw four colleagues from the unit die, which was a very traumatic experience for me. Despite none of them having died in battle (because the base was heavily protected, even by the Air Force), my companion Zé was taken by a grenade and Albano passed in an accident. Durante all the time in the unit, both had share lots of their stories, including their desires and ambitions for when they reached back the homeland. Zé would tell a lot

about marrying his girlfriend from Lamego. But the moment I saw them lying in the floor, I knew it all had vanished. None of those wishes would become a reality. All their wishes and our secrets, the moments we had lived together also had gone with them. It was very scarring.

Another time, a fighting jet landed in the runway – the wheels didn't come down – and it slid and ruined the runway a lot. All caused by the lack of gas, because the enemies, with their rifles, hit the gas tanks in the wings, having disposed of gas. When it was meant to land, the plane started falling, and the pilot had lost control of the engine. He was lucky he was able to still have space to land, otherwise he would have met his demise.

One night we were in the theater São Tiago, in the city of Tete. Suddenly, a message popped up in the screen saying “All Military personnel must abandon the building”. All this because some barracks, 10 minutes away from us, was having problem: a mortar blew up and we had to help it.

How was your relation with the Mozambican citizens?

I always kept a good relation with the Mozambican citizens, never having discriminated them. When I needed to talk to them, I always called them like this: “Hey, Mozambican”, always showing the deserving respect.

Taking into account the officials, the “good” ones would treat them with the same respect, but the “bad” ones would even kick the citizens if they approached the unit, not knowing if they were terrorists or not. Sometimes even African soldiers would alert us of suspicious people gathering in some places, what meant having to use a helicopter and a unit to check up on the situation. However, these African citizens only were approaching us to ask for the remaining food to share between their families.

Some soldiers were completely unhuman, heartless. They would raid local Mozambican camps and take babies (around 4 months old) from their mothers' arms. Afterwards, they would stab them right in front of the mothers. It was a complete bloodbath. They were terrible times filled with extreme violence.

Other soldiers would keep, in alcohol flasks, parts of enemy bodies – the ones defending their land. They would even bring those flasks, which I know they still keep around in their houses, in the likes of a trophy.

What was the hardest moment that marked you during your time in Mozambique?

The hardest for me was sleeping in my room and looking through the window, seeing the 600 gas tanks for the planes – benzene – which was highly explosive. I could barely sleep with the idea that echoed constantly in my mind: if that blew up, we would be death in an instant. Our soldiers, on their posts, would smoke completely relaxed close to that aggregation of tanks, throwing the cigarette butts on the floor, which frightened me.

Despite all the terror, did you live good times?

Definitively. Not all was bad, and the leisure times were what gave me solace to survive the horror we lived. I was part of a Rock group. I was the lead guitarist, being the band additionally composed by a rhythm guitarist, a bassist and a drummer. Back then, I developed my music taste a lot. We lived good times of brotherhood that served as an escape to relieve the tension.

How was the return journey?

I returned to my country by the Air Force plane, after the end of my mission. I was a bit sad, seen that I had grown attached to my colleagues with whom I created friendship bonds.

The hardest was getting split apart from my dog Dicke. He had to be put down as the dogs could only have a caretaker – after serving the required time, they had to be put down, because they couldn't be loyal to anyone else. I tried to ask the commandant – lieutenant Azevedo – if I could bring my dog to the homeland, but the answer was negative: the dog, after serving his time, had to be shot down.

I remember the dog sensed I was leaving: he broke his chain and came to me to say goodbye, at the exact moment I was climbing into the plane. Right then tears fell from my eyes. It always stayed in my memory.

How was the country after all this time?

The colonial territories had grown more than the metropolis, which remained an “authentic backwards nation”. I considered the Third World country to be my own instead of the colony.

The biggest difference was the introduction of work schedules, in contrast to when I left, “starting to work from sun rose and settling when the sun set”, that being, we didn’t have a set schedule, we worked from “sunrise to sunset, for longer than 12 hours a day”.

What traumas followed you from your war times?

There were many. Until today I still dream with the sound of the grenades and with those times of conflict. I dream a lot about the river Zambezi and the time I had almost drowned it them.

The first few days after I returned, I could only sleep for about 2 hours at night and always had my rifle near me. It was not loaded, but it gave me a feeling of safety.

Testimony from my grandmother, as the wife of a former war soldier:

How did you deal with the time while grandpa was at war?

Very bad, generally I was always praying for him and when I heard news that an X-number of soldiers passed away I cried a lot, hoping that none of them war your grandfather. Your grandpa’s mother was also very worried and would send him, several times, money hidden inside of his shoes.

Figure 1



Fig. 1 - Illustrative photograph of the interviewee during his military service (own source).

Figure 2



Fig. 2 - Illustrative photograph of the interviewee during his military service (own source).