

8 The Corporatist Chamber of the ‘New State’ in Portugal

Organized interests and public policy

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This chapter presents and discusses the role played by the Corporatist Chamber in defining the public policies of the Estado Novo in Portugal, taking into account the interests that it represented and the competencies that were attributed to it.¹ Even though it was a body occupying only a lateral position within the organizational structure of the regime, it was the Chamber’s task to prepare critical analyses that influenced the conception of the main guidelines of governance and the policies to be adopted in the state’s main areas of activity. The technical and political reports issued by the Corporatist Chamber offered support for policies formulated in ministerial offices, assessing the consequences of certain measures and proposing amendments to them, either on a case-by-case basis or in greater depth. Resorting both to specialists and representatives of economic interests, this institution provided the decision-making processes with a technical component that revealed a high degree of specialization.

In the first sections of this chapter, we present a brief overview of the space that was occupied by the Corporatist Chamber in the architecture of political power, explaining the procedures involved in the preparation of its *pareceres* (reports).² By constructing a typology of the documents drawn up by the Chamber’s *procuradores* (members), and their respective distribution throughout the period under analysis, we are able to assess the relative importance of the different areas of governance subjected to appraisal during this institution’s period of activity within the Estado Novo.

In the final sections, in order to illustrate the importance of the Corporatist Chamber and to assess its interference in the design of the Estado Novo’s public policies, we take a qualitative look at the main economic and financial reports that were prepared and issued in the first two decades of the authoritarian regime. Belonging to the main area of intervention of the *procuradores*, those texts were central pieces in the elaboration of the broad guidelines of governance, representing decisive contributions for their definitive design and forming a repository of the work produced by its main strategists.

The Corporatist Chamber

In the legal and constitutional architecture of the Estado Novo, the role reserved for the Corporatist Chamber corresponded to a normative and programmatic intention that was coherent with the principle enshrined in the 1933 Constitution about the 'unitary and corporatist' nature of the Portuguese state (Article 5). The moral or economic corporations and trade union associations or organizations enjoyed a unique status as foundational elements in the structure of the nation, so that this supreme authority, through which these bodies and institutions consolidated their political essence, played a key role in the organization of the Estado Novo. Thus, the Corporatist Chamber was entrusted with the task of providing the organic representation 'of local authorities and social interests, the latter being considered in their fundamental branches of an administrative, moral, cultural and economic nature' (Article 102). It operated as a second, unelected chamber whose prevailing principle was the supposed enshrinement of the recognition attributed to key sectors of society, rhetorically referred to as the 'living forces of the nation'. Ideally, the Chamber was intended to represent economic and social interests, acting as the voice of individual and organizational points of view and functioning as a body that intermediated between private motivations and public interest.

However, reality took it upon itself to demonstrate the failure of this programmatic intentionality, as has been widely discussed in the most relevant historiography.³ The corporations were formally set up only in the second half of the 1950s and the primary bodies of the corporatist structure (guilds, trade unions, *Casas do Povo* and *Casas de Pescadores*) functioned much more as elements in a chain of transmission whose driving force was to be found in government actions rather than in individual wishes and intentions for the construction of an organic harmony. The Corporatist Chamber stood at the top of a pyramid that was not supported by any kind of base. Marcello Caetano very neatly summed up this contradiction between the doctrinal imagination and the results of actual experience, when, in 1950, he recognized that 'Portugal is a corporatist State in name, but not in fact. The most one can say is that we have a State with a corporatist trade union base or with a corporatist tendency: but not a corporatist State'.⁴

The contradictions about corporatist representation date back to the time when the new regime was constituted, when the programmatic undertakings that sustained the Estado Novo were established and when the system of political decision-making that Salazar was to apply for more than four decades was first tested.

The correlation of powers between political bodies and the links between the different processes of their composition were the result of Salazar's pragmatism and of the mutual commitments that he established between the theoretical or programmatic tendencies revealed by his supporters. The institutional system that Salazar had set up in this initial phase would later enable him to manage crises and, through his position as head of government, to arbitrate in such a way as to ensure a relatively stable equilibrium between military factions, political

tendencies, economic groups, social sectors or cultural associations seeking access to power or to influence the conception and design of public policies.

The organs of political power displayed the hybridism of the regime's initial phase, with corporatist representation being confined to a lateral body, in detriment to its enjoying the status of an apparent liberal representation. The President of the Republic was directly elected and had the power to appoint and dismiss the head of government and to dissolve parliament. The Assembleia Nacional (parliament) was also directly elected, with the power to approve laws and ratify government decrees. In political terms, ministers responded to the head of government. They designed the different sectoral policies, whose coordination and final approval depended on the president of the executive council, who was, in turn, politically answerable on the part of the government to the President of the Republic. Corporatist representation was confined to one single body, the Corporatist Chamber, where it also co-inhabited with government appointment, which was generally decisive in determining the direction of the choices that were made, and whose influence did not extend beyond the merely consultative level.

At the centre of the political system was the figure of the head of government, who had supreme responsibility for the mechanisms of repression and for leading the state's sole political party. In this latter capacity, he chose, from among the military, the candidates for President of the Republic, and from among the ranks of the party, the candidates for members of parliament. As the head of government, he chose the ministers and a significant proportion of the *procuradores* of the Corporatist Chamber. Until the end of the war, he also coordinated the bureaucratic management of the trade unions and employers' organizations, which were responsible for the appointment of most of the *procuradores*.

In a corporatist state, the representation of the corporations themselves was reduced to a secondary organ of power. The initiatives and wishes for the consolidation of political corporatism were displayed from the beginning of the regime through different channels, and above all through the composers of the regime's doctrine and ideology. The introduction of corporatist suffrage into the process for the election of the Assembleia Nacional, the attribution to the Corporatist Chamber of legislative powers and competencies for the coordination of the basic corporatist organizations, the extension of the system to economic and social sectors that were previously not covered by any form of representation and the creation of corporations as top-level management structures with the power to effectively influence decision-making were some of the concerns that were displayed at successive moments.

The scarce powers of the Corporatist Chamber, the weak relationship between the sole representative institution and the corporatist bodies, the fragility of the basic organizational model and the contradictions of the model adopted in the institutionalization of the top of the system were problems that were recurrently pointed out by various political sectors, and which continued to exist throughout the lifetime of the Estado Novo.

Notwithstanding the failure of the moral and economic corporations or the expectations that were thwarted in the course of their constitution, the Corporatist Chamber was an essential part of a game of representative appearances. In this sense, it also bore testimony to a game of mirrors in which one could find reflected the reports and positions of personalities who were crucial for understanding how the regime effectively functioned.

A part of the Chamber's membership obtained their positions by virtue of their representative status or through their being appointed by the primary organizations of the corporatist structure. However, in the organizational structure of its initial constitution, the most active *procuradores* were those who were appointed by a Corporatist Council formed by the President of the Council of Ministers, António Oliveira Salazar, and by some of the members of government with responsibilities for economic and social portfolios. Representation was therefore the fruit of a process of appointment that was largely mediated by the government's co-opting of members based on criteria of technical and political trust.

The organizational structure of the Corporatist Chamber underwent successive alterations, with repercussions in its composition and in the way that it functioned, as well as in the forms that existed for the representation of social and economic interests.⁵ However, throughout the period of its formal existence, between 1935 and 1974, the Chamber maintained the essence of its functional attributes as a consultative body: it gave its consideration to draft laws placed before parliament and government decrees, giving its non-binding report upon these. Although it increased its effective power in 1959 – since, with the end of direct suffrage, it began to participate in the process for the election of the President of the Republic – the Corporatist Chamber did not have any legislative responsibilities or powers, merely fulfilling subordinate functions of a consultative nature.

In the final phase of its existence, the Chamber functioned according to its sections of distinct interests, shaped by the profile of the corporations, which were created from 1957 onwards, and by the structure of the government. In April 1974, there were 38 economic sections (corresponding to different agricultural products, types of industries or services) and another eight organized according to broad areas of government (such as defence, justice, finance and the economy). These comprised, respectively, 159 and 61 places for *procuradores*. On a smaller scale, there were also cultural sections or sections dedicated to local power.

The reduced power and scarce political impact of the actions undertaken by the *procuradores* of the Corporatist Chamber contrasted with the technical expertise and professionalism that they demonstrated in the careful and highly detailed elaboration of some of the reports that were issued, especially those that were drafted by the *procuradores* chosen and appointed by the government due to their qualities and their academic and professional merits. Such reports are a valuable source for the study of the history of the Estado Novo, in the multiple dimensions in which this can be captured.

The elaboration of reports (*pareceres*)

As has been mentioned, the main function of the Corporatist Chamber lay in issuing reports about the legislative proposals drafted and approved by the members of the Assembleia Nacional and by the government. The approval of all the laws passed by parliament was always subject to the appreciation and consideration of this consultative body. The initiative for drawing up these proposals could come from members of parliament or from ministers, but the prior consultation of the *procuradores* of the Corporatist Chamber was compulsory, in accordance with Article 103 of the 1933 Constitution. Once the report had been drawn up, the overall discussion of the future law could begin in a plenary session of the parliament. Whenever it so wished, the government could submit for the consideration of the Chamber some decrees whose approval it was responsible for.

During the period under consideration here (1935–74), the Assembleia Nacional and the government sent 506 legislative proposals to the Corporatist Chamber, requesting its report upon them. Although it did not enjoy the power to initiate legislative proposals itself, the Chamber also drew up another five projects in the form of suggestions, which were sent to the government. Of this set of 511 legislative proposals, only 29 did not have any report issued about them, which demonstrates a high level of performance of the functions that were attributed to the Chamber. If we add to these 482 reports another 51 of a subsidiary nature (which were published in the form of an appendix to the main consultation and whose importance was immediately recognized by the Chamber and by the political bodies to which they were sent in order to afford backing to the making of policy decisions), then we have a total of 533 reports. It is this total number of reports that is the subject of the analysis developed here.

The proposals about which the Corporatist Chamber issued its report had as their main legislative subject-matter the bases of legal regimes, implementing decrees and the plans of the central administration. Thus, all of the laws approved by the Assembleia Nacional during the Estado Novo were submitted to the consideration of this consultative body. The same thing happened with the international treaties whose ratification was a specific competency of the Assembleia Nacional. The decrees of government approval, which were highly dependent on case-by-case decisions taken by the executive, ended up becoming the object of government activity that aroused least attention on the part of the Chamber's members.

Faced with a legislative proposal (prepared either in parliament or within the government itself and intended for discussion and approval by one of these two bodies), the president of the Corporatist Chamber would form a committee to draw up the corresponding report. For this purpose, he chose the sections and the *procuradores* that he considered would have most knowledge about the problems that were raised, or who would be the most interested in them, as a result of their activity. The work of this committee was conducted in private and was presided over by the president of the Chamber. The proposal would be discussed

and a rapporteur was appointed, who was given the job of drawing up the report in written form. This was subsequently voted upon as a whole and then in relation to its specific details, with approval requiring only a simple majority. In the event of a tie, the rapporteur had the casting vote; and the committee members could formally issue explanations about the way that they had voted, in the event of any fundamental or merely circumstantial disagreement.

The president of the Corporatist Chamber and the rapporteurs, chosen on an ad hoc basis, performed key and decisive functions. Of the 1047 *procuradores* whose mandates were confirmed throughout the whole period of the Estado Novo, only 183 were chosen to be the drafters of reports, with most of these being responsible for more than one consultation. The socio-professional and political profile of this more restricted group did not correspond to the pattern that was noted for the group of *procuradores* as a whole; instead one could detect the emergence of a reduced elite drawn from a very particular background.⁶

Of these 183 rapporteurs, only 25 per cent came from the more numerous sections of corporatistly organized interests, with only a mere 7 per cent who were not university graduates, while 22 per cent had doctorates. Roughly one-third were university teachers and 27 per cent served on the boards of directors of companies. At the political level, 27 per cent had held positions within the corporatist apparatus, 21 per cent in the government and 19 per cent in the União Nacional party. The recruitment of members of government from among the rapporteurs was a rare event, particularly when compared with the number of former ministers and secretaries of state that were responsible for the drafting of reports.

In general, the 533 reports of the Corporatist Chamber rarely limited themselves to ratifying the original proposal, even though they had an unequivocal component of legitimization, insofar as they involved an exhaustive assessment of the grounds of the proposal. Highly technical in nature and also constituting undeniably important political documents, the consultations involved a very careful consideration of both the context and the objectives of the initiative. In most cases, they contained suggestions for changes that might even call into question the substance of the original initiative.

The draft laws proposed by the members of parliament were subjected to some most incisive criticisms, and, in certain cases, resulted in a recommendation for their overall rejection. The adoption of this perspective in the Assembleia Nacional made it possible for the Corporatist Chamber to be considered the first element in assessing the capacity of members of parliament for preparing legislation.⁷ The government initiatives similarly merited suggestions for changes, although only on two rare occasions was it concluded that they should be rejected outright, recommendations that were in fact respected by the executive power. The Chamber's importance is further demonstrated by the fact that the 29 proposals that did not obtain a report did not have any subsequent continuation in legislative terms. Or, in other words, the formal requirements relating to the constitutional attributes of the Corporatist Chamber were scrupulously complied with.

The 533 reports of the Corporatist Chamber amounted to what was above all a technical assessment of the main public policies developed throughout the life of the Estado Novo. In them are expressed the debates and the controversies that arose between the members of the technical and political elite whom the architects and leaders of the regime, with a natural emphasis on António Oliveira Salazar and Marcello Caetano, entrusted with the preparation of the processes of policy-making. The degree of specialization that they had in matters that were the subject of their report made it possible for them to voice their hesitations and allowed them to manifest some disagreements about central problems, especially ones related with certain orientations in matters of economic policy. Greatly contributing to this situation was the private nature of the process of elaborating reports, as well as the Chamber's merely consultative remit. Resulting from the consultation of interested parties and specialists, in some cases people who were unequivocally hostile to the regime, the reports conferred a greater degree of legitimacy to political decision-making in the periods of Salazar's and Marcello Caetano's governments. For this reason, the reading of many of the reports that were issued is a useful instrument for analysing the changes and tensions with which the regime was confronted internally.

Types of reports

For a comprehensive analysis of the group of reports as a whole, we have adopted a typology that is based on six main thematic categories. We have naturally taken into account the organizational characteristics of the institution that produced them, not only with regard to the more relevant sections created under the scope of its internal structure, but also paying close heed to the areas of confluence established through the links with the different government departments and the areas of competency reserved for the Assembleia Nacional.

It is, however, important to note that, without in any way disrespecting the internal organizational structure of the institution, which provided the framework for the contents of the reports themselves, the typology that we have established amounts to a construction of our own and does not arise in any linear way from the reports issued by the Corporatist Chamber.⁸ The categories that we have constructed are as follows: Economy and Finance; Political System and Administrative Organization; Corporatism; Colonies; Education and Culture; Health and Welfare.

Considered under the category of *Economy and Finance* were all the reports referring to the main options taken in the area of economic policy and its execution, relating to most of the sectors of economic activity or to specific subsectors. Relations with international economic organizations were also included here. In this classification, we further included, among others, such matters as the fixing of taxes, the collection of revenue and the distribution of public expenditure, proposals for budget appropriations, internal loans, the actions of internal colonization, development plans (in their general and sectoral economic dimensions), the definition of specific public services, the distribution of energy, public works,

transport and communications, housing and town planning, and distribution circuits. Judging by the qualitative and quantitative importance of this aspect of the reports, it can be said that throughout the period under analysis here, there was at the Corporatist Chamber a section that was expressly dedicated to these matters. Just by itself alone, and in connection with other sections of the consultative body, the Section of Finance and General Economy was one of the most active, largely because of the implications that many of the reports had in its specific area.

The category of *Political System and Administrative Organization* includes the reports that covered the questions raised in relation to the central definitions of the nature of the regime and its organizational structure. Or, in other words, matters that involved the government portfolios of a political nature or those that were situated within the scope of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. The organization of justice, defence, foreign policy, local government and the relations between state and Church are among the main consultative documents classified in this category. Revisions of the constitution, penal reform, electoral legislation, the administrative code and its revisions or the regime of secret societies are also other questions that were touched upon. At the Corporatist Chamber, the Section of Politics and General Administration spanned the whole period under study here and was also one of the most active in terms of its interventions, being responsible for an overall assessment of proposals under analysis, even when these were of a sectoral nature. The Sections of Justice, National Defence and Local Authorities were also set up in 1935 and continued until 1974, while the Section of International Relations only came into operation in 1953.

The category of *Corporatism* includes reports that analysed the problems of defining the general system of corporatist organization and its respective structure, the trade associations, labour relations and the labour protection systems. Collective bargaining, the discipline of specific professions, social welfare, affordable housing and labour tribunals were some of the subjects included here. Since the *Estado Novo* defined itself as a corporatist state, one would expect to find a large volume of proposals with implications in this area, which was not, however, the case.

Under *Colonies* are included all the subjects relating to the Portuguese territories situated in Africa and Asia. Besides the revisions of the Colonial Act and its integration into the Portuguese constitution, in 1951, reports that are considered to be especially pertinent are those issued about the colonial dimension of the development plans, the government of the State of India after 1961 and the exercise of banking activities in the overseas provinces. The Corporatist Chamber also had a section dedicated to these matters throughout the period, although it was not, however, one of those in which it was most active.

The category of *Education and Culture* comprises all the reports about the different levels of public and private education, including the reform of the Ministry of Public Instruction in 1936. Curricula, the financial and administrative autonomy of educational establishments, buildings (revision of the *Plano dos Centenários* – the national plan for the building of primary schools), scientific research, physical education and sports, and teaching staff were just some of the

subjects considered, together with cinema, theatre and the country's artistic and cultural heritage. At the Corporatist Chamber, the initial Section of Sciences, Letters and Arts was successively broken down into smaller sections until, by 1957, it consisted of four distinct sections (Sciences and Letters, Education, Fine Arts and Physical Education and Sports). However, these were always included under the framework of the so-called interests of a cultural nature, being inter-linked in such a way that they anticipated the creation, in 1966, of the Corporation of Sciences, Arts and Letters (albeit without any practical effects).

Finally, in the category of *Health and Welfare* we have placed the legislative proposals about hospital organization, plans to combat infectious and contagious diseases, pharmacy ownership, the training of healthcare professionals and social welfare policies. These two areas of government were to be coordinated into one single ministry created in 1958, resulting from the break-up of the Ministry of the Interior.

Each of the 533 reports has been allocated to one of the six categories briefly described above. In the case of reports that could be classified in more than one category, we have chosen to give preference to the main subject-matter under discussion.

In order to better understand the distribution of reports throughout the period of the Corporatist Chamber's operation (1935–74), we have established chronological time frames based on the consensual interpretation of what were the main turning points in the course of the political and economic cycles of the Estado Novo: the end of the Second World War (1945), the approval of the law of the First Development Plan (1952); the approval of the Convention that led to the creation of EFTA (1959); and the replacement of Oliveira Salazar by Marcello Caetano (1968). These dates therefore mark the five phases identified for the analysis of the production of reports by the Corporatist Chamber.

Table 8.1 presents the general classifications of the reports by category (general theme) and by chronological period. In the following observations, we shall seek to draw attention to the main conclusions that can be drawn from these tables.

First of all, emphasis should be given to the clear predominance of reports in the field of *Economy and Finance*. The consultations undertaken by the Corporatist Chamber about matters included under the scope of the category of *Political System and Administrative Organization* come second behind this category, but at a considerable distance. In comparison, the remaining categories can be considered almost residual in nature.

The predominance of the reports about *Economy and Finance* can be seen in all the sub-periods and is a natural consequence of the Chamber's vocation for providing technical appreciations of documents considered essential for conducting economic policy, such as the budget forecast included in the Lei de Meios (Law of Resources). The consultations included under this category always amounted to roughly half of all those that were undertaken in each of the cycles. In the 1960s, they amounted to almost two-thirds. The high number of consultations about the development plans (the Intermediate Plan and the Third Plan)

Table 8.1 General classification of reports (Portugal)

<i>General themes</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1935-45</i>	<i>1946-52</i>	<i>1953-59</i>	<i>1960-68</i>	<i>1969-74</i>
Economy and Finance	281	52.7	83	49	49	51	49
Political System and Administrative Organization	111	20.8	46	18	23	6	18
Corporatism	30	5.6	11	1	6	4	8
Colonies	31	5.8	13	6	5	4	3
Education and Culture	51	9.6	21	9	7	5	9
Health and Welfare	29	5.4	6	5	4	9	5
<i>Total</i>	<i>533</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>180</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>79</i>	<i>92</i>

correlates with this very high relative value, insofar as these plans absorbed a large part of the technical resources available at the Corporatist Chamber.

The consultations undertaken in relation to the *Political System and Administrative Organization* decreased quite considerably between 1960 and 1968. This period is the only one of the five considered here in which no revision was made of the constitution, which always represented an occasion for the potential intensification of legislative initiatives on the part of the members of parliament. However, with the reformist drive of Marcello Caetano's prime-ministership, there was a fresh increase in the importance of this type of report.

Under the category of *Corporatism*, almost no reports were issued immediately after the Second World War, although there was a slight recovery in the period of the so-called 'second lease of life of Corporatism', beginning in the 1950s. Created in 1933, the Office of the Sub-Secretary of State for the Corporations and Social Welfare depended on the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and, in 1950, was afforded its own autonomy as a ministry. This transformation accelerated the definition and development of public policies in the employment sector, which helps to explain how the process for the formulation of legislative proposals in this area was made more flexible, and how, in this way, the trend towards the decrease (or almost complete eclipse) of consultations that had marked this category in the period immediately after the war was reversed.

In each of the five sub-periods identified, the number of reports produced per legislature was not always balanced in nature. This was the case, for example, with the legislature of 1935-38, included in the period of 1935-45, which represented the founding moment in the life of the Corporatist Chamber and its relationship with the other political bodies. It should be noted that, just in these four years alone, 123 reports were issued, a number that corresponds to 23 per cent of the production from such consultations throughout the Chamber's lifetime (roughly 40 years).

In this initial phase, the legislative initiatives taken both by the members of the parliament and the government itself were fairly high in number, involving some very specific themes, even though these were fairly undeveloped and somewhat reduced in size, when compared with the proposals presented in other legislatures, especially after the war. In fact, the proposals made in the other legislative periods were characterized by their broader thematic coverage and by the added implications of the subjects under analysis, as well as by their greater development in terms of theoretical reflections and their greater length.

The 180 reports of the period 1935–45 are therefore distributed fairly unevenly between the three legislatures of this sub-period: 123 (1935–38), 33 (1938–42) and 24 (1942–45). The last figure is also the lowest of all of the Chamber's activity, since, with the end of the war and at a time when the regime was seeking to recover from the economic and political crisis caused by the conflict, the Assembleia Nacional was dissolved a year before the ending of its full term and new elections were held. Regardless of these nuances, the important thing to note here is the more dynamic activity in the issuing of reports during the first decade of the operations of the Corporatist Chamber, amounting to one-third of the total number of reports produced in the whole of the period under analysis (1935–74).

Brief description of the contents of reports

For a better understanding of the list of subjects placed before this body for its technical and political consideration, we consider it useful to paint a broad picture of the essential contents of the most important reports issued in each of the categories that we constructed.

Let us begin with the general theme of the *Political System and Administrative Organization*, which comprises the reports requested in relation to legislative initiatives linked to the definition and framing of the regime's structure and institutional policy. In view of the large number of reports issued, it seems pertinent to consider their division into sub-themes, as summarized in Table 8.2.

There was a clear predominance of reports regarding the revision of the constitution. These were written by such figures as Domingos Fezas Vital (1935–38 and 1945), Marcello Caetano (1951) and Afonso Queiró (1959 and 1971). Besides the elevated technical profile of the final texts, their political impact was undeniable. In 1971, Marcello Caetano's report was invoked by the members of parliament of the party's Liberal Wing to justify the recovery of the system for the direct election of the President of the Republic.⁹ Also to be found in this category of *Principles and Structure* are reports about the Administrative Code (1936) or others relating to the alteration of the electoral legislation (1946 or 1968).

Defence was an area that was given a great deal of attention in the initial period of the Chamber's life, although it then lost importance in the postwar period. There were four reports for which Humberto Delgado was the rapporteur at the beginning of the 1950s, some time before he began his work with NATO.

Table 8.2 Classification of reports about the *Political System and Administrative Organization* (Portugal)

<i>Sub-themes</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1935-45</i>	<i>1946-52</i>	<i>1953-60</i>	<i>1961-68</i>	<i>1969-74</i>
Principles and Structure	44	39.6	18	7	10	3	6
Local Administration	6	5.4	3	1	1	0	1
Military Organization and Defence	31	27.9	17	7	4	1	2
Justice	17	15.3	6	1	1	2	7
Foreign Policy and International Relations	11	9.9	1	2	7	0	1
Relations between State and Church	2	1.8	1	0	0	0	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>18</i>

Throughout the colonial conflict, the Chamber members only intervened in relation to three legislative proposals linked to defence questions: military service (1967 and 1970) and promotions of sergeants, *furriéis* (non-commissioned officers) and privates (1969).

In turn, justice regained the attention of the Chamber during the period of Marcello Caetano's prime-ministership, being furthermore the area in which there was the most intensive production of reports during the final period of the regime. The initiative for these proposals came from the government led by Salazar's successor and covered such themes as the speed of penal justice (1969), the creation of family tribunals (1970), legal aid (1970), judicial organization (1972), penal reform (1973) or the creation of civil sections in the high courts (1974). Those who were responsible for writing these reports when Marcello Caetano was head of government were high court judges who had been made *procuradores* of the Chamber by political appointment: José Manso Preto, António Miguel Caeiro and Eduardo Arala Chaves.

Foreign policy, local government or the relations between state and Church merited less attention. Even so, attention is drawn to the reports issued about NATO (1949-55), with a variety of rapporteurs who were significant figures inside the regime, such as Rui Ulrich, Pedro Teotónio Pereira, Quintanilha Dias and Caeiro da Mata.

Given the constitutional architecture of the Estado Novo, the theme of *Corporatism* ought to have aroused natural legislative and regulatory concerns. In fact, the regime's official doctrine attributed the decisive role to the corporatist organizations, through which it sought to regulate economic activity and find agreement between the different interests involved by means of representation, namely through negotiations between employers' and workers' associations.

Labour relations and the protection of employment were considered priority areas in the framework of corporatist organization, being dealt with through collective bargaining, the fixing of minimum wages and the establishment of working hours, but also through the provision of affordable housing or guarantees against the risks of disease, invalidity and unemployment. Many of these matters were the subject of a government decision that did not pass through parliament, which may justify the relative scarcity of reports issued by the Corporatist Chamber in an area that, because of the very nature of its definition, would be particularly opportune and appropriate to this body.

Consultations about problems of a structural nature were manifestly few in number. However, reports about the social and corporatist training plan and the basic law of corporations (1956), whose rapporteurs were, respectively, Guilherme Braga da Cruz and José Pires Cardoso, stand out because of their relevance from the point of view of assessing the system and the perspectives of its future evolution. The importance of the second of these reports is unequivocal, because of the internal proceedings and discussion that took place within the Corporatist Chamber itself and the correlations that were developed between this consultative body, the government and the parliament.

Reports about the corporatist associations of employers and workers were also few in number. The special situation of the trade unions of railway workers (1935), the general regime for the organization of rural landowners (1937) or the electoral processes of the governing bodies of the trade unions (1969) are examples of case-by-case matters dealt with by the Chamber.

No reports were requested upon these themes in the period immediately after the war. In this cycle of the regime, only labour relations merited the attention of the Chamber, following an initiative emanating from the members of parliament about holidays and weekly rest days (1948). Similarly, very little importance was given by the government to problems arising under the category of *Corporatism* between the end of the war and the beginning of the 1950s. And it was not just a question of the lack of legislative proposals of a structural or organizational type, but also of the complete absence of any initiatives on the part of the government in matters relating to labour regulations and the protection of employment.

Labour relations were the theme with the greatest relative weight among the reports dedicated to corporatist questions, due, above all, to the increase in such consultations that occurred during the prime-ministership of Marcello Caetano. The regimes of collective and individual contracts, and those relating to the provisions of services also found themselves being joined by questions relating to the employment of foreigners and the labour tribunals.

Another subject that deserves to be mentioned is social welfare, with it being possible to note a certain continuity in the approach adopted at different moments in the evolution of this system, as, for example, in the general welfare system (1935), the reform in the last phase of the Estado Novo (1961) and, finally, the reform introduced by the government of Marcello Caetano, which extended this system to rural workers (1969). In the case of the reform that was

completed at the beginning of the 1960s, the process of the government's initiative spanned three legislatures, in what amounted to a rare example of coordination and interconnection between the organs of political power. In 1957, the proposed reform was first submitted for consultation to the Corporatist Chamber, but only in 1962 was the law finally approved by parliament, a year after the report was issued, for which Mota Veiga had been the rapporteur.

Similarly in connection with matters relating to social welfare, but, at the same time, with implications in terms of corporatist organization in the institutional sense, attention is drawn to the reports about the *Casas dos Pescadores* (1937) and about the federations of the *Casas do Povo* (1957).

In the group of 31 reports dedicated to the theme of the *Colonies*, a sizeable proportion of those issued throughout the period under consideration here dealt with the structuring of the colonial territories in accordance with the political regime of the Estado Novo. Of course, these reports accompanied and expressed the changes that the regime itself was undergoing, namely those that were imposed by the international situation. A particular mention should be made of the three reports relating to the changes in the Colonial Act (1935, 1945 and 1951), a document that had been promulgated in July 1930, when Salazar, then the Minister of Finance, had taken over the portfolio of Minister for the Colonies on an interim basis, and which is considered to have been one of the founding pillars of the regime of the Estado Novo. These proposals for changes to the Colonial Act are also regarded as being particularly important because of their rapporteurs, as is also the case of the report issued by Domingos Vezas Vital, in 1945, and the report prepared by Marcello Caetano in 1951.

Equally important, and clearly demonstrating the regularity with which the Corporatist Chamber gave judgement on such matters, are the reports about the Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire (1937 and 1945) and the Organic Law of the Portuguese Overseas Territories (1952, 1955, 1963, all of which had Afonso Rodrigues Queiró as their rapporteur). The presentation of reports relating to some measures for the development of the colonies in the 1930s anticipated and laid the ground for the attention that the Corporatist Chamber would continue to give to the colonial territories within the broader context of the discussion of the development plans.

Included under the category of *Education and Culture* are 51 reports. Those that were presented throughout the 1930s were, to some extent, founding elements of a new system of education introduced by the regime. In 1935, for example, the Chamber dealt with the question of rural primary education, the curriculum for secondary education, the reorganization of physical education at secondary schools, and the creation of courses in child care and general hygiene in secondary schools. In 1936, Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos wrote a report relating to the reform of the Ministry of Public Instruction, and, in 1938, Júlio Dantas presented a report about the introduction of reforms in primary education. In 1940, José Caeiro da Mata discussed the question of the administrative or financial autonomy of teaching establishments. In 1949, attention was given to the reform of technical vocational education; in 1950 to the teaching of Fine Arts; in

1952 to the reorganization of physical education; and in 1971 to polytechnic education. One should also consider the report of Justino Mendes de Almeida, issued in March 1973, about the reform of the educational system.

In the case of the development plans, there were also reports dedicated to scientific research and technical education (1958, 1964). In 1967 and 1973, the subjects of education, research, culture and vocational training were dealt with.

Finally, mention should be made of the reports issued under the scope of *Health and Welfare*. Particularly important were the reports relating to tuberculosis (in 1949 and the 1950s), further complemented, on the one hand, by the projects for assistance to sufferers from tuberculosis in the army (1935), as well as to civil servants (1955), and, on the other hand, under a more general scope, a report relating to the fight against infectious and contagious diseases (1949).

There was also concern shown for the subject of hospital organization (1945) and, almost a decade later, in 1954, the question was raised about responsibility for the payment of the costs relating to hospital treatment. Psychiatric care and mental health were also the subject of two reports (1950 and 1962).

In 1957, a report was issued about the creation of the National Blood Institute, and, in 1962, about the National School of Public Health. From 1964 onwards, and then later in 1967 and 1973, reports were presented about the application of development plans to this area.

As we have seen in relation to other thematic categories, the discussion about development plans amounted to a pretext for preparing reports in different areas for the representation of interests that the Corporatist Chamber was duty-bound to embody. However, because of their very nature and framework, the development plans were a subject that gave rise to reports that will be analysed in the following section, specifically dedicated to the theme of *Economy and Finance*.

Reports about *Economy and Finance*

Because of its prominence in quantitative terms, and its undeniable importance in the general range of activities developed by the Corporatist Chamber (for the reasons that we mentioned earlier relating to the approval of the Law of Resources), the category of *Economy and Finance* merits a more detailed approach in terms of its classification. Table 8.3 shows the range of subjects that were discussed under this category.

The first three thematic subdivisions refer to matters relating to public finance, the legal framework for economic activity (auditing of public limited companies or expropriations, for example) and the general problems of economic policy and development.

The remaining subdivisions are more specific, arising from the distinct nature of the various sectors of economic activity that merit an autonomous classification (agriculture, forestry, fisheries, mines, industry, energy, housing and town planning, transport and communications, public services, trade, banking and insurance, and tourism). Economic cooperation and the relations with international organizations justified the inclusion of a final sub-theme.

Table 8.3 Classification of reports issued about *Economy and Finance* (Portugal)

<i>Sub-themes</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1935-45</i>	<i>1946-52</i>	<i>1953-59</i>	<i>1960-68</i>	<i>1969-74</i>
Public Finance	70	24.9	29	15	10	10	6
Legal Framework	10	3.6	1	1	3	2	3
Economic Policy and Development	29	10.3	5	4	6	6	8
Agriculture	37	13.2	10	10	4	10	3
Forestry	17	6.0	4	2	6	5	0
Fisheries	4	1.4	1	0	1	1	1
Mines	6	2.1	2	1	0	0	3
Industry	18	6.4	6	2	3	2	5
Energy	9	3.2	2	1	2	3	1
Housing and Town Planning	12	4.3	0	4	3	3	2
Transport and Communications	34	12.1	14	5	5	5	5
Public Services	7	2.5	5	2	0	0	0
Domestic and Foreign Trade	9	3.2	1	1	0	1	6
Organization of Banking, Credit and Insurance	5	1.8	2	0	2	0	1
Tourism	10	3.6	1	1	4	2	2
Economic Cooperation and International Organization	4	1.4	0	0	0	1	3
<i>Total</i>	<i>281</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>49</i>

It is important to point out that a specific field of classification was not created for a subject that was crucial for understanding the economic and financial policies of the Estado Novo: public works. We chose to consider this strategic sector under the concrete scope of its specific applications: fundamentally, within the contexts of transport infrastructures (ports, railways, roads) and agriculture (hydroagricultural projects), as well as housing and town planning.

Under this thematic category of *Economy and Finance*, there was a remarkably large proportion of reports related with the five development plans (including the revision of the First Plan and the Interim Plan). Altogether, there were 59 consultative documents issued by the Corporatist Chamber. Of these, 47 were classified and distributed among the sub-categories of economic policy and

development (15 reports) and the specific sectors of economic activity (32 reports). The 12 remaining reports were considered under the scope of other more general thematic categories (*Colonies, Education and Culture and Health and Welfare*).

Among the 16 sub-themes of *Economy and Finance*, the most important were matters of public finance. The high number of reports issued under this sub-theme (70, representing 25 per cent of the category) is justified by the annual approval of the law of resources. Included in this sub-category are the reports about the reform of public debt services (1935), the tax on extraordinary war profits (1942) and various other reports about fiscal policy themes relating to general taxation matters or specific taxes. At a secondary level, in terms of their relative share, are the reports about economic policy and development, agriculture and transport and communications. Despite its global nature, the first of these categories lags behind the other two, highlighting the high degree of specialization that the reports had. Industry comes at the same level as forestry.

Economic policy and development includes, by way of example, the reports about economic rebuilding (1935) and the map of soils (1947), as well as the general reports issued about the successive development plans or the defence of competition (1971).

Included under agriculture are the reports about internal colonization (1939, 1944 and 1956), the cultivation of vines in mainland Portugal (1951 and 1972) or the irrigation plan for the Alentejo region (1960).

Categorized under transport and communications are the consultations about the coordination of land transport (1945), port management (1949), the financing of the Junta Autónoma das Estradas (the Portuguese Road Authority) (1954), the planting of trees along roadsides (1961), or public land transport and waterways in urban regions (1971).

The examples that we have mentioned here paint an impressive picture (but also one that is necessarily incomplete and inconclusive) about the nature and variety of the economic and financial matters that were afforded the attention of the rapporteurs of reports issued by the Corporatist Chamber.

Next, we shall discuss the relevance of the contents of reports by examining in slightly more detail some of the reports produced about matters that were considered central to the definition of economic policy during the first two decades of the *Estado Novo*.

Reports framing the economic policies of the *Estado Novo*

One of the crucial legislative instruments for the political and economic orientation of the *Estado Novo* was the 1935 Law of Economic Reconstitution 1935.¹⁰ In the report that was issued upon this subject through the work of the rapporteur António Vicente Ferreira, the Corporatist Chamber accentuated the importance of guaranteeing the economic equipment of the country through a financial programme that was specifically dedicated to this purpose. Such an economic programme was seen, first of all, as a necessity dictated by the international situation

of economic crisis – certainly felt less in Portugal than in other more developed Western economies – which called for attention to be paid to the absorption of unemployment. For this reason, it was considered to be the

urgent need of the State, with its supreme responsibility for social order and justice, to provide paid occupation for all members of the community, above all for young men who are starting out in active life and who are searching in vain for somewhere to employ their natural skills or those that they have acquired through education.¹¹

The mirage of the guarantee of full employment became a moral imperative, as shown by the need for domestic and foreign security resulting from a social order that was not disturbed by the occurrence of social problems arising from the impossibility of gaining access to sources of income. In this sense, investing in economic recovery through a series of public development policies was a way of enhancing the value of national resources and defending principles of economic self-sufficiency and nationalism. The protection of the country's sources of wealth was seen as a necessary means for the country to achieve a level of economic development that had already been reached by 'countries with an economic potential that is comparable to our own'.

So that the development policies provided for in the Law of Economic Reconstitution could be fully effective – namely those that were to be applied in the sectors of national defence, energy, transport, communications, internal colonization, basic sanitation and urbanization, colonial development, educational and cultural improvements – it was essential to establish criteria in terms of priority and preference. In fact, it was precisely the lack of any clearly identified priorities that was the main feature highlighted in the report of the Corporatist Chamber, which was generally favourable to the government's proposal.

The programme of investments arising from the application of this law was directed towards fields of activity that were considered essential for the successful performance of the various sectors of economic life. However, as a whole, those expenses that could be classified under the general title of 'economic development' represented only 51 per cent of the total amount of available funding, leaving an excessive share of 49 per cent reserved for the sector of national defence, with such funds being allocated to the rearmament of the army and the renewal of the naval fleet.

Another report, also issued by the Corporatist Chamber in 1935, deserves to be highlighted. Its rapporteur was Domingos Fezas Vital and the theme under analysis was the possibility of dissolving economic concentrations or any forms of coalition between companies (trusts, groups and cartels) that might exercise an activity considered to be contrary to the interests of the national corporatist economy. The report is carefully cloaked in a doctrinal framework, with its author engaging in a discussion of the economic theory of monopolies and the different forms for the concentration of economic activity. Despite stressing that 'there are cases in which a monopoly, even a *de facto* monopoly, beginning with

the collective monopoly, may be more beneficial than competition',¹² Fezas Vital showed himself to be aware of the risks and abuses that might, from the outset, determine the premature end of the corporatist economy, which it was believed at that time that it was possible to build. He revealed a belief in natural mechanisms that would demonstrate the success of the corporatist experience and would prevent monopolistic concentrations, but he also revealed a certain discomfort about the possibility of natural economic concentrations being thwarted by forcibly imposed legislative procedures, and in particular people being removed from managerial positions in corporatist bodies because of the supposed incompatibility of their performing duties in competitive corporate bodies.

In the provisions of the draft law, and in the report of the Corporatist Chamber, there was a wide margin afforded to the interpretation of the national interest that, in the final analysis, determined the possibility of maintaining economic concentrations that ran counter to the spirit of the corporatist economy then under construction.

Another fundamental legislative pillar in the design of economic policy in this phase of the building of the *Estado Novo* was the *Lei do Condicionamento Industrial* (Law of Industrial Conditioning), which was introduced in 1931.¹³ In essence, 'conditioning' consisted in raising an administrative barrier that prevented the entry of new firms into the market or any increase in the installed production capacity. Despite the regime of exemption that was applied to some sectors that were able to dispense with the need for the bureaucratic control of the Directorate-General of Industries, the conditioning measures were applied, above all, to industrial sectors with a significant component in the importing of raw materials or intermediate products, but also to industrial sectors that were considered strategic for the development of the national economy and, in particular, of its export sector. In this sense, 'conditioning' functioned as a measure of import substitution and a way of protecting the domestic market. Its framework was detailed and ambitious, pointing towards procedures for the regulation of competition that implied a knowledge of market opportunities, studies about the profitability of investments, cost-benefit analysis and the definition of strategic guidelines. It is, however, legitimate to consider that, in many of the processes involved in requests for the setting up of new companies or new segments of activity, the prevailing logic was not one that respected the technical quality of proposals (which were probably filtered by bureaucratic procedures conducted on a case-by-case basis), but was simply a question of attending to established interests protected from competition, as well as their representation in the regime's spheres of influence. Under these terms, the discretionary authorizations did not conceal the support that was so often provided to companies considered to be economically unviable or to sectors of activity that were obsolete and were maintained artificially. Nor did they hide the authoritarian concern and control that confirmed the crucial importance of the state in the development of the economy and the direct patronage afforded to economic interest groups.

In 1937, the matter was once again the subject of legislation and gave rise to a new report issued by the Corporatist Chamber, for which Ruy Ulrich was the

rapporteur. Its contents show us an important characteristic of these reports, which functioned not only as an element of doctrinal and political precaution, but also as a justification and legitimization of the principles underlying the established guidelines. In this concrete case, the text written by Ruy Ulrich contains an abundance of considerations about the essence of the matter under discussion, or, in other words, about the barriers raised by the state against individual free enterprise in the economic sphere. Despite safeguarding the instrumental and transitory nature of the system of industrial conditioning established in 1931, in the context of a world crisis and a relaunching of economic life that called for greater protagonism and commitment on the part of the state, Ruy Ulrich did not miss the chance to denounce what, in his opinion, was the lesser capacity that individual initiative had for satisfying the general interest and the common good.

His view about the policy of industrial conditioning was consequently submitted to more analytical considerations about the evolution of economic systems after the First World War and in the aftermath of the effects of the Great Depression. And he concluded his overall reasoning as follows:

Thus, the liberal economy had to be succeeded by a new economy, directed, to a greater or lesser extent, by the state. It came into being due to the force of circumstances and not because of the natural conception of any brilliant genius.... We necessarily have to follow it, and it is within it and its logic that we can understand and analyse the problem of industrial conditioning.¹⁴

In acknowledging the inevitability of the system, Ulrich did not fail to stress the need to correct the mistakes and deviations arising from the deficient regulation of the 1931 law, which, six years later, he was attempting to review in the light of the same initial aims: controlling competition in favour of vested interests and limiting the expansion of supply to the need to restrain demand.

Twenty years after the first law of industrial conditioning, the subject was submitted once again to the consideration of the Corporatist Chamber. On this occasion, the rapporteur was Pedro Teotónio Pereira, one of the politicians who had held major public positions during the initial phase of the implantation of the *Estado Novo* and who was the main author of the National Labour Statute of 1933 and of the legislation on social welfare that was promulgated afterwards.¹⁵ Teotónio Pereira could now look at both the legal framework of industrial conditioning and its practical results from a certain distance. Notwithstanding the reaffirmation of the responsibilities assumed by the state in relation to the organization and promotion of economic life, and despite recognizing the advantages of maintaining the regime of industrial conditioning in force, Teotónio Pereira pointed to a number of situations in which industrial activities might benefit from greater freedom in relation to the laws governing conditioning.

The critical considerations that the system of conditioning gave rise to were motivated by a general recognition of the value of private enterprise, to which

the regime of the Estado Novo stubbornly refused to afford sufficient protection. His words clearly express his thinking on this matter:

The country's backwardness, our frequent lack of resources, the weakness observed in many fields of our private enterprise and the urgent need to achieve a certain level of progress of an economic and social nature made the starting point of the national policy very dangerous by deciding upon the new order of things. It would not have been enough to proclaim the merits of private enterprise and to enunciate with this other salutary principles to be preserved at all costs. It was even more important to guarantee that all this would be possible at the time when the responsibilities began to arise for intervening in the national economy.¹⁶

Pedro Teotónio Pereira's important mission was to endow the political structure of the Estado Novo with solid normative foundations in economic and social matters, as well as to conceive and design the institutional structure of a regime that sought to establish itself through its differences in relation to the models in force and which were based on the liberal market or the planned state.

The regime of conditioning was particularly relevant until the end of the 1940s. It was subjected to various alterations, revocations and exceptions, but it continued to play an active role as one of the main instruments of the industrial policy of state intervention. The main studies that have been undertaken into its frequency and impact within the Portuguese industrial fabric point to a longevity and an effect of inertia that led to the persistence of conditioning. Between the early 1930s and the late 1960s, it affected or benefited roughly 50 per cent of employment and 60 per cent of companies from the secondary sector. And, above all, it left indelible marks on the formation of a corporate economic culture that had grown used to environments of protected competition and to the special privileges granted by the state.

In this new postwar context, stress should be placed on the role played by new agents and protagonists who helped to deepen reflections and strengthened the taking of decisions about matters relating to the conduct of economic policy. The earlier role traditionally performed by technicians and politicians with an essentially legal background, fresh out of the law faculties of Lisbon and Coimbra universities, was now joined by the contributions provided by new professional groups trained in the areas of engineering, economics and finance, graduating above all from the Engineering Institute (IST) and the Institute of Economic and Financial Sciences (ISCEF) of the Technical University of Lisbon. These latter graduates showed a clear preference for approaching economic problems from a technical perspective that was centred on obtaining value for money from available resources and from the potentialities offered by new methods for the production and generation of energy. Their language contrasted with that of the corporatist ideologues, leading to the emergence of engineers and managers who anticipated forms of enterprise that aimed to modernize the country, and in which industrialization and electrification would be the main

instruments. And they demonstrated their opposition to the excessive regulation that was imposed by industrial conditioning, which, in their view, could not be superimposed on the technological driving forces that represented the main guarantee for the country's growth and economic progress.

It is in this sense that one should interpret the meaning of the 1945 Law of Development and Industrial Reorganization, which without any doubt or controversy was considered to be a new and more solid pillar sustaining Portuguese industrial policy, surmounting the precarious bases of customs protectionism and the bureaucratic procedures for the conditioning of industries. With the new law, two priority areas of state intervention were established in this sector of activity, eliminating any illusions that might still exist regarding the accessory or supplementary nature of the state's direct participation in economic life. First of all, direct investment would be made in the creation of new manufacturing industries in strategic sectors considered essential for inducing economic growth, preferably through an import substitution policy. State investments in the capital of joint enterprises, subsidized credit systems, tax exemptions and incentives, the granting of exclusive rights and protection from competition were the main instruments put into practice, arising from the law's specific provisions. Such instruments revealed the law's effectiveness and the industrial fabric of the mid-1940s underwent a profound change with the appearance of new industries in such important sectors as cellulose, oil refining, steel, petrochemicals and fertilizers.

The second area of state intervention provided for in the 1945 Law was related to the processes of industrial reorganization, through the gains resulting from economies of scale, mechanisms of concentration, equipment replacement or expropriations made on the grounds of public utility. However, the success achieved in such areas and the results that were effectively attained did not match up to the initial expectations.

The report that the Corporatist Chamber produced about this draft law was written by Ezequiel de Campos, one of the representatives of this current of pragmatic thought with a more technological tendency that we have already briefly described.¹⁷ His text is devoid of accessory references and summarizes the measures provided for in the new law, underlining their contribution to the reorganization of industry, the improvement of its overall equipment and the refinement of working methods. He criticized the law for the reduced attention that it paid to the intensification and modernization of agriculture, a subject that he had been striving to promote since the early 1920s. But his general tone was one of unequivocal support for the new guidelines contained in the law, while, however, still maintaining a position of expectation in relation to the social implications and the possibilities of the sustained development of the various sectors of economic life. For Ezequiel de Campos, as he summarized matters at the end of his report:

It is undoubtedly urgent to create new industries that are essential for our life and to modernize the existing ones, but at the same time we must continue to follow the best method and processes for increasing the remuneration of work,

so that this can be included among the final results of industrialization... And, simultaneously, we must consider the effects of industrial reforms on both agriculture and trade.¹⁸

Conclusions

The reports analysed in the previous section are examples that clearly demonstrate the role played by the Corporatist Chamber in defining and establishing a framework for public policies, in this case applied to a specific period and with an essentially economic scope. In making the choice that we did here, we sought not only to highlight the subject that undoubtedly received most attention from the members of the Corporatist Chamber (namely matters of an economic and financial nature), but also to illustrate what was also perhaps one of the most productive phases of its activity.

What clearly stands out in this analysis is the fulfilment of the institutional prerogatives and the functional requirements of a body that remained in active operation throughout the whole of the period of the Estado Novo, and which made a decisive contribution to the creation of the technical bases and ideological supports for the functioning of the regime. The Corporatist Chamber was also able to develop critical positions or ones that conformed less to the actions of the executive power, although it cannot truly be regarded as having shaped alternative perspectives or solutions. Its institutional nature afforded the reports issued in its name a technical and political legitimacy that made it ultimately responsible for the scope and limitations of the public policies designed and executed during the period of the Estado Novo.

Notes

- 1 This text is largely based on J. L. Cardoso and N. E. Ferreira, 'A Câmara Corporativa (1935–1974) e as políticas públicas no Estado Novo', *Ler História*, 64, 2013, pp. 31–54. We wish to thank the Editorial Board of the journal *Ler História* for their permission to reproduce large parts for this chapter.
- 2 We shall use systematically 'report' as translation of the Portuguese word *parecer*, which also corresponds to written opinion, statement, advice or advisory report.
- 3 M. Lucena, *A Evolução do Sistema Corporativo Português*, vol. I, Lisboa, Perspetivas & Realidades, 1976, pp. 160–177 and pp. 323–331; H. J. Wiarda, *Corporatism and Development: The Portuguese Experience*, Amherst, MA, The University Massachusetts Press, 1977; F. Rosas 'Câmara Corporativa', in F. Rosas and J. M. B. de Brito, eds, *Dicionário de História do Estado Novo*, vol. I, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 1996, pp. 113–115; P. C. Schmitter, *Portugal, do Autoritarismo à Democracia*, Lisboa, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1999, pp. 127–165; A. C. Pinto, 'Câmara Corporativa', in A. Barreto and M. F. Mónica, eds, *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, vol. VII, Lisboa, Figueirinhas, 1999, pp. 218–219.
- 4 M. Caetano, *Posição Actual do Corporativismo Português*, Lisboa, Gabinete de Estudos Corporativos do Centro Universitário de Lisboa da Mocidade Portuguesa, 1950, p. 12.
- 5 N. E. Ferreira, 'A Câmara Corporativa no Estado Novo: Composição, funcionamento e influência', PhD Dissertation in Social Sciences (Political Sociology), Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa, 2009.

- 6 J. T. Castilho, *Os Procuradores da Câmara Corporativa (1935–1974)*, Lisboa, Assembleia da República/Texto, 2010; Ferreira, ‘A Câmara Corporativa no Estado Novo’.
- 7 R. A. Carvalho, *A Assembleia Nacional no Pós-Guerra (1945–1949)*, Lisboa and Porto, Assembleia da República and Afrontamento, 2002.
- 8 Castilho, *Os Procuradores da Câmara Corporativa (1935–1974)*, pp. 196–592.
- 9 R. A. Carvalho, ‘O marcelismo à luz da revisão constitucional de 1971’, *Anuário Português de Direito Constitucional*, III, 2003, pp. 191–276; T. Fernandes, *Nem Ditadura, nem Revolução. A Ala Liberal e o Marcelismo (1968–1974)*, Lisboa, Assembleia da República/Dom Quixote, 2005.
- 10 Á. Garrido, ‘Contexto, fundamentos e lógicas de construção da economia nacional corporativa’, in F. Rosas and Á. Garrido, eds, *Corporativismo, Fascismos, Estado Novo*, Coimbra, Almedina, 2012, pp. 143–164; A. B. Nunes and J. M. B. de Brito, ‘Política económica, industrialização e crescimento’, in F. Rosas, ed., *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930–1960)*, Lisboa, Presença, 1992, pp. 306–351.
- 11 *Diário das Sessões*, No. 13, 12 February 1935, p. 248.
- 12 *Diário das Sessões*, No. 44, 8 April 1935, p. 935.
- 13 J. M. B. de Brito, *A Industrialização Portuguesa no Pós-Guerra (1948–1965). O Condicionamento Industrial*, Lisboa, Dom Quixote, 1989; F. Rosas, *O Estado Novo nos Anos Trinta. Elementos para o Estudo da Natureza Económica e Social do Salazarismo (1928–1938)*, Lisboa, Estampa, 1986.
- 14 *Diário das Sessões*, No. 118, 18 February 1937, p. 468-H.
- 15 P. T. Pereira, *A Batalha do Futuro: a Organização Corporativa*, Lisboa, Livraria Clássica, 1937.
- 16 *Diário das Sessões*, No. 101, 25 April 1951, p. 906.
- 17 J. M. B. de Brito, ‘Os engenheiros e o pensamento económico do Estado Novo’, in J. L. Cardoso, ed, *Contribuições para a História do Pensamento Económico em Portugal*, Lisboa, Dom Quixote, 1988, pp. 209–234.
- 18 *Diário das Sessões*, No. 85, 2 November 1944, p. 497.