

O CRAVO RESISTE

THE CARNATION THAT RESISTS

The history of April 25 was translated into posters so that through an image, versatile and media, the values of April 25, 1974, which overthrew the dictatorial regime that for 48 years oppressed and suppressed the Portuguese people. This pioneering movement of enormous democratic transformations has mirrored all over the world that the “Armed Forces are not doomed to be an instrument of oppression” but, on the contrary, a “liberating element of the peoples”.

The April captains fulfilled their goals that were based on democratising, decolonising and developing Portugal as a free and peaceful nation.

The archive of the Association of April 25, founded by the April Military, is part of this collection of 40 annual posters of the national commemorations of this Revolution, between 1984 and 2023, shown in this exhibition entitled “The clove that resists”. In this context, the Municipality of Valença, through the artist António Nunes, aggregates an iron sculpture, representing a clove, symbol par excellence of the April Revolution.

These posters were designed after 25 April and favored authorial anonymity. Visual information expresses its graphical evolution and is a unique testimony of historical and documentary value. Allied to the aesthetic language, clear and intentional, where the carnation predominates, slogans, slogans, contextualise the images and graphic marks, to which the artists have resorted and that synthesise the message of the poster.

It is imperative to fight for the defense and maintenance of freedom conquered, in a democratic, just, equal and solidary society, in an environment of peace and prosperity.

Collaboration:

Associação 25 de Abril • Honorary Member of the Order of Freedom

On 25 April 1974, a group of young masters carried out a coup d'état which, in less than 24 hours, overthrew the dictatorship that had dominated Portugal for four decades, completely changing the course of national history. The military coup had the popular euphoric support that invaded the streets of *Lisboa*.

The conspiracy phase was relatively short, leading to a rapid politicisation of the Movement. Signs that the end of the regime was imminent, in the face of its intransigence in maintaining the war effort, were adhering from the beginning of 1974, including the publication of Portugal and the future (22 February), the ceremony of the 'rheumatic brigade' (14 March), the resignation of generals *Costa Gomes* and *António de Spínola* from the head of the General Staff of the Armed Forces (15 March) and the false departure from Infantry Regulations Number 5 of the *Caldas da Rainha* (16 March).

Preparations for the State Golpe on 22 April 1974 were initiated through contacts of the Movement with members of the Associate Emiors in *Lisboa* and *Radio Renascença* for the transmission of two passwords via radio: '*E depois do Adeus*' of *Paulo de Carvalho* and '*Grândola Vila Morena*' by *Zeca Afonso*, in the '*Limite*' programme in the early 25th to issue the code signal to trigger military operations.

The final instructions for the 'Liaison Teams' were decided on 23 April 1974, in which *Neves Rosa* took charge of typing. These include the date and time of the start of operations (25 April at 3 a.m.), some changes to the missions previously received by the units, password and password to be used by the participating forces (initially "*Fé imensa na vitória*" and "*Garantia melhor futuro*" respectively go to "*Coragem*" and "*Pela Vitória*") and other instructions sent to some units.

On 23 April 1974, a meeting in the house of *Vítor Crespo* with the presence of various officers of the Armada was obtained by the Directorate of the Movement, represented by *Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho* and *Vítor Alves*, the guarantee of the neutrality of the Fuzileiros Navais, followed by another meeting in the Rules of Procedure of Engineering 1 at Pontevedra, between *Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho*, *Garcia dos Santos* and *Jaime Neves* to finalise the Commando Posto.

On the same day, 23 April 1974 from 18: 00, *Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho* delivered to the connecting elements the 'Final Instructions' and the 'Transfer Schedule', in sealed and hidden envelopes in the newspaper *A Época*, an operation in *Parque Eduardo VII*. It also delivers some receiving

transmitters intended to equip units which did not have the appropriate equipment to enter the intended transmission networks.

At the beginning of the morning of 24 April, *Álvaro Guerra* informed *Carlos Albino* of the definitive choice of *Grândola* as a national password and the time of its transmission in the '*Limite*' programme: from 0: 20 to 0: 22 m. *Carlos Albino* contacts another member of the '*Limite*' team, *Manuel Tomás*. As a precaution and in order to avoid delays and contingencies in issuing the password, they take all necessary steps to record a programme alignment of around 10 minutes in which the reading of the first Strophe of *Grândola* appeared to be linked to reading other texts. They ask one of the usual speakers of the '*Limite*', *Leite de Vasconcelos*, who would be tantamount to such an alignment of texts, but remain secret as to the true destination of that recording.

The decisive meeting with *Manuel Tomás*, for the execution of the password and guarantee of transmission, circumventing the two criticisms facing the Limits: *Rádio Renascença* and the official (a colonel accompanying live broadcasts and previously targeting texts) with *Carlos Albino* takes place outside the studios to a place where dialogue can safely continue. Joelhados at the Church of *S. João de Brito* and simulating to pray *Carlos Albino* and *Manuel Tomás* combine all the technical details of the password.

When touching '*Grândola Vila Morena*', the military took the School of Horse Practice in *Santarém*, where he then left a column headed by Captain *Salgueiro Maia*, to *Lisboa*, the *Quartel General*, the largest State of the Army and the studios of *RTP* and the National Authorising Officer. *Radio Clube Português* has been transformed into the MFA headquarters.

The country was stuck. In desperate cause, *Marcello Caetano* (the last President of New State) tried to stop the revolution by ordering the friend *Gago Coutinho* bombardet the *Terreiro do Paço*, but the call was intersected by revolutionaries who immediately threatened the commander of the frigate of reprisals.

Close to half a day, masters moved to the *Quartel do Carmo*, where *Marcello Caetano* and two of his ministers were hidden. Some military members of the regime were waiting for *Salgueiro Maia*, who eventually joined the revolution. Two or three ardines began to distribute the first uncensored newspapers.

During the day, the population of Lisbon joined the military. What was a coup d'état turned into a revolution. At some point, a flower seller started distributing carnations. The soldiers stretched the carnation in the rifle barrel and civilians took the flower to the breast. So today we call you the *Revolução dos Cravos* (Crypass Revolution). Some shoots were given to the air, but nobody died or injured: it was a peaceful revolution, as never existed in history.

Arriving at the *Quartel do Carmo*, Captain *Salgueiro Maia* took the megafone and warned the President of the Council that he had until 5 p.m. in the afternoon to go. Very close to the deadline, *Marcello Caetano* was renamed and handed over power to General *António Spínola*, who had been dismissed one month earlier from the position of Deputy Chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces who, although not belonging to MFA, did not think in the same way as the government about colonies.

On the streets, the '*A Portuguesa*' anthem was canned and the head of the Council President was demanded, but *Salgueiro Maia* did not allow for popular justice and ensured that *Marcello Caetano* and his two ministers left safely from the *Quartel do Carmo*.

People took the squares, shaken government military forces, offered support and food to uprisings, and celebrated the prospect of freedom, empunting carnations rather than weapons. The demonstration was thus known as the '*Revolução dos Cravos*'.

The day after the Revolution was presented to the population with an interim government, the National Salvation Board. In the order of MFA *Marcello Caetano*, *Américo Tomás* and other elements of the old regime were sent to the island of *Madeira*. General *Spínola* was appointed President of the Republic and political prisoners in *Caxias* and *Peniche* were released, while *Mário Soares* and *Álvaro Cunhal* were allowed to return from exile.

The Revolution of 25 April 1974 marks the beginning of democratic life in Portugal. The military coup led by the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) puts an end to the authoritarian regime of the New State by paving the way for resolving the colonial war problem and for democratisation and development in the country. Colonial

There is a broad consensus that the detonator on 25 April was the colonial war that began in *Angola* in 1961 and quickly extended to new fronts (*Guiné*, 1963; *Moçambique*, 1964), no military solution in sight.

Contributing decisively to the radicalisation of oppositions and social dissent to the New State, the war has had a deadly effect on the armed forces, one of the central pillars of the regime. It was in response to new legislation aimed at addressing the lack of officers on the front of fighting in *Africa* that was the Capitans Movement/Armed Forces Movement in September 1973.

25 April 1974 was done by very military personnel of the Navy, the Army and the Air Force, by milicians, professional soldiers and the population. However, a group of masters, young people and with a great desire for change gave it a great deal of momentum so that their dreams were those of all Portuguese people.

The impact of the master's intervention quickly transcended national borders, in a world divided by the Cold War and shaken by the recent oil crisis. Those who rushed to establish a parallel between these events and those that had occurred in *Chile* a year earlier (the '*Pinochet* coup'), are rapidly taking place.

Denying all the most common models of intervention by the military in political change processes, the coup was carried out by intermediate formality (captains and junior officers), outside the hierarchy of the armed forces, and without interference by political parties or movements.

Capitans in April presented a democratisation programme in which, in addition to the restoration of fundamental freedoms, the constitution of a civilian government and the holding of free elections were determined.

The National Salvation Board takes the first legislative steps, highlighting the dismissal of *Américo Tomás* from the position of President of the Republic and *Marcello Caetano* as President of the Council, the dissolution of the National Assembly and the proclamation of May 1 as a national holiday. The measures spoken by the captains in April were in three words: decolonise, democratise and develop.

After a decade fighting on African fronts, they began a process of decolonisation which soon resulted in the granting of independence to former colonial peoples. This unique situation has not prevented the academic community, but also the leading world elites, in the difficult task of integrating the Portuguese case into the established analytical grid.

All those who have observed Portuguese political developments in 1974-1975 since then are unanimous in pointing out that they are exceptional. Portugal was a lab for political and social analysis, where Europe's last left-wing revolution took place.

The 19 months of revolution are prodigious in events: three frustrated 'coup' attempts; six interim governments; two Presidents of the Republic; military intervention in politics; the alliances that their various sectors establish with different political groups and social movements; the action of political parties and movements.

In addition to the nationalisations and the triggering of land reform; experience of labour control and self-management; the multiplication of popular initiatives; the Republican and Renaissance cases and all the turbulence of the media camp; the mistrust of Western powers that Portugal would become a NATO Trojan horse.

The events also include the debate on the essence of Portuguese socialism, allowing radical experiences and conceptions to coexist with more traditional political projects pointing to the establishment of a Western type parliamentary democracy or a statifying model inspired by Soviet experience; the overwhelming weight of the policy of streets, barracks, factories, camps.

The revolutionary process ranges from 1974 to 1975. In that half time, there are two attempts to counter each other, which would highlight the moments of the greatest tension in the Revolution. The first attempt took place on 11 March 1975, when right-wing military personnel try to counteract the growing influence that left movements generated within the Revolutionary Council (body set up to accompany the transition between the Interim Government – A Junta de Salvação Nacional (the National Salvation Board) – and the government that would be chosen by the population when free elections were held).

The second attempt on 25 November 1975, defended by some historians as the event exactly contrary to that of 11 March, i.e. an attempt to counter the left-wing military. However, there is another current advocating the idea that the 'hot summer', as it has been called, has not changed

from a right-wing provocation, whose risk of civil war is real, with the dispute of the left-wing and right-wing military groups over the conduct of the revolutionary process.

The post-revolutionary period is marked by a climate of political tension and instability, resulting in the establishment of six interim governments between May 1974 and July 1976. On 28 September 1974, the confrontation between the so-called right-wing 'silent majority' and the left, supported by the MFA Coordinating Committee, resulted in the resignation of General *Spínola* from the position of President of the Republic and the strengthening of the political domain of the military and the left, which would be confirmed by the failure of the coup of 11 March 1975.

The National Salvation Board and the Council of State, established after 25 April, are replaced by the Revolutionary Council, which immediately starts a policy of nationalisations of the various economic sectors.

Between 1974 and 1975, Portugal recognised the independence of the former colonies – *Guiné-Bissau, Cabo Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe, Moçambique* and *Angola* – and will subsequently receive and integrate the Portuguese returnees from these territories.

The post-revolutionary period is marked by a climate of political tension and instability, resulting in the establishment of six interim governments between May 1974 and July 1976. A new constitution was approved in 1976 and the First President of the Republic was democratically elected: *Ramalho Eanes*. A process of opening the country subsequently started, leading to Portugal's accession to the EEC (now the European Union) in 1986.

The Third Portuguese Republic (also referred to as Portuguese Democracy) had started and whose official name is only the Portuguese Republic, the period in Portugal's history being the current democratic regime established after the Revolution of 25 April 1974, which put an end to the authoritarian regime of the State of *António de António de Oliveira Salazar* and *Marcello Caetano*.

25 April represented the end of schools with separate rooms and recreation for boys and girls. It was already possible to listen to the discs and read the prohibited books. The most powerful New State organisations, such as *PIDE*, the Portuguese Legion and the Portuguese Mocidade, had been abolished, and boys were no longer afraid of being ordered for war. A number of political parties emerge and

trade unions are formed to defend workers' interests. Censorship has been abolished, freedom of expression and assembly guaranteed, political prisoners released, and African colonies have been granted independence.

The Democratic Local Government, the Chambers, the Parish Councils and Municipal Assemblies elected by the people, an Assembly of the Republic was set up with members of the main parties, Workers' and Morators' Committees were set up to represent as many Portuguese as possible.
Freedom has been gained and democracy built.

Freedom is the respect for others and the respect that others must respect us, depending on our rights. Freedom is the combination of rights and obligations, without each encroaching on the space which, by law, belongs to the others.

Município de Valença: Serviço de Património Museológico

Cartazes cedidos pela **Associação 25 Abril** - Lisboa

Informação extraída das seguintes fontes bibliográficas e webgráficas:

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