

The nation in Europe. The *O Independente's* Account¹

Maria Filomena Barradas

filomenab@gmail.com

Polytechnic Institute of Portalegre

1. Introduction

On June 12th 1985, Portugal signed the accession treaty to the European Economic Community (EEC). Negotiations had begun several years earlier, in 1977 and Mário Soares, who had set out on the process, was now the one who signed this sort of new foundation of the country, according to Ramos (2009:748).

The words of the historian Rui Ramos are easily explained. Portugal was – still is – a small territory, with a small population and with a low GDP, but which served as the basis for an overseas empire, born in the fifteenth century and continued until 1974. So, well into the twentieth century, Portugal returned to its continental limits which had remained virtually unchanged since the fourteenth century. And this country, with no empire, which was out of a dictatorship, which was impoverished and peripheral seemed to have no place in a world where empires were now other and of another kind – the USA, the USSR and the EEC, in the middle.

On January 1st 1986, Portugal became officially a member of the EEC. But the supranational organization also went through changes and challenges. The project of a united Europe, an area of peace, democracy and prosperity, was born in post World War II and it had remained virtually unchanged since the Treaty of Rome (1957), favouring economic relations between the member countries. Now, the EEC has beginning to move towards a new paradigm of a more political nature, which hastens the creation of mechanisms designed to bind citizens to the new supranational reality, such as the free movement of persons, the grant of European citizenship in addition to national citizenship, and the use of a common currency, aspects that pointed towards the dilution of national sovereignty.

This means that coinciding with its first expansion (to Southern Europe, first with the accession of Greece, in 1981, and then with the accession of Portugal and Spain), the

¹ This paper was originality written in Portuguese. All the quotes were translated by the author, and original version to main quotes will be provided on footnote. The author wants to thank Maria Luísa Murta and Tiago Sousa for their help in text revision.

EEC will also create conditions to establish such a political union between states, extending its scope beyond the economy.

Thus, the Portuguese case presents itself as interesting, because in a short period of time, the country is no longer a dictatorship and an overseas force but a democracy confined to the continental territory it occupied by the end of the fourteenth century and it is quickly testing a new form of international affiliation, this time no longer in the Atlantic but in Europe.

In view to these rapid changes and its impact on Portugal and on the Portuguese, the weekly newspaper *O Independente* always acted as a Eurosceptic opinion. Born in May 1988, the rightwing and conservative newspaper was an attentive observer and commentator of the new reality in which Portugal participated.

In this paper I will discuss how the relationship between Portugal and Europe is seen by the *O Independente*. As a *corpus*, I chose among opinion texts by Miguel Esteves Cardoso and Paulo Portas. From the first, I took some chronicles from the series “As Minhas Aventuras na República Portuguesa” [My Adventures in the Portuguese Republic], published in 1989. Regarding Paulo Portas, I selected some articles of his column “Antes pelo contrário” [On the contrary], published during 1992.

Sustaining this discussion, some theoretical framework on such concepts as state and nation, which will be related to the Portuguese case and with the European issue, will be given.

Then, I will observe how Esteves Cardoso and Paulo Portas debate the question of “nation” in the European framework. This will allow me to conclude about their two different but interconnected approaches: the cultural approach, by Miguel Esteves Cardoso and Portas’s political approach.

2. The State, the Nation, Portugal and Europe

2.1. The State and the Nation

There are several theories regarding the emergence of the nation. In general, they can be divided between the modernistic theses and the ethno-symbolic ones. Among the supporters of the modernist theses I will emphasize the names of Ernest Gellner, Eric

Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson; concerning the ethnicist theories, its main defender is Anthony D. Smith.

Gellner (1993) argues that the state precedes the nation. Moreover, the state is responsible for the creation of the nation. The state, as a geopolitical and administrative entity is capable of exerting control towards the individuals, who since the American and French Revolution, are no longer conceived as subjects to a king, but as citizens, which means that in them lays sovereignty.

One can say that the civil registration, the tax system, the military service, the use of an official language and the education system are some of the devices used by the state in order to exert its control over the citizens. The latter is especially important to the spread of a common and shared culture, fundamental to the development of a symbolic relation between the citizens and their state.

I think Benedict Anderson's (2006 [1983]) perspective, which defines the nation as an imagined community, is instructive. In fact, what makes us feel Portuguese (or English or French, or Mexican) are not only the state control devices mentioned above; it is also (and especially) a natural sense of identification with a geographical bordered area. The bond one feels to this territory is emotional, spontaneous and shared with and by one's countrymen.

Hence the relevance of traditions, which, according to Hobsbawm (1988) are also a product of the state. Once invented by the elite, traditions were spread to the popular classes, who began conceiving them as something natural, which had always existed. Therefore, because traditions need to be shared by the community, their repetition ensures and proves a kind of symbolic relationship between the individuals and their state.

Smith (1997) draws attention to the fact that the nation must be an ethnic phenomenon which was shaped during a long period of time. The idea of a nation reveals a common descent and a lasting collective past, consisting of a background of shared myths, symbols and memories, he argues. For Smith, the modernist approaches to the nation phenomenon are based on the assumption that nation is an ideological creation, operated by nationalism, whose goal is to achieve and maintain autonomy, unity and identity of a nation (Smith, 1997:98). So, according to Smith, the modernist theses believe that the nation and the state are connected, which generates the idea, that almost of all us share

that to every state there is nation. Yet, we know that such correspondence doesn't always exist: just think of the case of the Basques or the Catalans.

Thus, the main differences between the modernist and the ethno-symbolic theses are that for the former, the nation is a codification drawn from an ideological basis, only possible within a secular state. In an effort to codify the nation, the state uses its power and the power of the cultural elites in order to choose, shape and adapt pre-existing cultural materials, making them the distinctive aspects of a nation over others. Such cultural and symbolic encoding is reflected in the term "nation state", which means a political, administrative and geographical border interconnected with a cultural frontier, to which the individuals feel bound to. Rather, the ethno-symbolic arguments vindicate that such a feeling of belonging pre-exists the advent of the modern secular state. In fact, before the state control emerged, individuals already felt a bond to their birthplaces and to their communities. They also shared memories, rituals, symbols and narratives with their countrymen.

2.2. The Portuguese case

Actually, it may be difficult to choose between the given theses. Regarding the Portuguese case, we found that state and nation were early associated. José Mattoso (2001) argues that the shaping of both Portugal and the Portuguese is administratively done and it is a result of the king's and the court's sphere of action.

Proof, according to the historian, is the fact that the country adopted a name that does not point to an ethnic referent (such as France, "land of the Franks" or Germany, "land of the Germans"), but to a political-administrative one, Oporto, which had the ability to baptize the whole country (Mattoso, 2001:60). Thus, Mattoso's claim contradicts the one which has been popularized by the Portuguese nationalism: the assertion that there would be a Portuguese race or ethnicity.

According to the historian, the Portuguese nation is closely bound to the existence of a state which had the means either to define its geographic boundaries (generally through wars, sometimes with the Muslims and sometimes with Castile), or to impose cultural boundaries to the population, by generating symbolic forms which encourage an identification with the political and administrative territory. Among these symbolic forms of identification we found the use of a vernacular language in official documents,

the creation and dissemination of origin legends and myths and the existence of a literature in Portuguese.

However, a question arises: is it possible to rule out the existence of a feeling of nationality among the non schooled masses before the advent of secular state?

As reported by José Manuel Sobral (2003), it is difficult to answer this question because we have little empirical data regarding the working classes and how they conceptualized the feeling of belonging to the nation, which necessarily would be different from the one conceived by the literate classes. However, the author would not be surprised that these people felt part of an emerging nation, because only then we can explain the mobilization for war or the celebration of military victories, such as the Battle of Toro and the Battle of Aljubarrota, even during the nineteenth century (Sobral, 2003:1121).

Between the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, nation's image will attend a new moulding. The British Ultimatum (1890) and the controversy surrounding Portugal's participation in World War I contributed to the formation of the idea of imperial nation and strong state (Castro Leal, 1999:33). It will be up to Estado Novo to establish and disseminate, through a minimal but effective education, the image of Portugal that we still today largely subscribe: a peaceful country, which has spread itself around the world, which is pious, modest and humble, that is also capable of great things which we are proud of. In fact, according to the data from Eurobarometer collected and processed by Marco Antonsich (2009), regarding the national feeling on European Union, Portugal is one of the countries where both national pride and national attachment are stronger.

However, coexisting with national pride and national attachment, we find a strong conscientiousness of decadence, which has been expressed by the elites who have had contact with the civilizational model of Western Europe. Although the confrontation Portugal / Europe was done since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was in the nineteenth century that the Geração de 70 [70's Generation] crystallized the image of Portugal as a degenerated nation, which was very distant from Europe².

² About this, Eduardo Lourenço (1994:30) explains that the Geração de 70 demanded another-Portugal ("Portugal-outro"), which should be capable to act, to live, to think and to invent as in England, Germany or France. The Geração de 70 was fascinated by a Europe, which meant Civilization, Progress and Culture. Only becoming another-Portugal could Portugal regenerate itself.

2.3. Europe

The idea of Europe as a myth of progress and civilization revived with Portugal's accession to the EEC. This event was seen by some segments of society as something that could rescue Portugal from its delay, by ensuring direct access to a civilizational, cultural, and economical array of prosperity of which the country was oblivious.

But what Europe was this, bound in an Economic Community?

The first half of the twentieth century was hard on the European continent, which had been devastated by two world wars. In post World War II, the European nations which had been involved in the conflict understood that their role had changed and that the world was now dominated by new leaderships, of almost continental dimensions - the U.S., the USSR and China. At this juncture, the European countries could only regain their role on the international arena by joining together.

Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman will be the two masterminds behind the idea of a united Europe. In 1950, Schuman, the French foreign minister, proposed that France and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) could put together their coal and steel resources in order to rehabilitate industries war depleted. A year later, Belgium, West Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands signed the founding treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), an intergovernmental organization, which laid the foundation of the EEC, which would only be born six years later, by Treaty of Rome (1957).

The EEC was primarily an economic organization, concerning issues such as the customs union and the creation of a free trading area, but it foresaw the embryo of full political union among member states.

Until 1986, the structure of the EEC remained virtually unchanged, but that year the Single European Act was signed. This document indicated that 1993 was the year in which the Internal Market³ should be operating. Internal Market was the first step towards a full political union, which begins to be enforced from the Maastricht Treaty

³ According to the Europa. Gateway to European Union: "Within the European single market, people, goods, services and money move around as freely as they do within one country. We travel at will across the EU's internal frontiers for business and pleasure or, if we choose, we can stay at home and enjoy a vast array of products from all over Europe. Although we now take it for granted, the single market is one of the EU's greatest achievements"

on⁴. Also known as Treaty on the European Union (TEU) it launches the European Union (EU), presented online, on the Gateway to the EU, as “a pact between sovereign nations which have resolved to share a common destiny and to pool an increasing share of their sovereignty. It touches on things that Europeans care most deeply about: peace, economic and physical wellbeing, security, participatory democracy, justice and solidarity. This pact is being strengthened and confirmed all across Europe: half a billion people have chosen to live under the rule of law and in accordance with age-old values centred on humanity and human dignity”.

Unlike the EEC, the EU embraces common policies like the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Defence Policy and Security Policy (CSDP), which are not economic. The pursuit of these policies points out to a shift of paradigm in Europe: although it remains an organization where economy is essential, the EU is a political organization, nearing itself to a federal state.

3. Portugal in Europe. *O Independente*'s Account

As I said at the beginning of this paper, Portuguese accession to the EEC, a few years after the restoration of democracy in Portugal, is seen by historian like Ramos (2009) and Telo (2008) as a kind of country rebirth.

Indeed, what differentiated Portugal in the Iberian and European context was, as had been said by António José Saraiva (2007:80 [1994]), the refusal to integrate Castile and the venture outside the Iberian Peninsula. With no Empire, what can Portugal do but to integrate a supranational reality that may allow it to be a full member of the West? Thus, for Portugal, the EEC, embodying the values of democracy, capitalism, prosperity and social welfare, was a way out of its crisis and decay.

Naturally, the process of European integration was not unanimously understood, although the official discourse was effusive. Among those who expressed their scepticism about Europe, the weekly newspaper *O Independente* plays a major role. Published between 1988 and 2006, it influenced not only the Portuguese mediatic scene, but also the way the people looked at that changing Portugal.

⁴ The Treaty was written in 1992. It entered into force in November 1993.

In Section V of its Editorial Status the *O Independente* declared: “O Independente believes in culture as a permanent result of social activity – and not as a world aside. It will stand up for what it thinks to be fair, being it Portuguese or not, but it will speak more of Portuguese things, may they be better or not. A good newspaper is a nation talking to itself. O Independente wants to join this conversation.”⁵

In fact, *O Independente* has never concealed its political and ideological positioning, as being conservative, rightwing, democrat and liberal. Therefore, it causes no surprise that what means to be “Portuguese” or what means “nation” would occupy a central place in the newspaper discourse, since these are subjects dear to the rightwing. But what strikes me is that the newspaper states its desire to participate in an interlocutory situation, which extends itself to the entire national community.

This conversation with the nation takes place at multiple levels. Firstly, as a newspaper, *O Independente* informs the community on relevant events; secondly, that information is appropriated and discussed within the community; thirdly, the newspaper will accommodate a large number of opinion texts, written by Paulo Portas, who comments on politics on his “Antes pelo contrário” column; by Miguel Esteves Cardoso and his chronicles, “As Minhas Aventuras na República Portuguesa”; and by many other analysts and critics, like Vasco Pulido Valente, João Bénard da Costa, João Miguel Fernandes Jorge or M.S. Lourenço.

According to Barriga (2007) the journalist genre “opinion” grew during Cavaco Silva’s government. This is not surprising, since Cavaco Silva’s governments witness the time Portugal entered into full democracy: not only the free expression of opinions becomes regular, but also the media sector opens to private initiative, which promotes free expression. Simultaneously, the public also feels a greater interest in the published opinion, since it is an interpretation or explanation of facts and events. Thus, the written opinion provides the reader with possibilities of understanding the world – always chaotic– through interventions designed to explain as much as to argue.

⁵Originally: “O Independente acredita na cultura como resultado permanente da actividade social – e não como mundo à parte. Defenderá o que achar bom, seja português ou não, mas falará mais do que é português, seja melhor ou não. Um bom jornal é uma nação a falar consigo mesma. O Independente quer tomar parte desta conversa.”

The opinative columnist is always someone who has power. He or she aims to persuade the reader and to educate the reader's opinions. But, sometimes one must "agree to disagree", the English dictum by which Miguel Esteves Cardoso expresses the bounds of civility that should guide any exchange of views.

Following, I will observe how the question of nation in Europe is addressed by Miguel Esteves Cardoso and Paulo Portas in their opinion texts.

3.1. Portugal in the EEC in the Adventures of Esteves Cardoso

Between May 1988 and May 1990, at a weekly rate, Miguel Esteves Cardoso published his chronicles, "As Minhas Aventuras na República Portuguesa", which enjoyed great popularity, as their publication in a book, on April 1990, demonstrates.

In the first place, Esteves Cardoso's chronicles bring to light the problem of the nation and of the political regime. In fact, he is a persuaded monarchist, and by naming his chronicles "As Minhas Aventuras na República Portuguesa" he is emphasizing how he sees Portugal: from a perspective that is, at the same time, near and distant. Moreover, one associates the "adventure" to the unexpected and to the extraordinary; these adventures, which deserve to be reported, are lived by the author in the "Portuguese Republic". This way Portugal is performed as a geographic, political and cultural place in which the writer is an explorer or anthropologist, who needs to create distance in order to better observe his subject of study.

Chronicle is a particular case of opinion. Antónia Barriga indicates that the chronicle, as a journalistic genre, is on the border between the timeliness of information and literary narrative, setting itself as a poetic account of reality (2007:168). The chronicle mixed nature arises from the multiplicity of subjects that the writer may legitimately call to his text and by which he succeeds on capturing the spirit of the historic moment. He is a witness, a reporter and an artist.

Before the *O Independente*, Miguel Esteves Cardoso had collaborated with various newspapers as a columnist. He wrote in *Expresso* and, as a result, he had already published two volumes of chronicles: *A Causa das Coisas* (1986) and *Os Meus Problemas* (1988).

In 1988, Portugal had changed because it was an EEC member. Miguel Esteves Cardoso doesn't think that the change in itself is negative, nor is he an apologist for settling in the past, i.e., he asserts that *saudade* is a "sentimental genocide" (Cardoso, 1995:18 [1990]). Thus, what he reprehends is the haste and the acriticism by which such changes are introduced and experienced in everyday life, as we read in the "Aventura da Europa" [The Europe's Adventure]:

Our worst nightmare happened – we are becoming European in a Portuguese fashion. In other words, we follow an Amoreiras version of the great Greco-roman heritage. We think Europe is something, more modern and more developed, in which we can convert into, if we win the challenge. We cannot understand that Europe exists about five hundred years ago and that we are part of it. (Cardoso, 1995:129-130 [1990])⁶

As a member of an educated elite, and having the power to make his voice publicly heard through the newspaper, the position of Esteves Cardoso is the polar opposite of that of Portuguese intellectuals who have been dreaming of "another-Portugal", stealing the words of Eduardo Lourenço. Miguel Esteves Cardoso is concerned with This-Portugal, which played a significant role in the construction of modernity and, therefore, it is essential in the idea of "Europe". This-Portugal is making a mistake by adopting and exaggerating the European models. In fact, the exaggeration doesn't make Portugal more modern, more developed or more European: it only highlights Portugal's provincialism. Therefore, a true cosmopolitan patriotism cosmopolitan is urgent:

There are so few (they were always few) real patriots – those who love the whole Portugal, past and present, Celorico and Lisbon, emigrant and cosmopolitan and who recognize, at the same time, upset, that Portugal is a misery in a long, long time. (...) Opposite to what the stupid leftwing says, being nationalist doesn't mean to say that Portugal is the best. It is to acknowledge that in spite of bad, Portugal is ours. Portugal is what we've got. (...)

A true patriot takes care of his entire homeland. He doesn't chose the best chunks (...) as our intelligentsia and our politicians do. That is easy and petty. It's mouth crafts. It's what tourists do. (Cardoso, 1995: 130-131 [1990]).⁷

⁶ Originally: "Aconteceu o pior pesadelo – estamos a tornar-nos *européus à portuguesa*. Ou seja seguimos a versão Amoreiras da grande herança greco-romana. A nossa ideia de Europa não é a Europa (que já existe há uns 500 anos, e ainda para mais conosco lá dentro), mas *uma coisa qualquer*, mais moderna e desenvolvida, em que 'a gente' se há-de tornar, se vencermos 'o desafio'."

⁷ Originally: "São já (foram sempre) poucos os verdadeiros patriotas – aqueles que amam Portugal inteiro, passado e presente, Celorico e Lisboa, emigrante e cosmopolita, ao mesmo tempo que reconhecem, chateados, que Portugal *está uma miséria há muito, muito tempo* (...). Ser nacionalista não é, ao contrário do que diz a Esquerda estúpida, dizer que Portugal é que é bom. É dizer que, por muito mau que visivelmente seja, Portugal é que é nosso. Portugal é o que nos calhou. (...)

So what Miguel Esteves Cardoso is proposing is that Portuguese should correct their self-image as community⁸. Only by self-esteem and acceptance of flaws and virtues - that every community has – can the Portuguese correct their distorted self-image.

One can only be a worthy Portuguese, and by extension a worthy European, if one is willing to accept and love Portugal as it is, that is, with its flaws. In fact, Europe is more than an “abstract, supra-national, anti-historical” entity (Cardoso, 1995: 132 [1990]). It means much more than a progress pledge. Europe is a territory and a repository of cultural artefacts, which are available to anyone. So, Miguel Esteves Cardoso says, peremptorily:

Europe is nor a challenge nor a problem. We are the challenge and the problem. We already have the Europe that matters. It is on books we can read, it is in records we can listen to, it is on museums and at places we can visit. The Portuguese, at least, know much more about Europe than Europe knows about them. Maybe, we are already the most European people on Europe. Like the Dutch, we are the most open, the most interested, the most curious. We cannot go on pretending that we know nothing and that we are nothing (Cardoso, 1995:130-132 [1990]).⁹

One example of rapid change can be found on fruit standardization, which was an EEC imposition. People were now eating fruit which was all of the same size. This represents a denaturalization of people’s immemorial habits and it is, at the same time, a metaphor of Europe’s essence, according to Esteves Cardoso: the elimination of singularizing differences.

Despite his scepticism - or because of his scepticism - Esteves Cardoso, who had been the Popular Monarchist Party (PPM) candidate to European Parliament in 1987, runs again for MEP, in 1989.

Um verdadeiro patriota ocupa-se da Pátria inteira. Não ‘escolhe’ os melhores bocadinhos (...) como fazem os nossos dirigentes intelectuais e políticos. Isso é fácil e é mesquinho. É artesanato de boca. É o que fazem os turistas.”

⁸ Eduardo Lourenço (1994:19) explains that individually Portuguese are pragmatic and adaptable, but as a people they tend to distort this positive image.

⁹ “A Europa não é desafio nem problema. Desafio e problema somos nós. A Europa que interessa (...) já nós temos. Está em livros que podemos ler, discos que podemos ouvir, museus e lugares que podemos visitar. Os Portugueses, de resto, sabem muito mais acerca da Europa do que a Europa sabe acerca dos portugueses. *Já somos*, se calhar, o povo mais europeu da Europa. Somos, com os Holandeses, os mais abertos, interessados, curiosos. Não façamos partes gagas, fingindo que não sabemos e que não somos nada.”

He doesn't believe either in the federalist project, the other candidates or in a bureaucratically constructed Europe. Federalist Europe ignores the true European backbone: cultural difference and the existence of independent nations.

In "A aventura do candidato" [The Candidate's Adventure], Esteves Cardoso explains:

Lucas Pires told the *O Diabo* that I had told that I was anti-European. But I advocate a truly European cultural community and I'm fed up of saying it and of writing it. (...) I came to know that I'm anti-European because I think that Portugal and the other ECC members must retain their political independence and their democratic sovereignty.¹⁰ (Cardoso, June 9th 1989)

Esteves Cardoso doesn't desire political union between countries whose historical and cultural heritages are diverse.

This position differs from that of their MEP counterparts, who all support Europe. Though, this results more of a parochial infatuation than of an ideological stance, as we can see in "A Aventura da Eurodeputação" [The Eurodeputation Adventure]:

There cannot be doubts on this. Yesterday's emigrants were substituted by today's MEPs. They both leave their poor and ignorant country in hope of an enlightened and rich Europe. They are in the nice sense of the word "rurals". I say it with love. They go away without having seen more than Braga's Cathedral, Lisbon's Rossio or London in a touristic trip. They are pure. They dazzle themselves. (Cardoso, May 5th 1989)¹¹

This means Miguel Esteves Cardoso thinks differently than his intellectual fellows about Europe: in first place, he believes that Portugal is part of European cultural matrix and those who don't understand this and behave like foreigners in Europe's natural are those who feel inferior, because they react in a parochial manner when they should be acting in a cosmopolitan way; in second place, the essential condition for being a worthy European is to be a worthy Portuguese. This involves a cosmopolitan awareness,

¹⁰ Originally: "[Lucas Pires] até disse a 'O Diabo' que eu tinha dito que eu era anti-europeu. Eu, que sou a favor duma verdadeira comunidade cultural europeia e que já estou farto de o dizer e escrever inclusivamente numas *Grandes Opções do Plano*, que Lucas Pires generosamente elogiou, fiquei a saber que era 'anti-europeu', só porque acho que Portugal e os restantes membros da CEE devem reter a sua independência política e soberania democrática."

¹¹ Originally: "Não haja dúvidas a este propósito. Os emigrantes de ontem foram substituídos pelos eurodeputados de hoje. Tanto uns como os outros abandonam a Pátria pobre e ignorante na mira de uma Europa culta e enriquecedora. São no bom sentido da palavra, *saloios*. São na aceção mais carinhosa do termo, *parolos*. Digo-o com ternura. Saem daqui sem terem visto mais do que a Sé de Braga, o Rossio ou sete dias de Londres no programa Londres 2000 da Abreu. São puros. Deslumbram-se."

which doesn't result of the EEC membership, but it is the corollary of contact with European culture, available from cultural artefacts like books, music or museums.

In conclusion, Miguel Esteves Cardoso defends the “nation” in a changing Europe, which threatens the differences that, over time, had structured its own cultural heritage and civilization. Unlike the typical position of the Portuguese intelligentsia, Esteves Cardoso is not fascinated with the “foreigner”. European differences are the result of Europe's nature. To be more European means to be more Portuguese. And to be more Portuguese one must be more cosmopolitan. As explained by Appiah (2006: xi):

“People are different, the cosmopolitan knows, and there is much to learn from our differences. Because there are so many human possibilities worth exploring, we neither expect nor desire that every person or every society should converge on a single mode of life. Whatever our obligations are to other (or theirs to us), they often have the right to go their own way.”

3.2. Paulo Portas and criticism of the Maastricht Treaty

Paulo Portas was in charge of “Antes pelo contrário” column, which appeared on the Political Section of the *O Independente*.

Like Miguel Esteves Cardoso, Paulo Portas also had previous journalistic experience. In fact, age 15, in 1978, he wrote “As três traições” [The Tree Treasons], an article which was issued by *Diário de Notícias*. In it, the young Portas expressed his discontentment with Mário Soares and Freitas do Amaral and the way decolonization was being made. After that, he wrote in several newspapers and he was political commentator in the *Semanário*, when he decided to embark in the creation of the *O Independente*, along with Esteves Cardoso

Portas is also a conservative, being in those years that preceded his rise to the CDS leadership, one of the voices of the modern, cosmopolitan and sophisticated rightwing.

He will express his aversion to political union on the ECC, which will be a result of the Maastricht Treaty. As an opinative journalist and as a world interpreter, Portas aims to enlighten his readers about the Treaty's nature and about its consequences. Thus, the columnist acts as a discordant voice (a goal emphasized by the title chosen for his column, “Antes pelo contrário”), contributing to the debate and to the discussion of an important question that ought to be reasoned.

Unlike what happened to Miguel Esteves Cardoso chronicles, Paulo Portas opinion texts have never been compiled on book, so in order to read them, I had to read the *O Independente*'s issues.

“Atracção fatal” [Fatal attraction] is the title of the first article Portas issued on his column, on May 28th 1988. In it, the author expresses his main concerns regarding Portugal's future in Europe. In fact, the European Single Act (1986) was already an anticipation of European political union.

Taking the example of British abstention on European Elections, Portas reflects on the way the British and the Portuguese both look at Europe. The British, who are used to democracy, distrust Europe. But the Portuguese want Europe, because it means lots of money. Drawing the attention to Portugal's marginalization in the context of a European political union, reminding the Portuguese Atlantic vocation and mentioning national borders' antiquity, Paulo Portas stresses that all attempts of Europe's unification were of a totalitarian kind, because only by force can the different European peoples be absorbed.

As it has been said about Miguel Esteves Cardoso, Portas does not refuse the EEC, which is considered as an opportunity of economic liberalization. But, he opposes the political Europeism, which implies to abandon independence, sovereignty and borders as they have been conceived. His point of view could be seen as reactionary, but he justifies himself saying that this way of thinking reflects the modern, democratic and patriotic rightwing.

Therefore, when the TEU enters into its ratification process in the various member states, Paulo Portas is pleased with the fact that some of these member states show their scepticism on Maastricht (“Boas notícias da Europa” [Good news from Europe], April 16th 1992). But he is also worried, since the Portuguese government does nothing in order to explain the Treaty to people. According to Portas, the TEU is “the most sovereignty question that Portugal had to face, since the Empire's fall”¹². People must be aware of the TEU contents, because it can represent the loss of sovereignty without nobody realizing it. (“Da falta de respeito” [On Insolence], April 30th 1992).

¹² Originally: “a mais importante questão de soberania que Portugal teve de enfrentar desde a queda do Império”.

Neither the population in general, nor the politicians¹³ seemed to be acquainted with the Treaty. In fact, the absence of a Portuguese translation of the TEU doesn't allow voters to know it and this reveals that the state has no respect for the nation (“Da falta de respeito” [On Insolence], April 30th 1992).

The TEU must be discussed, since discussion is quintessential to democracy, Portas argues. Democracy requires multiple voices which must be informed and enlightened, in order to be able to debate, persuade and decide (“Quem manda e quem obedece” [Who orders and who obeys], May 8th 1992).

The basis of democracy and sovereignty is the people. Therefore, people should decide on Maastricht, as it happened in Denmark and France. This way, the Danish NO to Maastricht proves that citizens have chosen wisely, since they've read the Treaty: “eight in ten Danish voters had the appalling annoyance of reading the TEU which the government had mailed them”¹⁴ (“Eu sou um dinamarquês” [I'm a Dane], June 5th 1992)

However, the Portuguese affair is otherwise. In fact, referendum was not in the Portuguese Constitution and although it was proposed by the CDS¹⁵ and the President of the Republic, Mário Soares, was not averse to the idea of holding it, referendum did not come to pass.

Paulo Portas thinks the TEU menaces not only Portugal, but all Europe, which is a civilization made of many nations:

What separates the American federalism from Brussels Europeanism is only and solely the spirit of the nation. There is no legal literature that one can invent on this. And the point is that there is no European nation, and never will it be. But Maastricht recklessly claims that there is an European nation embryo. Out of

¹³The *O Independente's* first page on December 11th 1992 had the following headline: “Vergonha: Deputados não passam num exame sobre Maastricht – CHUMBADOS – Deputados de todas as cores submeteram-se a uma prova sobre o Tratado de Maastricht. Eram trinta perguntas. Nove em dez só disseram asneiras” [Shameful: MPs fail on a Maastricht exam – FLUNKED –MPs from all parties took a test on Maastricht Treaty. There were thirty questions. Nine in ten only told nonsense.]

The illustration on that first page leaves no doubt: the MPs are chatting donkeys. One of them holds the Treaty upside down. Another reads a Mickey Mouse magazine.

On pages 2 to 4, examples of “Insucesso Escolar no Parlamento” [School Failure in the Parliament] are shown. Only four of thirty respondents knew the answers to the *O Independente's* questions.

¹⁴Originally: “oito em cada dez dinamarqueses que foram votar tiveram a maçada inenarrável de ler o tratado que o governo lhe enviou pelo correio”

¹⁵Manuel Monteiro was the CDS's leader and he made a referendum within the party. 90% of voters said NO to Maastricht.

reality, the authors of Maastricht created a political fiction.¹⁶ (“O tratado suspeito” [The Suspicious Treaty], May 29th 1992)

Beating itself upon an ethic of free and informed choice the *O Independente* issued, on June 19th 1992, a Anúncio Totalmente Gratuito [Totally Free Ad]¹⁷: “Do not let others decide for you - YES to the referendum - Sign the petition to Parliament”. The reader was invited to collect signatures on the page, crop it and then send it to parliament. This instigation to popular action is a sort sovereignty restoration, since nation itself was kept away from the process the Treaty of Maastricht had triggered.

As Maastricht is money, Paulo Portas is not surprised by the position rulers have adopted in order to justify the TEU’s ratification:

Things got to the point that many people don’t mind changing their flag or their Parliament if someone gave them another kilometer of road. The prime minister was the theoretician of this bargain by which Portugal exported its sovereignty and diminished its democracy getting in return considerable resources.¹⁸ [Últimas Notícias [Lastest news], December 4th 1992).

This is not the best deal for Portugal, Paulo Portas thinks. What matters to him are sovereignty and independence: they are priceless and they cannot be separated from nation, which is as an historical and emotional community bound to a geopolitical territory. And Maastricht, even pointing to a European federal state, does not have the ability to engender an European nation.

4. Conclusions

If one wants to understand Portugal in the beginning of the 21st century, one has to look up at the changes occurred during the middle eighties and the nineties.

¹⁶ “O que separa o federalismo americano do europeísmo de Bruxelas é apenas e só o espírito da nação. Não há literatura jurídica que o possa inventar. E o ponto é que não há nação europeia, nem nunca haverá. Mas em Maastricht cometeu-se a imprudência de pretender que existe, ainda em feto, um Estado Europeu. À míngua de realidade, os autores de Maastricht criaram uma ficção política”

¹⁷ They were one of the newspaper’s strategies of cultural promotion. They also are a way of calling attention on issues that need popular support as in this case.

¹⁸ “Chegou-se a tal ponto que muita gente não se importa de trocar a bandeira ou o Parlamento se lhe dessem mais um quilómetro de estrada. O primeiro-ministro foi o teórico desta barganha em que Portugal exportava soberania e perdia democracia recebendo fundos consideráveis na volta.”

The *O Independente*, directed by both Miguel Esteves Cardoso and Paulo Portas, left its impression in this historical moment, by bringing up to the public sphere an account of Portugal which is conservative, rightwing, but still fresh, young and passionate.

In the texts I've been discussing, we can see Esteves Cardoso and Paulo Portas striving for the ideas of "nation" and "Europe of nations" against the idea of "Europe-without-nations". Neither of them is against Portugal's participation on the EEC, since it favored economic liberalization they both advocated, but both distrust a politically united Europe.

Miguel Esteves Cardoso is concerned with cultural matters. For example, he is worried about the way Europe is interfering with ancestral ways of living. His fears are valid not only for the Portuguese case, but for all other European nations, because all may lose their identities. In fact, as stated, Europe defines itself by its otherness, since it is a geographical and political space where for centuries different nations have sprung, being able to create an indisputable artistic, literary, philosophical, technological and civilizational richness. Can the seed of an Europe-potential-nation threaten the existing Europe?

Paulo Portas's concerns are political. His texts were written at a time when the TEU was already ongoing. Portuguese sovereignty and nation were now truly threatened, and taking the general ignorance and disregard, it mattered to present another point of view on the European question, since for the government Europe was the best of all possible worlds.

What about today? Do we feel more European, i.e., more tied to Europe than we felt before its political union?

The European Union replaced the EEC; if a Portuguese wants to go to Spain he doesn't need to exchange money, because now we have Euros instead of escudos and pesetas; we have a lot of Spanish doctors in our hospitals – and there are a lot of Portuguese nurses working on the UK – but none are emigrants; we all play Euromillions; we all recognize the blue flag with a circle of stars (how many are they?); we recognize the hymn; we no longer need a passport to visit most countries in Europe. But, from state to state, traffic laws are different, the retirement age varies, differences in income remains very sharp, and Portugal still has the lowest GDP in Europe. And, at least for us Portuguese, Europe is still very far away, beyond, far beyond the Pyrenees.

Miguel Esteves Cardoso currently writes his chronicles on the daily newspaper *Público*. Paulo Portas is the undisputed leader of the CDS-PP and a MP. During 2004-2005 he was Minister of State, Defense and Maritime Affairs.

Everything seems to have changed. But if one wants to understand who the Portuguese are as a nation, within the EU and within a globalized world, one must return to the moment when Portugal decided to integrate a new geopolitical and economic paradigm.

The texts presented here comment on and remember that moment, and force us to reflect on the present moment.

References

Anderson, Benedict. (2006 [1983]) *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso

Antonsich, M. (2009) “National identities in the age of globalisation: The case of Western Europe”. *National Identities*, 11(3), 281-299.

Appiah, K. A. (2006) *Cosmopolitanism*. London: Penguin

Barriga, Antónia. (2007) *Media, Política e Opinião: uma tríade complexa. Uma Abordagem à Opinião Publicada em Portugal*. Tese de Doutoramento em Sociologia, Especialidade Comunicação. Lisboa: ISCTE

Cardoso, Miguel Esteves. (1994 [1990]) *As Minhas Aventuras na República Portuguesa*. 5ª ed. Lisboa: Assírio & Alvim

Europa. Gateway to European Union. Single Market http://europa.eu/pol/singl/index_en.htm. Last access: April 1st 2011

Europa. Gateway to European Union. The European Union at Glance. http://europa.eu/abc/index_en.htm. Last access: April 1st 2011

Fontaine, Pascal. (1998) *A Construção Europeia de 1945 aos Nossos Dias*. Lisboa: Gradiva

Gellner, Ernest. (1993) *Nações e Nacionalismo*. Trajectos. Lisboa: Gradiva

Hobsbawm, Eric. (1988) *Tradições Inventadas*. Desporto e Sociedade Antologia de Textos. Lisboa: Direcção-Geral dos Desportos

--- (1998) *A Questão Do Nacionalismo Nações e Nacionalismo desde 1780 Programa, Mito, Realidade*. Lisboa: Terramar

Leal, Ernesto Castro. (1999) *Nações e Nacionalismos – A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira e as Origens do Estado Novo (1918-1938)*. Lisboa: Cosmos

Lourenço, Eduardo. (1994) *Nós e a Europa ou as Duas Razões*. 4ª ed. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda

- Mattoso, José. (2001) *A Identidade Nacional*. 2ª ed. Lisboa: Gradiva
- O Independente* / propr. SOCI Sociedade de Comunicação Independente; dir. Miguel Esteves Cardoso. Lisboa : Soci : Vasp [distrib.]
- Ramos, Rui (coord), (2009): *História de Portugal*. Lisboa: Esfera dos Livros
- Saraiva, António José. (2007 [1994]), *A Cultura em Portugal*. Vol. I. Lisboa: Gradiva
- Smith, Anthony D. (1997) *A Identidade Nacional*. Lisboa: Gradiva
- Sobral, José Manuel. (2003). “A formação das nações e o nacionalismo: os paradigmas explicativos e o caso português”. *Análise Social*, vol. XXXVII (165), pp. 1093-1126
- Telo, António. (2008). *História Contemporânea de Portugal. Do 25 de Abril à Actualidade*. Vol. II. Lisboa: Presença