Gruffydd Jones, B., 2018, ‘African Anticolonialism in International Relations: Against the Time of Forgetting’ in Marta Iñiguez de Heredia and Zubairu Wai (eds), *Recentering Africa in International Relations: Beyond Lack, Peripherality, and Failure*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 187-223

Accepted manuscript version

Chapter 8
African Anticolonialism in International Relations: Against the Time of Forgetting

Branwen Gruffydd Jones

Africa's condition and position in the world today is routinely described and analysed in terms of weakness, fragility and failure. These categories dominate academic study of Africa's postcolonial condition, especially within IR and cognate fields of political science and development studies,[1] as well as policy and media discourse. Implicit in the broader IR discourse on Africa's "failure" is a rather contemptuous attitude towards and analysis of anticolonialism and decolonization. The tone of much of the mainstream scholarship about postcolonial African statehood and sovereignty implicitly and at times explicitly endorses colonial rule, apparently lamenting the rushed and ill-informed process of independence (for example Hyden 2012). According to Robert Jackson, decolonization is responsible for "bringing into existence a large number of sovereign governments which are limited in their capacity or desire to provide civil and socioeconomic goods for their populations" (Jackson 1990: 9). This attitude ensues from the discipline's failure not only to acknowledge the centrality of colonialism and its legacies to the making of the modern international order, but also to consider colonialism and anticolonialism in theoretical terms, as experiences and relationships of international relations which demand serious critical reflection (Grovogui 2001).

This chapter develops this line of argument by focusing on notions of time and historical temporality. Scholars have recently started to expose how discipline of IR has long examined world politics and the international without reflecting critically on assumed and historically specific structures of and ideas about time (Hutchings 2008; Hom 2010; Agathangelou and Killian 2014a). The result is that dominant Western notions of time and history remain entrenched within contemporary analyses of international relations. As Andrew Hom points out, "excluding time from academic investigations of social phenomena prolongs and empowers its hidden influence" (Hom 2010: 1146). The chapter contributes to this important strand of enquiry by

focusing specifically on how the hidden influence of IR's notions of temporality serves to marginalize and contain the colonial experience. The chapter first examines the racialized temporal structure of international discourse during the era of European expansion and colonialism focusing in particular on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The chapter then reflects on the thought and practice of African anticolonialism, and argues that anticolonialism can be understood as a radical critique and rejection of the dominant international temporality.

This exploration of conceptions of temporality in international discourse and the contrasting temporality of anticolonialism focuses on the case of Portugal and anticolonialism in Portugal's African colonies. This is a particularly fruitful case in shedding light on broader and more general characteristics of international discourse especially with regard to temporality. Portugal was the first European power to embark on overseas expansion – the first to establish the path of colonization and enslavement of non-European peoples along which other European powers would soon follow. Five centuries later Portugal was the last, aside from the apartheid regime, to hold on to colonial power in Africa. Far from being an exception, Portugal's discourse and practice as a colonial power manifests in a peculiarly concentrated form features which were shared more broadly by other European powers.

International Relations in the Time of Forgetting

In her exploration of notions of time in IR, Kim Hutchings emphasizes that "different accounts of the present in world politics are shaped by how the temporality of world politics is conceived" (Hutchings 2008: 10). The dominant analysis of Africa's condition in terms of weakness, fragility and failure is embedded within a broader account of the present shaped by an evolutionary and racialized conception of the temporality of world politics inherited from the long era of European expansion and colonialism. Today the language of "development" describing the differentiation of socio-economic conditions of countries has become so normalized that its underpinning structure of time is rarely considered. It is today routine to think about the unequal and uneven social conditions of the world in terms of a quantified comparative ranking of levels of development measured on the basis of objective empirical indicators, with advanced countries positioned at the forefront and the least

developed countries furthest behind, or at the lowest positions in tables and rankings. This common sense of our times is the contemporary expression of a distinct structure of historical time which has informed the European or Western imagination for several centuries. The language of international development, with its categories of advanced, developing and least developed countries, is supremely ahistorical. In a masterstroke of technical-empirical re-description it removes from view the history of colonialism in the construction of and relationship between "advanced" and "developing". Yet, the structure of time now articulated in ahistorical terms through the language of development was central to the consciousness of the colonial project. We could summarize this structure of time as the Time of Civilization. This enabled an originary demarcation, distinguishing the Time of Civilization from the earlier times of pre-history or primitive being. The Time of Civilization necessarily carried a spatial, comparative and universalising dimension as it encompassed the whole world and all societies within its purview. Within the Time of Civilization, those countries, societies or races at the forefront were those which had, through processes of historical development or evolution, become civilized or reached civilization. It was the work of colonialism to bring other societies which were uncivilized, still primitive or undeveloped, into the Time of Civilization.

This temporal consciousness of European expansion and the colonial project was inflected in the emergent division of intellectual labour and the articulation of disciplinary fields from the eighteenth century onwards. It was explicit, for example, in the field of International Law especially in the nineteenth century, when International Law was defined as the law and practice of civilized states (Anghie 2005). Anthropology emerged as a field of enquiry devoted to the study of uncivilized, primitive societies still existing in a pre-historical or, at least, earlier time (Fabian 2002). The modern discipline of International Relations began, from the late nineteenth century, as the study of race relations – the comparative study of the development of and conflicts between more and less advanced races (Vitalis 2015). The promotion of positivism and behaviouralism from the 1950s constructed a new scientific basis for the international consciousness of the post-war era (Mirowski 2005; Hauptmann 2012). This international consciousness of the mid-twentieth century, though still colonial, was no longer articulated through the language of civilized and uncivilized. With the removal of race and civilization from the formal

discourse and disciplinary fields of International Relations and International Law, the colonial and racial consciousness was reconfigured on apparently neutral scientific grounds through the lens of comparative enquiry. A new universal conceptual vocabulary emerged, centering on the state, which enabled the comparative analysis of empirically varied units of state, economy, society, culture, sovereignty, democracy, and so on, within general universally-valid theoretical schemes. This comparative analytical logic of enquiry, which shaped or defined the fields of International Relations, Political Science, Comparative Politics and Development Studies from the 1950s, served to contain the long history of colonialism and the challenge of anticolonialism within limits consistent with the new international consciousness. In doing so it underpinned the move from the Time of Civilization to the Time of Forgetting. The violence and crimes of colonialism were obscured by the notion of the "expansion of international society" (Bull and Watson 1984); the radical struggles of anticolonialism and the contested process of decolonization were rendered neutral through the language of New States and the transition from tradition to modernization (Shils 1960; Zartman 1966; Spence 1967). The language of development secured the forgetting of colonialism, as formerly-colonized societies were encouraged to move from their natural starting point of tradition towards more advanced and modern modes of organization and being.

Colonialism, Time and Universal History

What changed from the long era of colonial civilization to the twentieth century era of development was not the underlying temporal assumptions structuring knowledge of the world and of history, but the conceptual vocabulary employed to identify differences, distinctions and processes. The move from the language of civilization and race to that of modernization and development gives the appearance of a more far-reaching change in political sensibility and historical consciousness. The lack of such change is manifest in a host of ways, however, from the eurocentric content of dominant historical narratives and concerns, to the array of visual modes through which the international imagination is presented, now routinely through tables, rankings and statistics (Gruffydd Jones 2013). The lack of change is underpinned by the endurance of distinct conceptions of time, temporality and history, and associated features of method, of analytical and theoretical work (Helliwell and Hindess 2013; Inayatullah and Blaney 2004.)

These conceptions of time, temporality and history are more than ideas: they have become entrenched in a range of structures and practices through which social life and international politics are organized (Hom 2010; Hutchings 2008). As many scholars have examined the ways in which historically specific ideas about and technologies of time emerged in and through modernity – indeed such concepts and practices can be considered constitutive of modernity. Historians and critical theorists have examined the emergence of modern clock time, its linear, atomized and measurable character, and its role in the disciplining of work and life central to capitalism (Rosenberg and Grafton 2010; Thompson 1967, Castree 2009). The notion of time as linear, homogeneous, and uniformly divisible was embedded in a broader epistemology and inherently related to correlating conceptions of space, and the technologies of measuring time and mapping space were integrally related (Kern 2003; Galison 2003; Burnett 2003). These ideas entailed both a universal and abstract and a directional and irreversible quality of time, which resonated with distinct ideas about linear historical movement both as chronology and as progress. The universal character of modern time and space and the directionality or teleology of history was not a given, but something to be constructed. The ideas, practices and technologies of universal modern time were born in and of not only the state and territorial sovereignty (Tilly 1995), but also colonialism (Kern 2003; Hom 2010). European colonial expansion was both the context of and a condition for the scientific development of modern time, and colonial occupation and transformation was the context of and condition for the imposition of modern time.

Colonialism involved the imposition of time in manifold ways.[2] What concerns us here is the over-arching temporal structure underpinning the consciousness and practice of the colonial project, the Time of Civilization. In his critique of Anthropology, Johannes Fabian described the emergence of a new temporal consciousness from the 18th century which can be understood as a process of the secularization and universalization of time (Fabian 2002). The secularization of time had a profound spatial dimension, which was intimately connected to colonialism – to the colonial project, the colonial consciousness, colonial ideology, attitude and practice. The secularization of time emerged through a new approach to knowledge, a tendentially universalising mode of knowing the world and all things in it. In a

reformulation of Europe's previous episteme and political order rooted in the supreme authority of God, the new knowledge of the world sought secure empirical description of entities, and their theoretical specification through correct positioning in relation to other entities on the basis of criteria of similarity and difference (Foucault 1970). This was the method of natural history and the natural sciences and informed other newly-distinguished fields of enquiry such as geography and anthropology, as well as the development of a theory of race (Gruffydd Jones 2016). The method assumed the possibility and ambition of knowing the whole world – of producing knowledge of all varieties and species of plants and animals, and of all societies. Travel and exploration was essential to the practice of this new method of knowledge, and here the intimate relationship with colonialism becomes apparent: "A new discourse is built on an enormous literature of travelogues, collections and syntheses of travel accounts" (Fabian 2002: 7).

Hutchings' exploration of conceptions of political time and differing notions of temporality reveals that there is no unified body of European thought in which we can identify a singular notion of time or logic of temporal structure (Hutchings 2008: 28-53). Equally, colonial and racial discourse was elaborated through many debates across Europe drawing on varied intellectual influences and shaped by differing political circumstances and imperatives. European colonialism was always simultaneously a national and broader European endeavour, which is necessarily reflected in the numerous strands of colonial and racial discourse. It is plausible, however, to suggest some over-arching regime of thought or episteme within which distinct and racialized ideas about history, time, progress and teleology circulated, albeit in plural manifestations, versions and directions.[3] European powers all subscribed to the general civilizational superiority of Europe in the world, while also, in the context of changing commercial and military rivalries, needing to distinguish the specificity and superiority of their own national practice of colonial rule in comparison with that of other rival colonial powers. In this regard the reassertion of Portugal's colonial project from the late nineteenth into the twentieth century was in part informed by fears of the threat to Portugal's claims on African territories by the British, Germans and French and an awareness of Portugal's relative weakness in terms of financial and military power as well as size. Portuguese colonial consciousness defended the peculiarity and superiority of Portugal's approach to

colonialism, which served to bolster the historical legitimacy of Portugal as a colonial power. Portugal's colonial discourse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century simultaneously positioned Portugal within the broader history and continuity of European colonialism, and sought to distinguish its peculiar advantages over the practices of other Europeans.

Portugal and Africa in the Time of Civilization

A distinct Portuguese approach to colonialism was formulated by several authors and administrators from the late 19th century which emphasized elements of settlement, miscegenation or racial mixing, agricultural work, and assimilation. The Portuguese, it was claimed, had a long history of practising a mode of colonization based on settlement and the establishment of harmonious relations with natives. This was said to be due to the racial and cultural character of the Portuguese, who, as southern Europeans themselves formed through racial mixing, were more easily capable of adapting to tropical climates. While the thesis of a distinct Portuguese character was most famously and extensively elaborated by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre (Freyre 1933; Freyre 1940; see Castelo 1998; Cardão and Castelo 2015; Léonard 1997), variants of such a vision had been promoted from the late nineteenth century by numerous Portuguese colonial administrators and scholars. Such ideas were expressed in the nineteenth century in the writings of João de Andrade Corvo and Júlio de Vilhena, both of whom held the role of Overseas and Naval Minister, during the 1870s, and 1880s and 1890s respectively, Henrique de Carvalho, a military officer and explorer who later worked as Director of Public Works in Angola, and Francisco Silva Teles, a naval doctor, anthropologist and geographer who organized the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa's first Congresso Nacional Colonial in 1901; and in the early twentieth century by Henrique de Paiva Couceiro and Nórton de Matos, both Governor General of Angola, during 1907-1909 (Couceiro) and 1912-15 and 1921-24 (Matos) (Ramos 2000: 140-148). In their writings these figures envisaged a process of populating African colonial territories with Portuguese communities of small landowners who would develop agriculture, bringing with them Portuguese language, customs, morals and traditions. Through mixing with, teaching and employing natives, Portuguese settlement had always and would continue to gradually assimilate the backward native populations into the realm of time and civilization. Colonization was a process of economic, cultural and civilizational improvement,

creating an extension of the Portuguese nation in overseas territories. The Portuguese style of colonising, such figures claimed, was noble and civilising, in contrast with the more exploitative and commercial practices of other European powers, especially Britain (Ramos, 140-153; Alexandre 2000). While thus distinguishing Portuguese colonial practice from other European practices, Portuguese colonial discourse reproduced the over-arching European claim to civilizational superiority.

A changed approach to the question of Portugal's colonial empire, especially in Africa, was central to the *Estado Novo* regime which emerged from the military dictatorship following the coup of 1926. This approach sought first to defend Portugal's colonial possessions from being lost to other colonial powers; second, to "renationalize" the colonial territories, bringing an end to the previous regime of legislative autonomy, decentralization and concessions through which vast areas of the territories, especially in Mozambique, were effectively under the control of British, French and other foreign capital; and third, to integrate the economies of the colonies more closely with that of the metropole (Santa Rita 1936). The Estado Novo regime under Salazar thus reinvigorated Portugal's colonial project and consciousness. Prior to his appointment as Prime Minister in 1932, António Oliveira de Salazar had served as Finance Minister since 1928 and also briefly Minister of Colonies.[4] In these capacities he drew up the Colonial Act in 1930, and the new constitution of the Estado Novo in 1933 which also renewed the Colonial Act. Salazar viewed the colonies and their relationships with Portugal as of central and fundamental importance to the political and economic development of Portugal. Article 2 of the Colonial Act of 1933 proclaimed:

> It is the organic essence of the Portuguese Nation to carry out the historical function of possessing and colonising overseas dominions and of civilizing the indigenous populations found therein, exerting at the same time the moral influence required [of Portugal] by the *Padroado do Oriente*.
> (Acto Colonial, Título I, Art. 2.o, Governo de Portugal 1935: 59)[5]

By referring to the *Padroado do Oriente* – the royal patronage first bestowed in the mid-fifteenth century by the papacy on the Kings of Portugal over missionary activities in the Americas, Africa and Asia – Salazar located the unquestionable

legitimacy of the colonizing essence of the Portuguese nation within an unbroken five centuries of time. This claim was articulated in the international context of the post-first world war creation of the League of Nations, and of fears under the Republic of losing Portugal's colonial territories to rival colonial powers (Léonard 1999), a context later summarized by Marcelo Caetano as follows:

> the Conference of Peace, at which Smuts openly posed the question of the incorporation of Mozambique within the Union of South Africa, revealed a state of mind regarding colonial questions in general, and the Portuguese position in particular, which justifiably alarmed the political class of the time. On one side was the theory of international mandates, representative of the tendency to move the sovereignty over colonial territories to the League of Nations; on the other side, the idea that only those Powers who possessed the finances and the skills to tame, improve and civilize backward countries could be mandatory powers, a position which appeared turned against the colonizing mission of Portugal, at the time considered poor, badly governed and incapable.
>
> From Paris, the Portuguese delegation returned with the certainty that either we made a huge effort in our overseas territories, or, sooner or later, our possessions would be expropriated. (Caetano 1951: 7)

The colonial relationship was at the heart of the *Estado Novo*'s government policy. The role of the colonial territories in Africa as entirely subordinate to and serving the economic and industrial needs of Portugal was explicitly set out in the Colonial Act and subsequent legislation. The colonial discourse adopted by the *Estado Novo* from the 1930s assumed a strict racial hierarchy, asserting the racial and civilizational superiority of the Portuguese, and the primitive backwardness of Africans. On one hand this was manifest in the *Estado Novo*'s strong reassertion of a Portuguese national identity. This essentially conservative, patriarchal and catholic identity made specific temporal and historical claims about the Portuguese nation. In contrast to the modernising industrial discourse of fascist regimes such as Italy, the construction of Portuguese national identity emphasized the centrality of rural life to national culture (Mendes 2008). The role of the Discoveries, Portugal's five centuries of maritime

exploration and, especially, the work of extending civilization through colonization were reasserted as central to the constitution and very essence of the Portuguese nation (Polanah 2008; Léonard 1999). On the other hand, the *Estado Novo*'s colonial discourse constructed Africans as primitive, remaining "stationary" or "sleeping" in an endless pre-historic condition. While it was the goal of the Portuguese civilising task to bring such peoples closer to civilization, such a process would necessarily endure over centuries (Santa Rita 1944).

This racialized temporal consciousness of the colonial project was articulated across various fields of expression, from the texts of colonial policy and legislation (for example Ministério das Colónias 1936) to innumerable journals, magazines, congresses and exhibitions (Castelo 1998: 45-48). It was articulated in fields of academic research and teaching, such as Anthropology and Geography. In her study of colonial literature during the period of the *Estado Novo*, Sandra Sousa finds that "a preoccupation with the past, whether more or less recent, is a constant feature" of the works of the vast majority of authors she studied (Sousa 2015: 25). And, as Paulo Polanah underlines, the writing of history and, specifically, the "cult of the Discoveries", acquired an important role in the elaboration and consolidation of this national narrative from the 1930s (Polanah 2011). A discourse about the Discoveries had already formed a significant element of Portuguese nationalism during the nineteenth century, but from the 1930s and the rise of the *Estado Novo* this was explicitly renewed as a central thread linking Portugal's present colonial empire in Africa with the Portuguese nation and state through narrating Portugal's longer history of navigation, expansion and exploration, dating back in a historical continuity to the early 15th century.

The construction of a historical narrative to consolidate the legitimacy of the Estado Novo and the Portuguese colonial empire is vividly expressed in the work of Gaspar do Couto Ribeiro Villas, Professor in Portugal's *Escola Superior Colonial* in the 1930s. His two-volume work *Historia Colonial* provides an all-encompassing account of the colonial project, situating Europe's expansion and colonialism, and Portugal's distinct role and contributions, within a comprehensive sweep of world history (Villas 1937; Villas 1938). This work expresses in a self-conscious manner an explicit understanding of world historical time. Villas presents with confidence and authority

an account of the whole of world history with a consciousness of doing so from the position of his own times.

As already noted, there were particular contextual reasons for the form and structure of this narrative, emerging from the need to assert to domestic and international audiences the essential unity between Portugal and its colonies and the unquestioned historical authority of Portugal as a colonial power, at the moment of political consolidation of the new regime and in the context of threats to Portugal's colonial claims in Africa from rival European powers. Located thus within the contextual specificity of the early *Estado Novo* period this historical discourse provides a distinct and strong expression of a broader European colonial and temporal consciousness, and manifests continuity with previous modes and instances of "history writing" defined by similar character and scope. At the turn of the century António Enes, High Commissioner of Mozambique in 1891-2 and again 1894-1895, undertook the task of editing, revising and amplifying the work of Italian historian Cesar Cantù, written in the 1840s. Cantù's *Storia Universale* [Universal History] was written over six years in seventy two volumes, while Enes's work of the 1890s amounted to twenty volumes (Enes 1890). In his introduction Enes discusses the study of history as a modern scientific and theoretical endeavour. The purpose of historical analysis, he argues, is, as in other areas of theoretical inquiry, to trace and understand the fixed and essential laws of the social world. And central to the object of inquiry is the phenomenon of free will characteristic of humanity. The role of historical analysis is to trace, understand and explain the emergence in the world of conscious self-knowledge, of civilization; to trace how civilization, in its passage from Asia to Europe, began to develop and to liberate its free, conscious and properly human element; how the realm of human action has developed from the instinct and spontaneity of primitive savages to the conscious exercize of free will characteristic of civilization; and how the idea of abstract universal law and right has emerged as the culmination of the human spirit over history (Enes 1890: 1-8). Enes thus reproduced a much broader European structure of thought and consciousness elaborated from Kant to Hegel and beyond: to write history was to write universal World History (Trüper et al. 2015; Guha 2002: 24-47; Hutchings 2008: 32-46).

Positioning Portugal and, specifically, Portugal's colonial project within this World History, Villas's *História Colonial* begins with an account of the "discoveries" – Portugal's occupation of Ceuta followed by the early maritime voyages of exploration around the coast of Africa and across the ocean to the Americas. Villas documents how Portugal played an original and pioneering role in inaugurating this new enlightened phase of World History. His lengthy treatise provides extensive detailed narration of historical events and description of peoples and places. These accounts function to elaborate and give form to an overall historical continuity and teleology, a singular, unified process which leads necessarily, directly and properly over several centuries to the present. This is a great, glorious and noble process of historical progress and evolution, signalled in the text by the structuring of the books' parts, chapters and sections, the tremendously dramatic style of expression, and the use of capitalization to indicate the significance of what is being presented: Colonial History, the Colonial Project, the agent of Progress. Villas's *História Colonial* thus served, along with Lisbon's World Exhibition of 1940 and numerous other expressions (Matos 2006), as a grand elaboration of Salazar's punctual claim to the foundational historical legitimacy of Portuguese colonialism within Europe's long Time of Civilization.

From Civilization to Development: the Temporality of Waiting

The early decades of the twentieth century saw shifts in the specific content of Europe's colonial consciousness and legitimating discourse, which nevertheless remained consistent with its underlying temporal structure. As Dipesh Chakrabarty has observed, this was, and remains, a temporality of waiting. In the Time of Civilization, non-European societies were destined to wait until they been civilized by Europe. Chakrabarty uses the term historicism to refer to this temporal consciousness of historical progression, with Europe in the lead and non-European societies being led. Historicism, he says, "came to non-European peoples in the nineteenth century as somebody's way of saying 'not yet' to somebody else." According to this consciousness, this Time of Civilization, "Indians or Africans were *not yet* civilized enough to rule themselves. Some historical time of development and civilization (colonial rule and education, to be precise) had to elapse before they could be considered prepared for such a task" (Chakrabarty 2000: 8). The ideas of civilization and development thus were always inter-twined and shared a common temporal

structure, but after the first and, especially, the second world war, the centre of gravity shifted from the more normative and explicitly racialized notion of civilization to the more empirical and implicitly racialized notion of development.

In 1918 President Wilson, as a challenge to Lenin's Russia, elaborated a 14 point proposal in which he advocated that post-war adjustments of rival colonial claims be resolved based on the interests of the native populations, and proposed "a general association of nations' to guarantee "political independence and integrity to great and small alike". Informed by a "subdued hostility" to Wilson's proposals European powers and South Africa came up with various counter-proposals, among which was Prime Minister Jan Smuts' suggestion of mandates (Munene 1995: 31). As an alternative to post-war re-annexation of territory by the victors, under the proposed mandate system colonial territories of the losing powers would be allocated to other powers to be supervised on behalf of the League of Nations until such territories were ready for self-rule. Thus self-rule was articulated as the explicit goal of Mandatory tutelage. This proposed system was adjusted, however, according to enduring racialized conceptions of the civilized and uncivilized (Grovogui 1996: 111-142): "neither Wilson nor his European counterparts thought of Africans as capable of self-government, the eventual objective of the mandates in the Middle East. The big powers, therefore, devised categories of 'B' and 'C' mandates which Wilson accepted, to camouflage the annexation and repartitioning of German colonies in Africa" (Munene 1995: 31). Indeed the inter-war era of the League of Nations was characterized largely by a continuation of earlier colonial logics, with growing hostility and rivalry between European powers all keen to consolidate and expand their control of colonial territory in Africa and elsewhere.

The second world war provoked a stronger if still pragmatic resolve on the part of the United States government under Roosevelt to promote self-government and independence for all peoples, an ideal explicitly countered by Churchill as he qualified that the ideals of the Atlantic Charter were intended to apply only to Europe under Nazi occupation. At the end of the war the League of Nations Mandate system was replaced by the United Nations Trusteeship system, and by the 1950s European powers gradually, reluctantly and unevenly began to accept the notion of self-rule as the ultimate goal of colonial governance. Yet this remained strongly tempered by the

temporality of waiting, according to which it would take many years before uncivilized African societies under European tutelage would reach the point of maturity sufficient for self rule (Hailey 1943; Hailey 1954). During the conference of the Governors of Britain's African colonial territories held in London, November 1947, it was stated that

> in Africa the period before self-government can be granted will be longer than in most other parts of the Colonial Empire. Prophecy as to the length of this period is idle, but it may be said that in the Gold Coast, the territory where Africans are most advanced politically, internal self-government is unlikely to be achieved in much less than a generation. In the other territories the process is likely to be considerably slower.
>
> (*Constitutional Development in Africa*, African Governors' Conference November 1947, in Hyam et al. 1992: 203)

The Governor of Sierra Leone, Sir Hubert Stevenson, responded urging "caution in giving any hope that self-government could come in a generation" (ibid.: 304). In 1956 van Bilsen, a Belgian professor at the Colonial University of Antwerp, published a pamphlet entitled *Thirty Year Plan for the Political Emancipation of Belgian Africa* (Bilsen 1956; Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002: 81). And in 1959, following the defeat of the Mau Mau, the British Colonial Secretary and the East African Colonial Governors' Meeting concluded that majority rule and independence would not be a reality for Kenya within the foreseeable future, looking ahead to 1975 as the earliest possible date for the achievement of independence (Ogot 1995: 53).

The *Estado* the temporality of colonial consciousness with regard to Africans was not, however, one of waiting for eventual self-rule. The role of Portuguese colonialism was not to guide its subject African peoples to a point of maturity sufficient for self-government, but to gradually bring Africans into civilization *within* the sphere of the Portuguese nation. In 1951 Marcelo Caetano, discussing the reform of colonial governance prior to the Colonial Act of 1930, confirmed that it had never been the objective of Portugal's colonial policy to work towards self-government even under white rule (Caetano 1951).[6] Adriano Moreira similarly confirmed that "the meaning

of the Colonial Act was not, and nor would later be shown to be, that of leading in such a direction" (Moreira 1951: 9).[7] Portugal strongly rejected the new colonial temporality of waiting to be guided towards independence, established first by the League of Nations' Mandate System and then renewed and extended by the United Nations Trusteeship system and in the changing discourse of several other European powers. It was considered absolutely contrary to the essential principles of the Portuguese nation. José Gonçalo Santa Rita, legal professor writing in the *Revista do Gabinete de Estudos Ultramarinos* in 1951, commented that the principle underlying the articles of the United Nations – the right of populations to dispose of themselves – "constituted one of the most pompous examples of the new international colonial law" (Santa Rita 1951: 14). He went on to explain that citizens of a country whose constitution affirmed that sovereignty resided in the nation could not and should not contest this founding principle. The principle of the sovereignty of the Portuguese nation was and had been the very essence of Portuguese national identity and being throughout its history, he explained: "The whole of our History is one clamorous cry claiming this right" (ibid.). Ridiculing the new UN doctrine of independence for colonized peoples, Santa Rita reasserted the racialized temporality of civilization:

> It can however be questioned, very legitimately, whether the populations envisaged in the UN Charter possess the necessary characteristics to be considered as nations and or even that their level of civilization would be comparable to that of Portugal in the 12th, 14th, 16th or 17th centuries. Many of them are merely groupings of tribes, more or less nomadic, with rudimentary political organization, others, despite living over vast expanses of territory, are only chiefdoms, primitive despotic kingdoms, very far from the notion we have of a civilized State (ibid.: 15).

In the same journal Trindade provides a discussion of the Natives of Mozambique. It is, perhaps, fascinating to read this today: to witness the recurrence of staple components of nineteenth and early twentieth century European racial discourse about Africans still being presented in 1951. After short descriptions of the geographical location of different "native" or "tribal" groups, much in the manner and style of a natural historian describing the distribution of flora and fauna across a particular region, Trindade proceeds to itemize typical and differing characteristics:

> the Mozambican native, even when muscular, in general lacks the capacity for prolonged work. He can sustain, however, long journeys without tiredness or boredom, especially if he is going to some great feast, as we had various occasions to observe, in which 200 km of journey constituted for him a mere stroll, in his admirable lack of awareness of time.
>
> …
>
> The first reports provided about the natives of Lourenço Marques date from the shipwreck of Sepúlveda [during the 16th century].[8] The peoples that the castaway sailors encountered were the same as those of today, with the same customs, speaking the same language, and only differing in the mode of organising their factions (Trindade 1951: 24-25).

In the face of growing international criticism of colonialism and worldwide struggles for self-determination, the regime abandoned the terminology of "colonialism" and, several years later, "indigenous" or "native". The Colonial Act of 1933 was formally revoked in a revision of the constitution in 1951 (Moreira 1951), and Portugal's colonies were officially renamed "overseas provinces" – *Províncias Ultramarinas*.[9] From then on all discussion referred to "overseas" policy, territories and populations. A decade later, after Angola's war of liberation had started, the juridical category "*indígena"* was abandoned and the differential legal regime applicable to "native Africans", *Estatuto das Indígenas*, was formally revoked. With this legal redefinition of relations Portugal rejected any accountability towards the United Nations as a colonial power ruling over non-self-governing peoples. It was at this stage that the Estado Novo regime formally turned away from an official discourse of racial hierarchy between civilized and native to one of racial harmony and equality within a multiracial, pluricontinental national community (Castelo 1998; Léonard 1997). The Minister of Overseas Provinces, Sarmento Rodrigeus, organized for Gilberto Freyre to visit Portugal's "overseas provinces", and it was on this visit that Freyre used the term "luso-tropical" for the first time (Castelo 1998: 95-101). The regime adopted the vocabulary of Freyre's thesis within their official discourse and their defence of Portugal's status as a pluricontinential multiracial nation (Salazar 1961; Caetano 1970). Salazar explained in 1963 the idea informing Portugal's overseas policy: "a multiracial community is not a juridical construction or a conventional regime of

minorities but, above all else, a way of life and a disposition of the soul" (Salazar 1963: 201).

Needless to say, these terminological changes remained largely cosmetic. Indeed the legal revision had been much debated within the government at the time. Speaking to the *Câmara Corporativa*[10] in January 1951, Marcello Caetano clarified that while, for pragmatic reasons, this change was acknowledged as necessary – "Such alteration seems justified at the present moment, above all because of the international campaign against the term and political status of colony" – it carried the risk of inaugurating a premature and dangerous process of "assimilation". He explained:

> The Câmara calls particular attention to the dangers of a premature assimilation of the overseas territories with the metropole. Their natural conditions are and will remain different; very different, also, for the most part, are their social and economic conditions. This difference, which leaps to the eyes of the most careless observer, implies the necessity of a specialization of government, of administration and of laws. The process of assimilation must be slow, accompanying the civilization of the natives and the development of the centres of European settlement (Caetano in *Diário das Sessões* no. 70, de 19 de Janeiro 1951, cited in Torgal 2007).

The overseas policy remained one of gradual administrative decentralization, as elaborated in 1965 by Luís Filipe de Oliveira e Castro, in an article in the journal *Ultramar*. He explained that since 1914, the Overseas Provinces of Mozambique and Angola had enjoyed a form of "limited autonomy" in terms of government. This was effected through the system of Legislative Councils established in the 1930s and it continued to evolve over subsequent decades, most recently with the creation of elected municipalities in 1962 and further administrative decentralization introduced with the Lei Orgânica do Ultramar Português in 1963. Castro described a process of ongoing administrative decentralization through which greater governmental autonomy was established in Portugal's "Overseas Provinces", explaining:

> All of this has been consistent with an idea that the progressive institutionalization of overseas territories should be the direct result of their

> level of economic development and the level of social and political maturity of the populations, with the objective that the presence of these people in the management of local and collective negotiations would be able to take place in a responsible and conscious manner.

He went on to contrast this steady and gradual approach with the sudden granting of autonomy and independence taking place in the rest of Africa:

> This contrasts with the large percentage of other regions of Africa, where the 'crisis of decolonization' which affects them is, without doubt, a consequence of the lack of appropriateness of sociological structure to the conditions and demands of strong political organization, because the autonomy granted did not correspond with the prior existence of a well configured national structure; it signified only, in the large majority of cases, a formal transfer of administrative competencies, a transfer which has been shown to be disproportionate to the actual capacity of the people to govern themselves (Castro 1965: 8).

Drawing on various European commentaries on the disappointing aftermath of decolonization in Africa, he explained:

> In order to avoid such outcomes, the Portuguese overseas policy aims, before anything else, to create an equilibrium between the formal structure (institutional and administrative) and the actual structure of society; and given that the latter progresses in a continuous manner according to the specific intersecting dynamic between diverse groups and their ongoing cultural development, the former … has, necessarily, to have sufficient vitality to adapt itself, though without counter-productive accelerations, to all beneficial evolutionary tendencies (ibid.: 9).

And what does this entail, the adjustment of formal and actual structures? Castro elaborates here on the theme of health and education, areas, he notes, of considerable Portuguese investment in its overseas territories:

> The movement of the formal and actual structures of society necessarily require significant effort in the areas of education and health, which constitute the principle vectors of mental and physical maturity of the populations. In Africa this objective is important when trying to overcome the general condition of underdevelopment, with its roots implanted in the context of the tribe and in the ancestral customs of the natives, conducive to their physical weakening and their mental stagnation (ibid.: 11).

These words were written in 1965, by which time Portugal was investing a very considerable proportion of its national budget in brutal colonial wars against the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, with substantial support from its NATO allies. To the very end of these bitter wars, and across the transition from Salazar to Caetano, Portugal insisted on the essential terms of its colonial consciousness. In November 1968 Caetano explained:

> Portugal has imperturbably maintained its position. And in many countries there were people who thought this holding-out was due solely to the personal doggedness of Dr. Oliveira Salazar. The truth is, however, that Portugal could not have taken up any other position … we are not defending a civilization but civilization itself (Caetano in Diário de Notícias, cited in Ferreira 1972: 19. See also Caetano 1970).

Anticolonial Time

It remains a commonplace today, within some strands of academic discourse, the media and popular common-sense, to conclude that in many cases decolonization was too hurried, that independence came too soon, that the demands made for "independence now" on the part of African nationalists demonstrated their political immaturity. Echoing the analysis of Luís Filipe de Oliveira e Castro, Goran Hyden, observes that

> The most important aspect of the decolonization process for the purpose of [the comparative analysis of African politics] is the acceleration of the progress to independence that took place in the 1950s. The colonial governments had not anticipated such a quick transition. To the extent that

> they were planning a peaceful transition during which they could make Africans familiar with principles of governance associated with their own democratic states, they never got time to put it into practice (Hyden 2012: 16).

Such judgements sit squarely within the temporality of the colonial consciousness. If we step outside of that consciousness, the international relations of the twentieth century appear quite different. We might begin to perceive the contours of a global, transcontinental struggle over the future of international relations and world order which pitched the defenders of centuries of European or Western control and exploitation legitimized on the basis of religious, cultural, civilizational and racial supremacy, against peoples, movements and projects seeking reform of the social and international order based on values of justice, solidarity and equality (Drayton 2016; see for example Prashad 2007).

The phenomenon of anticolonialism – the origins, character and significance of anticolonial movements, leaders and struggles – cannot be comprehended either historically or theoretically if analysed within the framework and temporality of the colonial consciousness. Agathangelou and Killian urge that if we rethink international relations in terms of time and temporality, "we need to re-orient our imaginations to see how in concrete moments" politics and knowledge interact to co-produce distinct normative and practical visions. This requires attention to "the role of temporality in mutable projects and frames through which people come to imagine and direct their daily lives" (Agathangelou and Killian 2016b: 4-5). The struggles against colonialism in general, and in particular the struggles against Portuguese colonialism waged by FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, led by Eduardo Mondlane, Samora Machel, Agostinho Neto and Amílcar Cabral, constituted a radical refusal and rejection of the reigning colonial temporality. If we examine the ideas, statements, speeches, pronouncements, resolutions, slogans, poems and songs of anticolonialism, we find a radically different conception of the temporality of world politics. In the imagination and framing of the anticolonial project we find an outright rejection of the European idea of civilization and its temporality, and we find repeated expressions of impatience and refusal – an impatience with the pace of change determined by European powers or indeed by the United Nations; a refusal to wait; a refusal to accept a timeframe set by external powers.

The anticolonialists of the Portuguese colonies rejected the legitimacy of Portuguese colonialism in the strongest terms, and often with scornful impatience. In a statement circulated in 1960 by the movements' collaborative organization *Frente Revolucionária Africana para a Independência Nacional das Colónias Portuguesas* (FRAIN) they scorned the civilization that Europe sought to bring to them, and its temporality:

> After five centuries in Africa, Portuguese colonialism, which is the most backward in regard to material achievements and social and political developments, condemns the Africans to conditions of abject misery, and this *in the name of Christian civilization*. … The colonialists deny the practice of Christian principles in their lack of reverence for the human being. They class 99.7% of the Africans they dominate as "un-civilized", they use all means to hide the effects of their "civilising influence", they detain and murder African patriots and they are making preparations to launch colonial wars (FRAIN 1960: 1, original emphasis).

In their struggles they articulated consciously their determination to bring an end ot five centuries of racialized colonial time. Ten years after FRAIN's denouncement Amílcar Cabral again pointed out that "The time is past when, in an effort to perpetuate the domination of peoples, culture was considered an attribute of privileged peoples or nations, and when, out of either ignorance or malice, culture was confused with technical power, if not with skin color or the shape of one's eyes" (Cabral 1970: 6).

The anticolonial movements had taken up arms to fight for their liberation only after attempts at peaceful demonstrations were consistently met with brutal repression and massacres, imprisonment, torture and the burning of villages (Cabral 1962: 13-14; Mondlane and Machel 1975). This was the concrete experience of colonial time which informed their radical refusal of that temporality and their professed anticolonial impatience. After providing substantial evidence to the United Nations to explain their plight and to expose the crimes of Portugal and its NATO allies, they noted wearily that "the time for denunciation of Portuguese colonialism and for moral

or legal arguments had passed" (Cabral 1962: 11). Knowing the suffering of their peoples, the crimes of Portuguese colonialism and the horrors of the colonial wars, they adamantly refused all suggestions for patience. Speaking to the United Nations Committee on Decolonization in 1962, Amílcar Cabral was asked to tell the Committee what the people of his country thought of the possibility of liberating the Portuguese colonies by peaceful means. He responded:

> If the delegations that urged the people of the Territory to be patient had been in their position, colonized on their own soil by the Portuguese, they could no longer have preached pacifism. When the Nazis had trampled all freedoms under foot, none of those who now preached patience would have found it possible to witness the Hitlerite abuses without reacting. No people loved peace more than the people of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, but not the peace of the cemetery (Cabral 1962: 16).

We have seen that over centuries, Africans and other non-European peoples were positioned in an earlier time by European powers, a temporal positioning which defined and underpinned the conception and practice of international relations. By this method of argument the anticolonialists refused any such temporal differentiation.

The many expressions of the anticolonial struggles articulate a strong sense of the time of anticolonialism. There is a refusal to endure any more the horrors of colonialism. Eduardo Mondlane explained to the UN Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration that "The people of Mozambique are tired of being used as instruments for producing wealth for foreigners. We feel that we have been kept under oppression for too long, and wish to join the free peoples of the world" (Mondlane 1962: 26-27). This same sentiment recurred in the poetry of the struggles:

> We are men tired of shackles. For us
> Freedom is worth more than life.
>
> ("Brother from the West", FRELIMO 1973, in Bragança and Wallerstein 1982)

Enough of these massacres
I have suffered for five hundred years
I can bear it no longer

(Poem by D.S.Maguni reproduced in Bengelsdorf and Roberts 1971: 5)

There is a refusal any longer to be taken in by the lies and hypocrisy of the West. Addressing the United Nations Mondlane rejected Portugal's ridiculous claims to be bringing education to its overseas provinces, as repeated by Luís Filipe de Oliveira e Castro, with lengthy details of the almost total absence of educational provision for the vast majority of Africans in Portugal's colonial territories. He concluded: "We have waited too long for the application of the often-vaunted Judeo-Christian principles of justice, by the same people who are exploiting us. We are tired of preachments about freedom and democracy by the same people who are denying these to us" (Mondlane 1962: 27).

There are repeated expressions of impatience with the words and resolutions spoken within the formal arenas of world politics, above all within the UN, while the villages of Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique continued to be bombed and burned. Addressing the United Nations in 1972, Cabral repeated words from his own speech to the UN ten years previously in 1962.

> We did not come here", we went on to say, "to attack Portuguese colonialism with words. We are fed up of attacking and listening to attacks and condemnation of Portuguese colonialism, whose characteristics, subterfuges, methods and acts are now only too well known by the UN and by the world opinion. ... For us, for our people and for our Party, the time has come to finish with indecisions and promises, to take definitive decisions and to realize concrete acts. (Cabral 1972: 190-191)

This same sentiment was expressed by Agostinho Neto in his poem Depressa (Haste) (Neto 1987: 144; Neto 1974: 129):

I am impatient in this historical tepidness
of delays and lentitude

when with haste the just are murdered
when the prisons are bursting with youths
crushed to death against the wall of violence

Let us end this tepidness of words and gestures
and smiles concealed behind book covers
and the resigned biblical gesture
of turning the other cheek

Finally, this anticolonial time was conjured already in 1948 in one of the most powerful and raging rejections of the Time of Civilization – as the ultimate Time of Forgetting – in a long poem written by Neto, *Impossible Renunciation*.[11] The first half of the poem, I-Negation, can be understood as drawing out and exposing for all the world to see clearly the ultimate logic of Europe's temporal consciousness of Civilization and World History. The poem begins "I do not believe in myself. / I do not exist. / I do not want, I do not want to be. I want to destroy me … Pulverize my being / disappear without leaving the slightest trace of my fleeting presence / in this world.' and then situates this sentiment in the world:

More than a simple suicide
I want for my death
to be a true historical novelty
a total disappearance
even in the brains
of those who hate me
even in time
and that History should proceed
and the world continue
as though I had never existed
as though I had never produced any work
as though I had never had any influence on life
as though instead of a negative value
I was Zero.

The poem addresses Europe directly and at length:

> Do not count on me
> to serve your meals
> or mine diamonds
> that your wives will flaunt in salons
> or tend to
> your coffee and cotton plantations
> do not count on workers
> to wet-nurse your syphilitic sons
> do not count on
> second grade workers
> to do the work you proudly present as yours
> or on unconscious soldiers
> to yell with an empty stomach
> hail your labours of civilization
> …

Articulating the concluding temporal logic of Europe's colonial consciousness, he proclaimed:

> You can now burn
> the sacred signs
> that at the doors of bars, hotels and public spaces
> announce your egotism
> in the phrases: "WHITES ONLY" or "ONLY TO COLOURED MEN"
> Blacks here. Whites there.
>
> You can put an end to the miserable black quarters
> which embarrass your vanity
> Live satisfied without "colour lines"
> without having to tell black customers
> that hotels are full
> that there are no tables free in restaurants.

Bathe without a care
at your beaches and swimming pools
for there were never blacks in the world
to sully the waters
of your disgusting preconceptions
with their dark presence.
…

Writing in the immediate aftermath of the second world war, as the waiting of the League of Nations' Mandate System was replaced with the waiting of UN Trusteeship, Neto threw out to the West the challenge:

Why do you hesitate now?
At least you have the opportunity
to proclaim democracies
with sincerity

You can invent a new History.
Including attributing the creation of the world to yourselves.
Everything was done by you

Ah!
how satisfied I feel
to see you basking in your pride
and crazed in your mania of superiority.

Blacks never existed!
Africa was built just by you
America was colonized just by you
Europe does not know of African civilizations

The poem continues, relentlessly, to expose and elaborate the ultimate logic of extermination underpinning Europe's temporal consciousness:

Black music does not exist
Batuque rhythms never rang out in the forests of the Congo
Who spoke of spirituals?

Go fill your salons with Debussy, Strauss, Korsakoff.
There are no longer any savages on the earth.
Long live the civilization of superior men
without black stains
to disturb their aesthetics!

and of its forgetting, a forgetting which to this day remains necessary to maintain Europe's own peace of mind:

What is colonization?
What are massacres of blacks?
What are confiscations of properties?
Things that nobody has heard of.

History is wrong.
Slavery never existed
minorities never ruled
proud of their strength

…

Blessed be the Hour
of my super-suicide
for you
men who build moral systems
to frame immoralities

The sun shines just for you
the moon reflects light just for you
there never were slave traders

nor massacres
nor occupations of Africa.

Since even History
is transformed into a Moral Treatise
without the need for hasty remedies!

But this of course is an impossible renunciation. The horrors of colonialism, slavery and racial violence and the temporal logic of extermination cannot be forgotten and will always be refused. And so the second, much shorter part of the poem – shorter because, after the lengthy exposure of Europe's consciousness, there is really little to respond – the second part, *II-Affirmation*, cries out "Silence the crazy phrases / of this impossible renunciation. … I-everyone will never deny myself / I will never coincide with nothing", and announces the impending struggles and determination to bring an end to colonialism, its consciousness and temporality:

My place is marked
on the battlefield
to conquer a lost life

I am. I exist
My hands placed stones
laying the foundations of the world
I am entitled to my piece of bread.

I am a positive value
of Humanity
and I do not abdicate,
I will never abdicate!

Conclusion

It seems extraordinary that the following words could be published in 2012 in a serious scholarly work: "Understanding politics in Africa begins by understanding society and the continued presence of premodern features that determine behaviour

and choice. Although the colonial powers tried to modernize African society, they did not do enough of it" (Hyden 2012: 238). Yet such ideas, whose time surely is long past, remain in respected circulation. As Wai argues in the introduction to this volume and elsewhere, Western experts of "neopatrimonialism" continue to diagnose the lack of fit between modern political institutions and the enduring cultural traditions of African societies (Cammack 2007, Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith 2002; Bratton and Walle 1994),in ways which echo the analysis of Luís Filipe de Oliveira e Castro (Castro 1965). By delving into the archives of colonial consciousness this chapter has exposed direct echoes and resonances between contemporary Africanist scholarship and earlier colonial discourse. This makes sense because, as we have seen, today's international consciousness shares a common underlying temporal structure with that of previous eras. For centuries Europeans positioned themselves at the front of Time, ahead of non-Europeans due to their racial, cultural and religious superiority, their Civilization, while Africans were always the furthest behind in an earlier time, remaining still in the backwaters of primitive idleness. From the mid twentieth century the language of civilization gave way to that of development. With economic and social indicators now the empirical basis for the comparative measurement of stages of advance, the history of colonialism silently falls from view: "Sub-Saharan Africa's development has lagged behind that of other regions since the end of the colonial period" (Englebert 2000: 7), we learn. African states are once again behind, in the early stages of learning, with assistance from the west, how to govern, how to be democratic, how to respect human rights: "Nearly all of Africa's nations are fairly young, just a few generations since independence, and are still going through what might be called the early growing pains of nation building" (Moss 2007: 7).

What becomes strangely apparent when we examine the specifically temporal character of and assumptions underpinning international consciousness is the articulation of specific temporal ideas in time. It was in the 17th and 18th century, the time of European expansion, colonialism, slavery and slave trade, that European philosophers articulated a philosophy of universal World History. It was in the uncertain turmoil and rivalry of the inter-war period that Portuguese historians and statesmen claimed more strongly than ever an unbroken and universal time of World History and Civilization spanning five centuries. And while Portugal continued to elaborate its colonial consciousness of civilization after other European powers had

necessarily embraced the new language of independence and development, echoes of this same consciousness resound in contemporary Political Science and IR. We are so accustomed to think of time as linear and progressive that, as critical as we might be, it is almost instinctive to locate specific ideas in specific temporal periods, within some notion of overall long-term change and improvement towards more enlightened or progressive ideas. It can thus be a shock when we encounter the explicit articulation of ideas which appear to jar with their times, to be "out of time" – ideas of the nineteenth century regarding primitive tribes still being asserted in the 1950s and 60s, for example, or the essential legitimising discourse of colonialism still asserted in 2012. It can equally be unnerving to realize the parallels in sentiment and logic of ideas expressed at very different times in quite different terminology, by colonial administrators on one hand and contemporary political scientists on the other. This suggests that the temporality of ideas and international consciousness – or the relation between ideas and their time – is anything but linear and progressive. Rather it can be uneven, circular, at times stationary and at other times rapidly changing, with multiple flows, layers and echoes in different directions and moving at cross-purposes.

In her exploration of the various conceptions of world politics in IR, Hutchings concludes that IR theory and scholarship assumes the specific "temporal trajectory inherent ... in western modernity", a trajectory of "western political time [that] is presumed to be world-political time, the time that drives or leads historical development". The colonial consciousness is a central element of western political time. Because the mainstream knowledge of IR and related disciplinary fields shares the underlying temporality of the colonial consciousness, it will not be possible for them to grasp the historical or theoretical meaning of the anticolonial challenge and interruption. For, as Hutchings argues, while retaining this singular concept of western political time, "the idea of an alternative temporal perspective on world politics becomes literally unintelligible" (Hutchings 2008: 159). The intense struggles over decolonization – the determined struggles to create different and just futures and the equally determined manoeuvres to retain and increase control over former colonial territories and to undermine or ruthlessly quash any such alternatives – these struggles and their defeats barely figure in the Time of Forgetting, which sees only the transition to or granting of independence from colonizer to colonized, and subsequent disappointment, weakness and failure. Scholars of the West seem more intent on

analysing, explaining and prescribing solutions for the failures of postcolonial African states than on re-examining the history of international relations as a history of colonial violence. While they do so it will not be possible for them to grasp the historical and theoretical meaning and significance of anticolonial struggle and its articulation and vision of an alternative temporality of world politics. Analysed within the dominant temporality, anticolonialism is destined only ever to be understood as a failure or, at best, as a brief but unrealistic moment of utopian hope remembered today only with nostalgia. Instead, Agathangelou and Killian argue, we need to "think of world politics as political moments of living and active theoretical forms of life" (Aganthangelou and Killian 2016b: 6). The struggles against colonialism constituted a set of connected political moments of living and struggle, of active theoretical forms which together amounted to a major dynamic of transformation in and against the international relations and world order of the twentieth century. It is necessary to understand the temporality of anticolonialism on its own terms in order to grasp the profound challenge these struggles represented, both as modes of international relations and as visions of possibilities of world order, as well as the character of the international relations and world order they struggled against.

The time of anticolonialism was far more than an alternative, non-western, local temporality (cf Hutchings 2008: 160-166). It was an alternative vision and practice of world temporality, in and for the world, never just for the colonized. Certainly, while constituting a major rupture in the international relations of the twentieth century, this vision did not triumph, the practices were defeated (Prashad 2007), but it will never be possible to understand how and why if the fundamental character of this anticolonial time and the practices through which it was expressed cannot first be grasped for what they were. To do so, it will be necessary to leave behind, once and for all, the narrow distortions of IR's dominant conception of the time of world politics, from the Time of Civilization to, still today, the Time of Forgetting. If we can do so, we might be able to learn other lessons about the international relations of the twentieth century, which might yet be helpful for all in the twenty first.

Acknowledgements

An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the Millennium conference, London 2016. Thanks to Zuba, fellow panellists and members of the audience for a great discussion. Very many thanks to Zuba and Marta for being such wonderful and patient editors. Thanks to Elen Stokes, Mustapha Pasha, Rui Lopes and Maureen Woodhall for helpful discussions. Very many thanks to Irene Alexandra Neto and the Fundação Dr. António Agostinho Neto for permission to cite the poems of Agostinho Neto. This chapter contributes to the project *Amílcar Cabral, da Hisória Política às Políticas da Memória* funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, Portugal (PTDC/EPH-HIS/6964/2014).

References

Agathangelou, Anna M. and Killian, Kyle D. ed. (2014a). *Time, Temporality and Violence in International Relations: (De) Fatalizing the Present, Forging Radical Alternatives*, London: Routledge.

Agathangelou, Anna M. and Killian, Kyle D. (2014b). "Of time and temporality in world politics" in Agathangelou, A. M. and Killian, K. D. ed. *Time, Temporality and Violence in International Relations: (De) Fatalizing the Present, Forging Radical Alternatives*, London: Routledge.

Alexandre, Valentim. (1993). "Ideologia, economia e poítica: a questão colonial na implantação do Estado Novo", *Análise Social*, XXVIII (4-5): 1117-1136.

Alexandre, Valenteim. (2000). *Velho Brasil, Novas Áfricas: Portugal e o Império (1808-1975)*, Porto: Edições Afrontamento.

Andersen, Louise, Møller, Bjørn and Stepputat, Finn ed. (2007). *Fragile States and Insecure People? Violence, Security, and Statehood in the Twenty-First Century*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Anghie, Anthony. (2005). *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barak, On. (2013). *On Time: Technology and Temporality in Modern Egypt*, University of California Press.

Bates, Robert H. (2008). *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-century Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bengelsdorf, Carol and Roberts, Elsa ed. (1971). *Building Freedom: Mozambique's FRELIMO*, Cambridge, MA: Africa Research Group.

Bragança, Aquino and Wallerstein, Inmanuel ed. (1982). *The African Liberation Reader: Documents of the National Liberation Movements, Vol. 1: The Anatomy of Colonialism*, London: Zed Press.

Bratton, Michael and Walle, Nicolas Van de. (1994). "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa", *World Politics*, 46 (4): 453-489.

Brinkerhoff, Derik W. and Goldsmith, Arthur A. (2002). *Clientelism, Patrimonialism and Democratic Governance: An Overview and Framework for Assessment and Programming*, Washington D. C.: Abt Associates Inc. Report prepared for U.S. Agency for International Development, Office of Democracy and Governance.

Brookings Institute (2011). *Index of State Weakness in the Developing World*, Washington D. C.

Bull, Hedley and Watson, Andrew ed. (1984). *The Expansion of International Society*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Burnett, Graham. (2003). "Mapping Time: Chronometry on Top of the World", *Daedalus*, 132 (2): 5-19.

Cabral, Amical. (1962). *Relatório da audiência do Comité de Descolonização da ONU*. CasaComum.org. <http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_39890> (accessed 20 January 2016).

Cabral, Amical. (1970). *National Liberation and Culture*. Comunicação apresentada por Amílcar Cabral, na sessão de homenagem a Eduardo Mondlane, Syracuse University. Traduzido do francês, por Maureen Webster. CasaComum.org. <http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_84137> (accessed 15 January 2016).

Cabral, Amical. (1972). "Intervenção perante a Quarta Comissão da Assembleia Geral das Nações Unidas (XXVII Sessão), Outubro de 1972" in *A Prática Revolucionária: Unidade e Luta II*, Lisboa: Seara Nova, 1977.

Caetano, Marcelo. (1951). "Os antecedentes legislativos do acto colonial", *Revista do Gabinete de Estudos Ultramarinos*, 4 1-9.

Caetano, Marcelo. (1970). *Razões da Presença de Portugal no Ultramar: excertos de discursos proferidos pelo Presidente do Conselho de Ministros Prof. Doutor Marcello Caetano*, Lisboa: Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo.

Cammack, Diana. (2007). "The Logic of African Neopatrimonialism: What Role for Donors?", *Development Policy Review*, 25 (5): 599-614.

Cardão, Marcos and Castelo, Claudia ed. (2015). *Gilberto Freyre: Novas Leituras do Outro Lado do Atlântico*, São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo.

Castelo, Claudia. (1998). *"O Modo Portugues de Estar no Mundo": o luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933-1961)*, Porto: Afrontamento.

Castree, Noel. (2009). 'The Spatio-temporality of Capitalism', *Time and Society*, 18 (1): 26-61.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. (2000). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Cooper, Frederick. (1992). "Colonizing Time: Work Rhythms and Labor Conflict in Colonial Mombasa" in Dirks, N. B. ed. *Colonialism and Culture*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Couto Ribeiro Villas, Gaspar do. (1937). *História Colonial (I Volume)*, Lisboa: Minerva.

Couto Ribeiro Villas, Gaspar do. (1938). *História Colonial (II Volume)*, Lisboa: Minerva.

Drayton, Richard. (2016). "The Road to the Tricontinental: Anti-imperialism and the Politics of the Twentieth Century", paper presented at *Legacies of the Tricontinental: Imperialism, Resistance, Law*, Universidade de Coimbra, 22-24 September 2016,

Enes, Antonio. (1890). *Historia Universal: Reformada Em Conformidade Com O Estado Actual Das Sciencias Históricas, Accrescentada Até Ao Anno De 1879 Ampliada Na Parte Relativa A Portugal E Ao Brasil (Por Cesar Cantu; Rev. Por Antonio Ennes)*, Lisboa: Empreza Litteraria Fluminense.

Englebert, P. (2000). "Pre-Colonial Institutions, Post-Colonial States, and Economic Development in Tropical Africa", *Political Research Quarterly*, 53 (1): 7-36.

Englebert, Pierre. (2009). *Africa: Unity, Sovereignty, and Sorrow*, Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner.

European Report on Development (2009). *Overcoming Fragility in Africa: Forging a New European Approach*, Florence: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, San Domenico di Fiesole.

Ezrow, Natasha M. and Frantz, Erica. (2013). *Failed States and Institutional Decay: Understanding Instability and Poverty in the Developing World*, London: Bloomsbury.

Fabian, Johannes. (2002). *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, reprint edition; first published 1983, New York: Columbia University Press.

Ferraz de Matos, Patricia. (2006). *As Côres do Império: Representações Racias no Império Colonial Português*, Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Foucault, Michel. (1970). *The Order of Things*, London: Tavistock.

FRAIN (1960). *Portuguese colonialism on trial for the first time*. CasaComum.org. <http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_42658> (accessed 20 January 2016).

Freyre, Gilberto. (1933). *Casa-Grande & Senzela: Formação da Família Brasileira sob o Regime da Economia Patriarcal*, Lisboa: Livros do Brasil.

Freyre, Gilberto. (1940). *O Mundo que o Português Criou. Aspectos das Relações Sociais e de Cultura do Brasil com Portugal e as Colônias Portuguesas*, Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora.

Galison, Peter. (2003). *Einstein's Clocks, Poincare's Maps: Empires of Time*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

Governo de Portugal, A. N. (1935). *Constituição Política da República Portuguesa e Acto Colonial*, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.

Grovogui, Siba N. Z. (1996). *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Grovogui, Siba N. Z. (2001). "Come to Africa: A Hermeneutic of Race in International Theory", *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 26 (4): 425-448.

Gruffydd Jones, Branwen. (2013). "'Good governance' and 'state failure': Genealogies of Imperial discourse", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 26 (1): 49-70.

Gruffydd Jones, Branwen. (2016). "Definitions and categories: Epistemologies of race and critique", *Postcolonial Studies*, 19 (2): 1-12.

Guha, Ranajit. (2002). *History at the Limit of World-History*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Hailey, William. M. (1943). *The Future of Colonial Peoples*, London: Oxford University Press.

Hailey, William. M. (1954). *Native Administration in the British African Territories*, London: H.M.S.O.

Hauptmann, Emily. (2012). "The Ford Foundation and the Rise of Behavioralism in Political Science", *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 48 (2): 154–173.

Helliwell, Christine. and Hindess, Barry. (2013). "Time and the others" in Seth, Sanjay. ed. *Postcolonial theory and International Relations: a critical introduction*, Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Herbst, Jeffrey. (1997). “Responding to state failure in Africa”, *International Security*, 21 (3): 120-144.

Hom, Andrew R. (2010). “Hegemonic Metronome: The Ascendancy of Western Standard Time”, *Review of International Studies*, 36 (4): 1145-1170.

Hutchings, Kim. (2008). *Time and World Politics: Thinking the Present*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hyam, Ronald. (1992). *British Documents on the End of Empire. Series A. Vol.2, The Labour government and the end of empire 1945-1951. Part 1, High policy and administration*, London: HMSO.

Hyden, Goran. (2012). *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inayatullah, Naeem and Blaney, David L. (2004). *International Relations and the Problem of Difference*, New York: Routledge.

Ingram, Sue. (2010). *State Building. Key Concepts and Operational Implications in Two Fragile States: the case of Sierra Leone and Liberia*, New York and Geneva: World Bank and UNDP.

Jackson, Robert H. (1990). *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kalpagam, U. (1999). “Temporalities, History and Routines of Rule in Colonial India”, *Time and Society*, 8 (1): 141-159.

Kern, Stephen. (2003). *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Laban, Michel. (2000). “Da Negação à Affirmação: uma versão completa de 'A Renúncia Impossível” de Agostinho Neto' in Mata, Inocencia and Padilha, Laura ed. *Mário Pinto de Andrade: Um intelectual na política*, Lisbon: Colibri.

Léonard, Yves. (1997). “Salazar e lusotropicalisme, histoire d'une appropriation”, *Lusotopie*, 211-226.

Léonard, Yves. (1999). “O Império Colonial Salazarista” in Bethencourt, Francisco and Chaudhuri, Kirti. ed. *História da Expansão Portuguesa (vol. V)*, Navarra: Círculo de Leitores.

Maedla, Anna, Haerb, Roos and Odenwalda, Michael. (2011). “Using Micro-Level Data to Map State Failure: The Example of Somalia”, *Civil Wars*, 13 (1): 61-79.

Mendes, Victor. J. (2008). “Salazar and the New State” in Poddar, Prem, Patke, Rajeev and Jensen, Lars ed. *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literature. Continental Europe and its Empires*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ministério das Colónias (1936). *Para uma Política Imperial: Alguns Discursos do Ministro das Colónias Doutor Armindo Monteiro*, Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias.

Mirowski, Philip. (2005). “How Positivism Made a Pact with the Postwar Social Sciences in the United States” in Steinmetz, George ed. *The Politics of Method in the Human Sciences: Positivism and its Epistemological Others*, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Mitchell, Timothy. (1991). *Colonising Egypt*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Mondlane, Eduardo. (1962). *Summary of the Introduction and complete text of certain sections of Statement submitted by Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane to the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration*. CasaComum.org. <http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_84130> (accessed 4 February 2015).

Mondlane, Eduardo and Machel, Samora. (1975). *A Frelimo e a revolução em Moçambique*, Lisboa: Maria da Fonte.

Moreira, Adriano. (1951). *A Revogação do Acto Colonial*, Lisboa: Revista do Gabinete de Estudos Ultramarinos, 3.

Moss, Todd. (2007). *African Development: making sense of the issues and actors*, Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner.

Munene, Macharia. (1995). *The Truman Adminsitration and the Decolonisation of sub-Saharan Africa*, Nairobi: Nairobi University Press.

Naudé, Wim, Santos-Paulino, Amelia U. and McGillivray, Mark. ed. (2011). *Fragile States: Causes, Costs, and Responses*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ndulo, Muna and Grieco, Margaret. ed. (2010). *Failed and Failing States: The Challenges to African Reconstruction*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Neto, Agostinho. (1974). *Sacred Hope. Poems by Agostinho Neto*, London: Journeyman Press and UNESCO.

Neto, Agostinho. (1987). *Sagrada Esperança*, Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Casta Editora.

Neto, Agostinho. (2015). *Agostinho Neto: Complete Poetry*, Luanda: Dr. António Agostinho Neto Foundation.

Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges. (2002). *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: a People's History,* London: Zed Books.

Ogot, Bethwell A. (1995). "The decisive years, 1955-63" in Ogot, Bethwell. A. and Ochieng, William R. ed. *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya: 1940-1993*, Nairobi and London: East Africa Educational Publishers and James Currey.

Polanah, Paulo S. (2008). "An Imperial Mystique: Colonial discourse and National Identity in Portugal, 1930-1945", *Portuguese Studies Review*, 16 (1): 61-86.

Polanah, Paulo S. (2011). "'The Zenith of our National History': National Identity, colonial empire, and the promotion of the Portuguese Discoveries: Portugal 1930s", *EJournal of Portuguese History*, 2 1-12.

Prashad, Vijay. (2007). *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, New York The New Press.

Ramos, Rui. (2000). "'Um novo Brasil de um novo Portugal': A história do Brasil e a ideia de colonização em Portugal nos séculos XIX e XX", *Penélope*, 23 129-152.

Reno, William. (1997). "African Weak States and Commercial Alliances", *African Affairs*, 96 (383):

Reis Torgal, Luis (2007). "Marcello Caetano antes do marcelismo", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie V, Historia Contemporánea, 19 49-73.

Robb-Jackson, C. J. (2010). "Rescuing a Fragile State: Sierra Leone 2002–2008", *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 31 (3-4): 515-517.

Rosenberg, Daniel and Grafton, Anthony. (2010). *Cartographies of Time: A History of the Timeline*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Rotberg, Robert I. (2006). "Dilemmas of Weak States: Africa and Transnational Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 44 (3): 487-488.

Oliveria e Castro, Luis Filipe de. (1965). *Política Ultramarina Portuguesa*, Lisboa: Separata da Revista Ultramar (No. 21).

Salazar, Oliveria. (1961). *O Ultramar Português e a O.N.U.*, Lisboa: Secretariado Nacional da Informação. Discurso proferido por sua excelência o Presidente do Conselho, Prof. Doutor Oliveira Salazar, na sessão extraordinária da Assembleia Nacional, em 30 de Junho de 1961.

Salazar, Oliveira. (1963). "Declaração sobre Política Ultramarina", *Ultramar*, IV (13/14): 193/210.

Salazar, Oliveira. (1967). *Discursos. 1959-1966*, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora.

Santa Rita, José G. (1936). “O sentido do Acto Colonial”, *Revista da Faculdade de Lestras*, II (2): 224-245.

Santa Rita, José G. (1944). “Selvagens e civilizados”, *Anuário da Escola Superior Colonial*, (1943-1944): 163-170.

Santa Rita, José G. (1951). “O direito de as populações disporem de si próprias”, *Revista do Gabinete de Estudos Ultramarinos*, 4 10-22.

Shils, Edward. (1960). “Political Development in the New States”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2 (3): 265-292.

Sousa, Sandra I. (2015). *Ficções do Outro: Império, Raça e Subjectividade no Moçambique Colonial*, Lisboa: Esfera de Caos Editores.

de Sousa Ferreira, Eduardo. (1972). *Portuguese Colonialism from South Africa to Europe*, Freiburg: Aktion Dritte Welt.

Spence, J. E. (1967). “The New States of Southern Africa”, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 5 (4): 541-555.

Starr, Harvey. ed. (2009). *Dealing with Failed States: Crossing Analytic Boundaries*, London: Routledge.

Stewart, Frances and Brown, Graham. (2009). *Fragile States*, Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity. CRISE Working Paper No. 51.

Thompson, Edward P. (1967). “Time, work-discipline, and industrial capitalism”, *Past and Present*, 381 56-97.

Tilly, Charles. (1995). “The Time of States”, *Social Research*, 61 269-295.

Trindade, Rodam. (1951). “Indígenas de Moçambique”, *Revista do Gabinete de Estudos Ultramarinos*, 4 23-30.

Trüper, Henning, Chakrabarty, Dipesh and Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. (2015). “Teleology and History: Nineteenth-Century Fortunes of an Enlightenment Project” in Trüper, Henning, Chakrabarty, Dipesh and Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. ed. *Historical Teleologies in the Modern World*, London: Bloomsbury.

Van Bilsen, Jef (1956). “Un plan de trente ans pour l'émancipation politique de l'Afrique belge”, *Les Dossiers de l'Action Sociale Catholique*, 33 (2): 83-111.

Vitalis, Robert. (2015). *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Zartman, William I. (1966). *International Relations in the New Africa*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Notes

[1] A sample of a long-entrenched tradition includes Ezrow and Frantz 2013; Brookings Institute 2011; Maedla et al. 2011; Naudé et al. 2011; Robb-Jackson 2010; Ndulo and
[2] See for example Barak 2013; Mitchell 1991; Kalpagam 1999; Cooper 1992.
[3] See Trüper *et al*. 2015 and chapters in their volume for a discussion of the plurality of forms teleology took in European thought from the 18th century onwards.
[4] On the significance of Salazar's brief role as Minister of Colonies before assuming the role of Prime Minister see Alexandre 1993.
[5] This and all other quotations from sources in Portuguese are my own translation.
[6] Caetano was a Professor of Law, Minister of the Colonies between 1944-1947, President of the *Câmara Corporativa* 1955-1958, and succeeded Salazar as Prime Minister of the *Estado Novo* in 1968.
[7] Moreira was Professor and Director of the Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos, and from 1959 Under-Secretary of State for Overseas Administration, and Overseas Minister between 1961-63.
[8] Presumably referring to the *História trágico-marítima*, a compilation of accounts of shipwrecks during the 16th century, published in 1735 and 1736 by Bernardo Gomes de Brito.
[9] This was a return to the terminology employed previously by the monarchical regime of the 1920s. In fact, Torgal reports that Salazar continued into the late 1950s to use the term colony, and confirmed in an interview in 1957: 'We believe that there are races, decaying or backwards, as you prefer, in relation to which we uphold the duty to call them to civilization' 'A atmosfera mundial e os problemas nacionais', discurso proferido em 1 de Novembro de 1957, in Salazar 1967; cited in Torgal 2007: 68.
[10] The *Câmara Corporativa* was a political organ of the government of the Estado Novo, representative of various corporate organizations, which had a consultative role discussing the formulation of legislature within the National Assembly.
[11] The poem was published in full in Portuguese in Laban 2000: 89-99; and in English in Neto 2015: 183-194.