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25 APRIL 1974: TIMELINE

1974

April 24th

10.55 p.m.

Paulo de Carvalho's song *E depois do Adeus* is played on Emissores Associados radio in Lisbon. It is the signal that the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) troops were waiting for to unleash the *coup d'état*.

April 25th

12.20 a.m.

A second song sets the coup in motion. *Grândola Vila Morena*, by protest singer-songwriter José Afonso, is broadcast by Rádio Renascença, a Catholic station. MFA troops come out of the barracks to overthrow the regime and end the colonial wars fought in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique since 1961.

1.00 a.m.

MFA soldiers take over the Escola Prática de Cavalaria in Santarém. Movements begin in barracks in Estremoz, Figueira da Foz, Lamego, Lisbon, Mafra and Vendas Novas.

3.30 a.m.

MFA begins the siege at the Military Region Headquarters in Lisbon.

3.59 a.m.

The MFA occupies places considered strategic as part of 'Operation End Regime,' including the television network (RTP) and the Lisbon airport.

4.26 a.m.

Rádio Clube Português (RCP) broadcasts the first MFA public statement: 'The Armed Forces ask the inhabitants of Lisbon to return to their homes, where they should remain as calm as possible'.

5.45 a.m.

The military column led by Captain Salgueiro Maia occupies the Terreiro do Paço, facing the Tagus River in Lisbon.

6.00 a.m.

The military surround Lisbon's City Hall, the Banco de Portugal, the Governo Civil and various ministries in the Baixa area.

9.00 a.m.

In front of the Terreiro do Paço, the frigate *Gago Coutinho* starts maneuvers by order of the Government, but does not fire because the crew does not obey the commander. The navy moved in with the land forces.

11.45 a.m.

New statement from Rádio Clube Português: MFA announces to the country that it controls the situation from north to south.

12.30 p.m.

To the cheers of the people, Captain Salgueiro Maia ascends from the Terreiro do Paço to the Carmo barracks, general command of the Republican National Guard (GNR). The President of the Council, Marcelo Caetano, and the Ministers of the Interior and Foreign Affairs had taken refuge there.

1.30 p.m.

Salgueiro Maia uses a megaphone to call on the GNR and the head of Government to surrender.

3.30 p.m.

Troops commanded by Salgueiro Maia fire on the facade of the Carmo barracks, demanding the surrender of Marcelo Caetano.

4.15 p.m.

Fighting begins outside the headquarters of the PIDE/DGS, the political police.

4.30 p.m.

Marcelo Caetano announces the surrender and asks General Spínola to go to the Carmo barracks to prevent 'power from falling to the streets.'

5.45 p.m.

General António de Spínola, sent by the MFA, enters the barracks to accept the surrender. Spínola, a war hero in Guinea, is the author of *Portugal and its Future*, published in February 1974, a work that gave great impetus to the coup. The white flag is raised.

6.30 p.m.

Caetano and the ministers Rui Patrício and Moreira Baptista are transported aboard the armored *Bula* to the MFA command post at the Pontinha barracks. The next day they leave for Madeira.

8.00 p.m.

Members of the PIDE/DGS open fire on the crowd outside the headquarters in the Chiado district of Lisbon. Four people die and several others are injured.

8.05 p.m.

Rádio Clube Português broadcasts the 'Proclamation of the Armed Forces Movement.'

April 26th

The National Salvation Junta, led by Spínola, is presented to the Portuguese people on television. The political prisoners held in the Caxias Fort on the outskirts of Lisbon are released.

April 28th

Mário Soares, secretary of the newly formed Socialist Party, arrives at the Santa Apolónia railway station in Lisbon on the so-called 'freedom train' on his return from exile in Paris.

April 29th

Álvaro Cunhal, leader of the Portuguese Communist Party, who had escaped from the Peniche Fortress prison in 1962, arrives at Santa Apolónia station in Lisbon from exile in Prague.

May 1st

On the first Labor Day free of the regime, large popular demonstrations in support of April 25 fill the streets of Lisbon and the country's main cities. Mário Soares and Álvaro Cunhal deliver two speeches from the stands of Lisbon's 1º de Maio stadium.

May 4th

'Not one more soldier in the colonies' is the slogan launched by the left-wing student movement MRPP (Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party) to prevent the deployment of troops to Africa. In addition to various demonstrations and protests, an unstoppable wave of strikes organized by workers' assemblies spread throughout the country, paralyzing a large number of companies and leading in many cases to "purges" of management boards and their replacement by workers' committees.

May 6th

Francisco Sá Carneiro, Francisco Pinto Balsemão and Joaquim Magalhães Mota, former members of the liberal wing of the National Assembly, found the Popular Democratic Party (PPD).

May 15th and 16th

General António de Spínola is sworn in as President of the Republic. The first Provisional Government, headed by lawyer and university professor Adelino de Palma Carlos, takes office.

May 17th

Foreign Minister Mário Soares meets in Dakar with Aristides Pereira, Secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), to negotiate a ceasefire in Guinea-Bissau.

May 20th

Admiral Américo Thomaz, former President of the Republic, and Marcelo Caetano, former Prime Minister, leave for exile in Brazil.

June 1st

With no control over the strike movements, Intersindical, a trade union confederation close to the Portuguese Communist Party, calls a demonstration against 'strike for strike.'

June 8th

Negotiations begin between delegations from the Portuguese Government and FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front), led by Mário Soares and Samora Machel, respectively, with the mediation of Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia.

July 8th

The Council of State rejects the President of the Republic's proposal to bring forward the presidential elections and postpone the elections to the Constituent Assembly scheduled for 1975.

July 18th

The Second Provisional Government takes office, headed by Colonel Vasco Gonçalves, a military man close to the Communist Party. The 5th Division of the Armed Forces General Staff is created, with the aim of organizing cultural campaigns, providing civic support and spreading the ideals of the movement through the MFA newspaper (*Boletim do MFA*).

July 19th

The Social Democratic Center Party (CDS) is founded under the leadership of Diogo Freitas do Amaral.

August 25th

The Portuguese Government and the PAIGC reach an agreement in Algiers on the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. The return of Portuguese troops stationed in Guinea-Bissau begins.

September 7th

The Lusaka Accord is signed with Samora Machel, establishing Mozambique's independence.

September 10th

Speaking at the ceremony recognizing Guinea-Bissau's independence, General Spínola warns of the dangers of 'extremist totalitarianism' and encourages the 'silent majority of the Portuguese people' to 'wake up' and 'defend themselves.'

September 26th

The President of the Republic and the Prime Minister attend a bullfight at the Campo Pequeno bullring. The crowd cheers Spínola and boos Vasco Gonçalves. Outside. Clashes break out between supporters and opponents of General Spínola.

September 28th

Political crisis. Communist Party supporters erect barricades on the outskirts of Lisbon to prevent demonstrators from entering the planned 'silent majority' rally in support of the President of the Republic. Under the command of Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, COPCON (Continent Operations Command) arrests dozens of people on charges of belonging to fascist organizations and participating in a counterrevolutionary coup.

September 30th

The President of the Republic, General Spínola, announces his resignation on television. General Costa Gomes is appointed President of the Republic and retains the position of Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces (CEMGFA).

October 1st

The third Provisional Government, again headed by Vasco Gonçalves, takes office.

October 13th

The Plenary Assembly of Intersindical, meeting in Porto, approves the creation of a single central union.

October 23rd

The MFA's 'Cultural Dynamization and Civic Action Campaigns,' aimed at strengthening the relationship between the people and the MFA, are announced.

November 16th

Frank Carlucci is appointed U.S. ambassador in Lisbon.

November 20th

Meeting in Algiers to discuss Angolan independence between Melo Antunes, minister without portfolio, and an MPLA delegation led by Agostinho Neto.

December 9th

'Land to those who work it:' the land occupation movement in Ribatejo and Alentejo begins at the Outeiro estate in Beja.

December 13th

At the first congress of the Socialist Party, Mário Soares defeats his opponent, Manuel Serra, and is elected General Secretary.

December 16th

The Popular Democratic Union (UDP) is founded, the result of the union of several extreme leftist groups of Maoist inspiration.

1975

January 3rd

The General Assembly of the Lisbon Bankers' Union proposes that the Government nationalize the banks.

January 7th

First major clash between PS and PCP: Socialist leader Salgado Zenha attacks the proposal to impose a single union, coining the phrase 'union unicity,' in an article published in *Diário de Notícias*.

January 13th

The MFA comes out in favor of the single union.

January 15th

The Portuguese Government, along with the three Angolan liberation movements, signs the Alvor Agreement, which establishes the terms of Angola's independence process, scheduled for November 11th, 1975.

January 25th

Leftist demonstrators surround the Palácio de Cristal in Porto, preventing the holding of the first CDS (Social Democratic Center) congress.

February 13th

Legalization of divorce: The Portuguese Government and the Holy See sign an additional protocol to the Concordat, recognizing the right to civil divorce for couples united in a Catholic marriage, which had been prohibited until then.

March 6th

The Council of State is informed of a plot by circles close to Spínola, who fears a series of arrests.

March 11th

Coup attempt – In the morning, General Spínola goes to the Tancos airbase in Santarém, from where planes take off to bomb the Artillery Regiment 1 (RAL1) in Lisbon, which is now surrounded by elements of the Parachute Regiment. Intersindical calls for popular mobilization against the coup and organizes workers' pickets in strategic locations. In the afternoon, members of the Tancos paratrooper regiment,

who were stationed near the RAL1, lift the siege after negotiations with members of the MFA. General Spínola admits the failure of the coup and goes into exile in Spain. The rebel GNR soldiers surrender. In an extraordinary session, the MFA Assembly decides on the immediate institutionalization of the movement, creates the Council of the Revolution to replace the Council of State, and announces a policy of nationalization and land reform. It also confirmed the holding of elections to the Constituent Assembly.

March 12th

A wave of occupations begins, promoted by the extreme left.

March 24th

Armed clashes between the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) in Luanda. The number of whites fleeing Angola increases.

March 26th

Fourth Provisional Government inaugurated with Vasco Gonçalves as Prime Minister.

April 4th

Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir visit Portugal. Sartre states: 'Those who believe in the necessity of a popular revolution believe that elections are a way of immobilizing the population.'

April 11th

The Platform of Constitutional Agreement, known as the 'MFA/Party Pact,' is signed, establishing the political role of the MFA. The document is signed by PS, PSD, PCP, CDS, Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) and Portuguese Socialist Front (FSP).

April 15th

The Council of Ministers announces the nationalization of some of Portugal's most important companies.

May 25th

Elections! With a massive turnout (92% of eligible voters), the first free elections by direct and universal suffrage are held to create the Constituent Assembly. The PS wins with 37.9% of the vote, followed by the PPD with 26.4%. The PCP receives 12.5% of the vote and the CDS 7.6%. The MDP gets 4.1% and the UDP 0.79%.

May 1st

PCP downplays election results. The conflict moves to the streets. The confrontation between the PCP and the PS intensifies. Mário Soares is prevented from taking the stage at the Workers' Day organized by the Intersindical. In response, the PS organizes a demonstration the next day against the Intersindical, accused of serving the PCP.

May 12th

The MPLA and FNLA begin armed clashes in Luanda.

May 19th

The '*República* newspaper case' and the struggle for press freedom. The socialist Raul Rego, editor of the Lisbon newspaper *República*, and some 20 journalists are fired by the paper's workers. They are accused of serving the PS, which is mobilizing in defense of press freedom. The case takes on an international dimension and represents another moment of strong confrontation between socialists and communists.

May 30th

The Student Civic Service is created, one of its aims being to teach illiterate people to read and write.

June 18th

A demonstration in front of the Lisbon Patriarchate, called by several unions and supported by the UDP and MES, demands workers' control of the Catholic radio station Rádio Renascença. A counterdemonstration demands the return of the station to the Catholic Church. Nearly fifty people were injured in the clashes.

June 25th

Mozambique declares independence. FRELIMO leader Samora Machel becomes president of the republic. Portugal is represented by Prime Minister Vasco Gonçalves. On July 5th, Cape Verde becomes independent.

July 8th

Radicalization of the MFA, which calls for the 'establishment of people's power' in a program document of the Popular Alliance-MFA proposed by COPCON and approved by the movement's assembly.

July 10th

The PS withdraws from the Government in protest at the failure to resolve the *República* case.

July 13th

A right-wing insurrection begins in the North of the country. The PCP headquarters in Rio Maior are destroyed, a phenomenon that spreads to other cities and towns in the North and Center. The Catholic Church organizes large popular demonstrations in Aveiro, Viseu, Bragança, Coimbra, Lamego, Braga, Leiria and Vila Real.

July 17th

After the PS, the PPD leaves the Government, which remains exclusively in the hands of the PCP and its allies.

July 18th

In an extraordinary meeting, the MFA decides to create a directorate composed of the President of the Republic, Costa Gomes, the Prime Minister, Vasco Gonçalves, and the Commander of COPCON, Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, with the mission of defining the political direction to be given to the revolutionary process. A few days later, these three figures would end up on the cover of *Time* magazine, 'Lisbon's Troika: Red Threat in Portugal.'

July 19th

The political struggle is at its most tense. The PS takes to the streets to protest against the Government of Vasco Gonçalves. In a huge popular demonstration at the Fonte Luminosa in Lisbon, Mário Soares' speech is interrupted by shouts of *Fora o Vasco* ('Vasco out!').

For its part, the 5th Division of the MFA launches a campaign in support of the Prime Minister, *Força, força, companheiro Vasco* ('Go, go, comrade Vasco').

July 24th

After fierce armed clashes, the MPLA drives the FNLA forces out of Luanda. An airlift begins between Luanda and Lisbon to evacuate hundreds of thousands of people from Angola, known as *retornados*.

August 7th

Division in the MFA between moderates and radicals. The Group of Nine, led by Major Melo Antunes, presents to the President of the Republic a document that will become known as the 'Document of the Nine,' against anarcho-populism and Gonçalvism, but in favor of a socialist society 'without classes, in which the exploitation of man over man no longer exists.' In the days that followed, the document received broad support, especially from the PS and the PPD.

August 8th

The fifth Provisional Government takes office, again headed by Vasco Gonçalves, with no PS or PPD members. It is the most provisional of the provisional governments and lasts only six weeks. In an open letter to the President of the Republic, Mário Soares calls for the resignation of the Prime Minister and the formation of a Government of National Salvation.

August 11th

The signatories of the 'Document of Nine' are suspended by the Council of the Revolution.

August 14th

Splits between the military close to the extreme left and the PCP. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, who is increasingly aligned with the extreme left, initiates contacts with the Group of Nine to draft a new document that would bring the two military-political tendencies together. It won't work.

August 16th

Ninguém nos remove, estamos com os Nove ('Nobody can stop us, we are with the Nine'): The PS and PPD organize demonstrations in support of the "Document of the Nine".

August 18th

'This is the moment of truth,' says Vasco Gonçalves in a dramatic speech in Almada. Gonçalvism is going to end.

August 20th

Discussions about the formation of a new Government to reflect the results of the Constituent Assembly elections intensify.

August 25th

Military members of the 'Group of Nine' are reinstated in the Council of the Revolution. There is a reversal of forces in favor of the moderates.

September 19th

The sixth Provisional Government, headed by Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo and including members of the PS, PPD and PCP, takes office.

September 25th

Demonstration in Lisbon by the movement Soldados Unidos Vencerão ('Soldiers United Will Win' – SUV), allied with the FUR, which declares its intention to 'create an armed arm of workers' power.'

September 27th

Attack, burning and looting of the Spanish Embassy and Consulate in Lisbon by the extreme left in protest against the execution of five Basque activists.

October 6th

'The moment we are living is extremely serious, it is the most serious in our history,' says Sá Carneiro during a PPD rally in Lisbon's Campo Pequeno. The next day, October 7th, members of the SUVs occupy a military unit in the Porto area in revolt against the commander of the Northern Military Region, Pires Veloso.

October 8th

Large demonstration organized by the PPD in Porto in defense of Pires Veloso.

October 11th

The Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) calls for an armed insurrection.

October 18th

First rally of the CDS, at the Estádio das Antas in Porto.

October 26th

Large demonstration in Porto in support of the sixth Provisional Government, attended by Prime Minister Pinheiro de Azevedo.

November 6th

Mário Soares and Álvaro Cunhal participate in a three-hour television debate on their political plans for the country.

November 11th

Following the Alvor Agreement, Angola's three liberation movements declare independence: MPLA in Luanda, FNLA in Ambriz, and UNITA in Huambo. Only the MPLA is internationally recognized. Civil war begins in Angola, with heavy foreign intervention.

November 13th

The Constituent Assembly is seized, surrounded by tens of thousands of construction workers shouting 'This is the people!' For two days, the deputies, except for the PCP and the UDP, remain locked in the parliament.

In a pre-civil war climate and fearing a coup by revolutionary forces, PS, PPD and CDS leaders Mário Soares, Sá Carneiro and Freitas do Amaral move to the North of the country to organize resistance. Rumors circulate that the Constituent Assembly is moving to Porto.

November 20th

The Government goes on strike! Prime Minister Pinheiro de Azevedo feels unable to carry out his duties and tells reporters, 'I've already been kidnapped twice. That's enough! I don't like being kidnapped, it bothers me!' The General Francisco Franco dies in Spain. Two days later, Juan Carlos is proclaimed King.

November 21st

The Council of the Revolution replaces Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho with Vasco Lourenço as commander of the Military Region of Lisbon, but maintains Saraiva Carvalho as head of COPCON.

November 22nd

'A communist dictatorship will never be established in this country!' declares Mário Soares at a PS rally in Porto.

November 23rd

The PS holds another rally at the Fonte Luminosa in Lisbon. The last soldiers from Angola arrive in Portugal.

November 24th

'Soldiers, always and forever on the side of the people': SUV and FUR call for armed action by the masses and the establishment of a revolutionary Government. Farmers in Rio Maior, in the center of the country, respond by blocking railroads and access roads to Lisbon to prevent leftist allied military forces from reaching the capital.

November 25th

6.00 a.m.
The PCP withdraws its support for the armed insurrection at the last minute, but some units of the revolutionary left attempt a coup. Troops from the Practical School of Military Administration (EPAM) occupy the RTP headquarters in Lumiar and control access to the airport.

7.00 a.m.

Tancos paratroopers, allied with the extreme left, occupy several bases in the Lisbon region. The President of the Republic holds an emergency meeting with the Council of the Revolution and the Military Command.

3.00 p.m.

The President of the Republic summons Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, who obeys and personally takes command of COPCON.

4.30 p.m.

The President of the Republic declares a state of siege in the region of Lisbon. The Amadora Command Regiment, under the orders of Ramalho Eanes and Jaime Neves, surrounds various key points of the uprising.

5.00 p.m.

Military police occupy the headquarters of the Emissora Nacional and RTP. Captain Duran Clemente, of the EPAM, calls for a popular mobilization in the barracks and in the media.

7:00 p.m.

In Monsanto, the paratroopers surrendered to Jaime Neves' troops, who liberated the RTP and the Emissora Nacional. Duran Clemente's speech on RTP, explaining the reasons for the leftist coup, is interrupted and replaced by a Danny Kaye film. The broadcast is moved to Porto. Intersindical calls for civilian demobilization.

November 26th

Jaime Neves, head of the Amadora Wards, attacks the Military Police Regiment near the Ajuda neighborhood, which surrenders. Three soldiers are killed. Melo Antunes declares that 'the participation of the PCP in the construction of socialism is indispensable' and demands its involvement in the Government.

November 27th and 28th

Lieutenant Colonel Ramalho Eanes is appointed Chief of Staff of the Army. Arrest warrants are issued for officers Duran Clemente, Varela Gomes and several leaders of extreme leftist movements. Dozens of members of the military are arrested. The Government resumed its functions. State newspapers are suspended, and their editors dismissed for collaborating in the coup attempt.

December 1st

The state of siege is lifted in Lisbon.

December 7th

Indonesia invades East Timor. Portugal breaks off diplomatic relations with Jakarta. The UN condemns the invasion.

December 8th

Álvaro Cunhal declares at a PCP rally in Lisbon: 'The Portuguese left suffered a heavy defeat on November 25th.'

1976

January 13th

Election of the President of the Republic by universal suffrage, proposed by the Constituent Assembly, is approved by the MFA.

The Lisbon Stock Exchange reopens.

January 20th

Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, accused of participating in the attempted coup of November 25th, is arrested. All those involved are dismissed from the armed forces.

February 8th

The CDS holds its first rally in Lisbon, in the Campo Pequeno arena.

February 14th

The Democratic Trade Union Movement, in favor of trade union pluralism, publishes an 'Open Letter' and creates its second union, the General Workers' Union (UGT), close to the PS.

February 22nd

The Portuguese Government recognizes Angola's independence and the MPLA Government.

March 3rd

Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho is released from prison and placed under house arrest.

April 2nd

The Constituent Assembly includes in the draft Constitution of the Republic the responsibility of Portugal to 'promote and guarantee the right to independence of East Timor' (Art. 307). The Constitution of the Portuguese Republic is approved by the Constituent Assembly, with all parliamentary groups voting in favor, except the CDS deputies, who vote against. The electoral campaign begins for the new Assembly of the Republic, which is elected on April 25th, 1976. Elections for the President of the Republic are held in June, and the first democratic municipal elections in December. The elected President of the Republic, Ramalho Eanes, takes office on July 14th and the first constitutional Government, headed by Mário Soares, takes office on July 23rd.

INSIGHTS

MFA

They were young, they were officers of the armed forces. They wanted to end thirteen years of war in Africa and compulsory conscription.

Disagreement with the leadership of the armed forces erupted in June 1973, and in September, 136 officers created the “Captains’ Movement,” with the support of 97 others in arms abroad. In December, the priority is to overthrow the regime. The document “O Movimento, as Forças Armadas e a Nação” (The Movement, the Armed Forces and the Nation) is born, which states that “the Army is not apolitical” and that “an irreparable breach is open.”

In February 1974, General de Spínola launched the book *Portugal e o Futuro* (“Portugal and the Future”), open to the limited autonomy of the colonies, and the Captains’ Movement, despite differences, looked to him as the moderate to lead change. The Captains’ Movement becomes the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). The regime is not yet ready to fall. Generals de Spínola and Costa Gomes are dismissed, and PIDE/DGS state police persecute members of the movement. On March 16, Infantry Regiment 5 marches on Lisbon with the goal of toppling the dictatorship. The coup attempt fails but it is clear how only a *coup d’etat* can resolve the underlying issues. And while the MFA represents only 10% of the officer corps, on the day of the Revolution it receives the support of 70% of the

military units and civilian democratic forces. Ever since the 1973 Democratic Opposition Congress in Aveiro, which is also attended by MFA members, they all identify with the three Ds, “Democratizar, Decolonizar, Desenvolver” (Democratize, Decolonize, Develop).

A SINGLE MULTITUDE

April 25 and the Carnation Revolution are above all a mass event. As the poet said, “The doors that April opened,” saw many people in the streets, soldiers, women, men, students, ordinary people. Every moment, from the first days, is followed step by step by an enthusiastic, sometimes worried, but always participating crowd.

In the images of an amateur photographer, then a student of fine arts, we follow the early stages of the revolution, which was, undoubtedly peaceful, but it still experienced moments of tension and bewilderment in the beginning.

So like his friends and fellow students, Mário Varela Gomes in those days took to the streets and with his camera suddenly, perhaps brutally, photographed what his gaze, that of the man in the crowd, recorded and witnessed.

DECOLONIZATION

Ending war in Africa was a goal of the Armed Forces Movement.

In Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde since 1956, in São Tomé and Príncipe since 1960, in Angola since 1961, in Mozambique since 1962, and in Timor since 1975, liberation movements have been calling for independence (Goa is conquered by the Indian Union in 1961).

After the revolution, the MFA declares how urgent it is to “initiate an overseas policy leading to peace.” In July 1974, the Decolonization Act is enacted, accepting the various forms of independence.

The first to be accepted is that of Guinea-Bissau, the second, Mozambique. Clashes break out in Maputo between conservative settlers and FRELIMO. An agreement is reached with São Tomé and Príncipe and Cape Verde. Missing is Angola, where the situation is complex with three liberation movements.

In January 1975, Portugal recognizes the FNLA, MPLA and UNITA as legitimate representatives of the Angolan people. The date of November 11 is set for independence, managed by a transitional government. Civil war breaks out, and in August 1975, an area council repatriates hundreds of thousands of Portuguese. Angola is divided between the People’s Republic of Angola of the MPLA and the Democratic Republic of Angola of the FNLA and UNITA, in

open warfare. In November 1975, the last troops of the so-called “Ultramar” return to Portugal and East Timor declared itself independent.

In little more than a year, Portugal gives up its colonies. Leaving their lives behind, 600,000 people – many foreign-born – must start a new life in the homeland, suffering the hardships and discrimination that the name “retornados” (returnees) implies.

AGRARIAN REFORM

Land reform is on the agenda of the MFA and the parties, but there is no agreement or plan for its implementation. The debate rages on, and in the countryside as in the cities there is discussion about what the fate of the rural world might be. The rural unions have the support of the Portuguese Communist Party, which holds 45% of the vote in the "Agrarian Intervention Zone." Demonstrations and rallies multiply.

But land reform is experienced differently in the north and south of the country. North of the Tagus, land was divided into small and medium-sized plots. In the south, the system was that of the latifundium, with 73% of the land in the hands of 6% of the owners. Mostly wheat, cork oaks, holm oaks and olive trees were cultivated. Permanent jobs were few, wages low and conditions poor. In the 1960s, support opportunities and wheat acreage decreased. The latifundium crisis reduced employment opportunities, accelerating social discontent and rural exodus.

After April 25, large landowners organize into the Free Farmers Association, ALA, which defends the "social function" of land in anticipation of land reform. Small and medium farmers form a league to recognize their role in the country's economy. Rural laborers form district unions and put forward wage demands

and labor guarantees, leading them to reach an agreement with ALA in the summer of 1974.

In November, a law is passed mandating the lease of unused land, paving the way for occupations. On December 9, the Outeiro property in Beja is the first to be occupied.

FREE ELECTIONS

The MFA keeps its promise. Exactly one year after the revolution, on April 25, 1975, women and men can go to the polls. The vote is direct, universal and highly anticipated. More than 91% of voters can now choose the political line of the new democratic Portugal. The chosen Assembly has one year to draft a new constitution to replace the dictatorship's constitution, in force since 1933. The Socialist Party with 37% and the People's Democratic Party with 26% are the big winners. In third place is the Communist Party with 12%. Of the remaining 11 parties, only four manage to elect deputies. The centrist orientation triumphs. The Constituent Assembly takes office on June 2, 1975, and is dissolved on April 2, 1976, when the founding text of today's Portuguese democracy, the 1976 Constitution, is finalized.

An interim military-civilian government remains in power until the first elections for the new legislative assembly on April 25, 1976. Fourteen parties ran and once again the centrist option prevailed. Of note is the failed right-wing military coup attempt by António de Spínola on March 11, 1975, and the crisis on November 25 of the same year, when the moderate Armed Forces put an end to the PREC (Revolutionary Process in Progress) and stabilized the development of representative democracy.

Murals, posters, and revolutionary phrases radically change the appearance of cities, especially during elections. Walls are covered and painted with colorful election murals, filled with images, slogans, political acronyms. Everything is new in the expression of democracy.

WOMEN IN REVOLUTION

April 25 represents a revolution for Portuguese women in terms of job opportunities, role in the family, sex life, social security, civil and political rights. They move from invisibility by decree to desired visibility in public and private life, from submission to equality.

Until that day, only 25% of wage earners were women and they earned 40% less than men. The husband could open his wife's mail and prohibit her from working outside the home or engaging in gainful activities without his consent. The state did not allow her to become a judge, diplomat, to enroll in the military or police forces. There were no social pensions or unemployment benefits. Contraception was only therapeutic and to be done with her husband's consent. Catholic marriage was indissoluble, and, under civil law, a woman could be repudiated if she was not a virgin.

It was the 1976 Constitution that established equality between men and women before the law.

The feminist struggle in the 1960s was partly "smothered" by the struggle against dictatorship that the university protest movements promoted. In academic theaters, in movement newspapers, in smaller numbers in street demonstrations, but especially in literary achievements, women begin to gain political visibility.

ARTWORK

Before there was censorship: censorship of the press, of letters, of any artistic expression. With the April 25 revolution comes a huge explosion of graphic art in the creative storytelling of the new phase the Country is experiencing. The messages that radio, newspapers and television broadcast are accompanied by representations of the heroes of the revolution – the MFA soldiers, the working men and women, the rural workers, the students, united against fascism, the bourgeoisie and capitalism.

Murals, posters, stickers and revolutionary phrases radically changed the appearance of walls in cities and towns. In all colors, the white of lime and the coldness of stone are subverted, with no aesthetic uniformity.

Perhaps naive, inspired certainly by Soviet socialist realism or the heroic wall paintings of China's great proletarian revolution, public propaganda floods the country as never before.

In the illustrations of newspaper texts and books, in the posters of trade unions and associations, in theater and movie posters, the messages of protest and propaganda reflect the whole new visual, creative and artistic environment exploded with the April Revolution whose icon is the carnation, the April flower.

"What's happening?" asks Ms. Celeste to a soldier in the heart of the city,

"A revolution is happening! Do you have a cigarette?" Celeste does not smoke, but offers him one of the carnations that were supposed to go to the restaurant where she works which is closed. The soldier sticks the carnation into the barrel of his rifle, and Celeste distributes food to the other fellow soldiers. Thus is born the symbol of the MFA's union with the people: a carnation that dresses, with its red color, the walls of the cities.

