

READER'S IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF THE PORTUGUESE "CARNATION REVOLUTION" (1974) IN *THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE NEWS*

MERJA DE MATTOS - PARREIRA
UNIVERSIDADE DO ALGARVE

Introduction

'Identity' and 'identity crisis' are terms and ideas much in current use in the cultural studies of the 1990's and often seen as characterising contemporary societies. According to Stuart Hall, identities are built within discourse cognitively and through difference rather than through a combination or play of association. Identities are "a constructed form of closure, a meeting point between discourses and practices which hail us into place as social subjects of particular discourses and the processes which produce subjectivities (...) They are points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us, the result of chaining of the subject into the flow of discourse..." (Hall 1996:5-6).

Anthony Giddens (1991) calls identity "a pure relationship" that is only justifiable on the grounds of the satisfaction it produces. In postmodern societies, the notion of social class has become less salient, and new forms of identification, notably influenced by feelings and emotions (comparable to Raymond Williams's concept of "the structure of feelings"), have become part of the contemporary identity types (or "life strategies", as in Zygmunt Bauman's cultural theory). Not surprisingly, this same rhetoric of otherness – the construction of identity in and through difference and alterity – is at the heart of the construction of the implicit reader of the Portuguese expatriate newspaper *The Anglo-Portuguese News*. The foreign community in the 70's was mainly of British background (often former colonial officers, diplomats, and so on), affluent representatives of the "sunset-leisure culture", i.e. a group of individuals who gain primary gratification from consuming goods and leisure activities, rather than from their labour activity.

On the other hand, the "Carnation Revolution" in 1974 presented the beginning of a crisis in the foreign community resident in Portugal. In April 25th 1974, a group of young military officers, integrated into what was known as the Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas, MFA) overthrew the 40-year-long fascist regime and established a provisional government. The "Carnation Revolution" gave rise to a revolutionary situation: members of the MFA were strongly influenced by the Portuguese Communist Party (the PCP, with close links to the Soviet regime). Several nationalisations took place and the whole system of power and government was

changed. It was (only) by late 1975 (November) when the Government clearly became committed to a Western European style capitalist democratic parliamentary system based on civilian power.

Methodology

In this paper, I propose to investigate this moment of crisis in the expatriate media in Portugal, i.e. to show how *The Anglo-Portuguese News*, Portugal's main English-language newspaper, dealt with the revolutionary situation in Portugal. The corpus I have constructed based on the data of *The Anglo-Portuguese News* consists of 49 articles published in 1973-77, 19 before and 30 after the 25th April.

I will focus upon text and language – process and system – and their relationship with the contexts of situation and culture in a dialogical modelling through the notions of instantiation¹ and realisation. In other words, the relation between language and context is seen through the following perspectives:

from the point of view of instantiation, situation is to culture as text is to language, i.e. situation instantiates culture, and text instantiates language;

from the point of view of realisation, language is to culture as text is to situation; i.e. language realises culture, and text realises situation.

The emphasis in my analysis is on the second realisational perspective of culture, starting from the ways that culture is expressed in terms of the realisational relations of context and text in a dialogical modelling, without forgetting the other three dimensions (= language/system, text/process, situation) essential to my argument.

What I mean in simple terms is that instead of concentrating on genre or register structures, i.e. those rhetorical formations that organise social life and social action into recognisable activity types (see Lemke, 1998) or text types, in this paper I try to share with you some of my findings of the expatriates' relation to the Portuguese revolutionary context in the 1970's.

I have two working questions to set out with: first of all, how did the expats construct the Portuguese revolutionary context they were living in? My second problem derives from and is related to the first one: how to study these textual identity positions through a corpus of newspaper texts without being overwhelmingly reductive and simplistic in my analysis? In other words, how to be as comprehensive or as 'fair' as possible? (if there's such a thing as fairness...) *The Anglo-Portuguese News* (APN) has a relatively small staff, about half a dozen reporters (maybe more), which means that the editorial policies are quite rigid, and the textual patterns of the articles tend to be

¹ Instantiation stands for the relationship between the overall potential in the system and the actual selections displayed by register profiles and particular texts at given moments.

repetitive (we all have our specific and fairly constant ways of building texts). Besides, my underlying concern is to be analytically transdisciplinary, to work on the theme of identity construction rather than to make the analysis of contents, which is the main interest of the traditional discipline-oriented research.

I came up with the following solution: instead of concentrating, on let us say, six months before and after 25 April, I "close-read" all the issues from 1973 to 1976, even some of the year 1977. Indeed, the date, 25 April, was the day the bloodless "carnation" revolution took place. However, the most stressful period for anyone with property or money was the year 1975, because several nationalisations took place and there was the serious possibility of Portugal becoming a 'Soviet-style' regime. This situation lasted from March 1975 (following an attempted rightist coup, the PCP came to the fore, banks, many industries and insurance companies were nationalised, and the whole question of regime was thrown open) until 25 November 1975, when the President declared a state of emergency, pulled the strings of command under tighter control of the military forces in Lisbon area and succeeded in neutralising the radical left wing military units.

I also had precise (and elaborate) theoretical ideas I was going to apply to the texts. But as so many times before, the texts themselves called my attention to some aspects I had not thought of taking into consideration in the first place (compare to Berger and Luckmann's notion of relevance). Three major systems in the network of linguistic choices turned out to be relevant: the options on the level of the textual voices, the representation of social actors, and the way modalisation/modulation was patterned, all these naturally complemented by the lexical choices manifest in the texts. Through the above realisations, that is, the presentational, orientational and organisational semiotic functions - to use Lemke's terminology (1992) - I hope to show the way the revolutionary social reality (the identity crisis of the expat community) may be shaped.

Texts, findings

"The production of the news is largely a matter of discourse processing because most of the information used to write a news text comes in discourse form", writes T. van Dijk (1988:96). Journalese register sets frame for everything that happens within it, including what happens in reported speech, the main way in which we overtly represent the utterances of another discourse. There are two major types of reported speech: direct speech (direct quotation, direct discourse, whose function is to show, to demonstrate), in which the reported speaker is on the scene, immediate in or proximal to the reporting speech event, and creating the illusion of a dialogic text (parataxis);

indirect speech (indirect quotation, indirect discourse, whose function is to tell, to describe), in which there is no illusion of dialogism, prototypically used with a projecting clause (hence hypotactic).

The unmarked type of reported speech in journalism is the indirect speech: "In the cases of present direct discourse, the direct discourse is prepared for by indirect discourse and emerges as if from inside it." (Volosinov 1973:132) Besides the economical reason for condensation, mediated indirect speech allows rewordings and inferencing which are not tolerated in direct speech and for which a journalist can be held accountable.

Also, the third type of reported speech, the free indirect style, the blurring of two distinct voices, of speech and thought, direct speech and narrative report, is usually avoided – at least in the so-called quality newspapers – in order to prevent possible ambiguities and contradictions.

Let us have a look at the first text, the article entitled *The root of the matter: Prime Minister again discusses national issues overseas*, published just a fortnight before the 25 April revolution.

About the title: the circumstantial *again* at the beginning of the rheme reveals some impatience on the reporter's part; a more neutral choice would have been to collocate it at the end of the clause, or even to leave it out. The article sets out with a quotation from the Prime Minister's speech:

"Let us seek equitable and possible policies for the evolution of the Overseas Provinces but with just one condition: that Portuguese Africa shall continue to be animated by the spirit of Portugal and that its life, as well as its work, shall be that of those who are proud to be Portuguese."

This was the text, as it were, of the address given by the Head of the Government, Prof. Marcello Caetano, over the Radio and TV on 28 March, in one of his periodic 'family talks'.

The fact that the journalist decides to place his voice after the quote and not before calls the reader's attention to the given information of the above quote, that "the Portuguese Africa's life shall be that of those who are proud to be Portuguese." The effect is increased by the translator's choice of the strong modal *shall*. The extended reference *this*, complemented by the evaluative comment *as it were* emphasise the reporter's remoteness from the ideas expressed in the quote. The implicit argument or conclusion transmitted to the reader is: can anyone be proud to be Portuguese?

The reported indirect speech continues:

He deplored the prevailing selfishness of our society - each individual seems to say: "My life is short, so let me get as much out of it as I can", regardless of the interests of

his neighbour, his community and his country. This of course is not peculiar to Portugal and it is certainly no sign of progress unless it be progress to anarchy.

The emotional weight of deploring, mourning the prevailing selfishness of the society is an argument that will be important for the conclusion of the piece of news, and I'll return to it soon. Another quote follows:

"People cannot live in anarchy and therefore the reaction is bound to take the form of an iron regime of authority. The Communist systems of Government are implacable towards anarchy. Have no doubt about it: if Socialist rule were to be established in the West - which God forbid - it would not be a romantic anarchism or a complaisant Social Democracy. It would be a despotic collectivism; and it would take years for such a dictatorship to evolve into a more humane regime."

The reporter does not even comment on the reported indirect speech: thus the reported speech event serves as a deictic centre, that the reported speaker is somewhat autonomous from the reporter.

The cohesive adversative conjunction *but* signals to us that we are reaching the main point, the most heavily contested issue of the dictatorship, the Portuguese colonial policy:

But Prof. Marcello Caetano was chiefly concerned with the Overseas Provinces and with recent events connected with their problems:

"The country has refused to abandon the lands overseas where large communities live and prosper as integral parts of the Portuguese Nation." Once again he recalled how the Portuguese established themselves in those parts, centuries ago. "Foreigners cannot feel what we feel when in Africa we pass by Mansagana where in the seventeenth century the Portuguese defended Angola, or the Island of Mozambique where Camões lived, in the sixteenth century."

In the verbiage *once again he recalled* (followed by the projecting clause *how the Portuguese established themselves in those parts, centuries ago*) the circumstantial *again*, complemented by the emphatic *once* is now clearly thematised. I decide to call this artifact an affective element of impatience from the part of the reporter.

Communists and fellow-travellers are wont to see in the Portuguese stand merely the defence of 'capitalist interests'.

What an awkward juxtaposition of clausal agents, communists and fellow-travellers! Do these fellow-travellers include journalists who are being manipulated by the communists?

Following the long explicative quoted speech on colonialism, the reporter's voice conflates with Caetano's:

African racialists hold that the only admissible course for the Portuguese is to scuttle - to forsake their Overseas Provinces. This has very recently been re-affirmed in connection with the publication in Portugal of a book analysing the Portuguese position in face of overseas problems.

The absence of the orthographic sign of quotes makes it unclear whether we are in the presence of the journalist's or the Prime Minister's words. It is taken for granted that a reader living in the Portuguese context is aware of the unnamed - and actorless - book mentioned above, General António de Spínola's *Portugal e o Futuro*. This 'clandestine' publication is appropriated by the reporter's voice in the second clause. It is worth remembering that General Spínola was to become the first post-revolutionary president of Portugal a month later.

A second journalistic appropriation takes place in the next paragraph: Prof. Marcello Caetano reiterated that the enemies of Portugal rely principally on a collapse of the home front. This was manifest in the enthusiasm shown by information media in so many countries when reporting and magnifying the military episode in which some officers, unthinkingly or perhaps ingenuously, took part a few days ago at Caldas.

The military officers' meeting at Caldas was the final call of the beginning for political change, for the long-awaited fall of a rotten regime that miraculously had remained in power for so long. The reporter's distancing in the present text, his 'scuttling' from Caetano's words actually represents the generalised position of the Portuguese people, from the political right to the left. The last paragraph: "We should never forget" he said - "that foreign countries strive after what is conducive to their own interests. It is not their policy, generously and desinterestedly, to work for the good of Portugal. They may say so, but it is not true... In the savage world in which we live each one seeks what is to its own advantage. Woe to us if we do not fully comprehend where our own interest lies and know not how to defend it."

It is not innocent that the reporter takes the above quote as the Prime Minister's closing argument, to be placed at the end of the long line of quotations: it is the reporter's choice to highlight - and implicitly to comment upon - the inherent contradiction in Marcello Caetano's own argument. As we saw at the beginning of the article, according to the quotation selected by the journalist, Caetano's underlying basic reason for maintaining things the way they were, in other words, continuing with the colonies and the colonial war was to fight against the prevailing selfishness of our society that inevitably leads to disorder and anarchy. -So take heed, Portuguese, if we don't know how to be selfish!

To sum up: the appropriation of the clear signs of political change, combined with the predominant use of reported direct speech by the journalist makes the implicit

claims that the particular instance of reported speech is as iconic and replicative as possible, and is not compressive, intertextual or inferential. Direct speech is taken out of one textual context and placed into a very different one, which represents it, frames it, manipulates it and subordinates it to another voice and different communicative goals. The expatriate community was – as the Portuguese people themselves, I should underline – cautiously anxious for the social change, which was already in the air. And the Prime Minister Marcello Caetano was already semi-officially cornered in his role of a kind of ‘an impotent family doctor’ of the nation.

After the 25 April revolution, General António de Spínola became the expected and unchallenged authority for the expats. This is clearly visible in the third article *The New President*. In this piece of news the reporter’s voice is almost silent and giving mere support to the reported direct speech event. The reported speaker here is completely autonomous from the reporter. In other words, what is being reported through the direct speech is strongly asserted by the journalist, and also increased by the lack of agencies (look at the last two finishing paragraphs), and which culminates in the sole acting role at the end of the text: *by the President*. The verbal message is complemented by the visual ‘proposition’ (or modality marker), by the large picture of the new president. As Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen have shown us, “photographs do not lie (...) we regard our sense of sight as more reliable evidence than our sense of hearing, ‘I saw it with my own eyes’ as more reliable evidence than ‘I heard it with my own ears’.” (1996:159)

I also want to call your attention to the lead of the main front page article (text 2) of this same issue (it is a full page article):

Young woman in the Cashbah

Tangier, under direct Moroccan rule, is not what it used to be – in the go-as-you-please days of international control. But there is still plenty of colour and excitement, says Ann Leslie, who recently paid the city an illuminating visit...

It does not seem too far-fetched to me to see a certain parallelism between Tangier under direct Moroccan rule and Lisbon (and Portugal) under direct military rule, between the go-as-you-please days of international control and the calm do-what-you-please days, “as long as you don’t mind the politics” of dictatorial control. Throughout my *corpus*, I found several instances of neo-colonialism wrapped in the genre of travel reports or even book reviews.

This same legitimization of President Spínola’s powerful position through the device of reported direct speech continues in the article *The President in Oporto*: “*The choice is between liberty and anarchy*”. The text is all quotations. Look at the lead: On his first visit to Oporto, on 29 May, President António de Spínola recalled the glorious traditions of the city and stressed that he and they wished to construct a new

Portugal, a Portugal that would be democratic, truly free and with greater social justice, a Portugal where all Portuguese might lead a worthier life and a happier one.

The actors *he and they* in the projecting clause is an uncommon and uncohesive choice of wording and sounds strange. Maybe the reporter, when proof-reading his own text, wished to attenuate Spínola's lonely acting role and decided to add the exophoric personal reference *they* to demonstrate that Spínola is not acting in isolation, that he is rather supported by others around him?

Wages & salaries: new regulations is the title of the following article. However, the subject matter and the only reason for the existence of the entire piece of news is expressed in the final clause:

Cash drawings on current accounts, which had been restricted, are now unlimited.

Concluding remarks

The general pattern of my *corpus* follows the main dates of the socio-political events that took place in Portugal: before the revolution in 1973-74, slight criticism combined with conservatism is presented in a prudent form. After 25 April, the journalists of *The Anglo-Portuguese News* take on an even more cautiously distant voice than before about the goings-on. Only starting in September 1975 (13-9-75, article n° 23 in my research material) can we find a more relaxed, straight-forward discussion on democracy: this is when the group of nine officers (o Grupo dos Nove) begins to react against the extreme left-wing military power.

The predominance of the reported direct speech, passive agentless constructions, modalisations and modulations, and the metaphorical distance through the evaluative commentaries all contribute to the atmosphere of 'nonchalance' mixed with patronising, neo-colonialist expressions. The identity position of the expatriate community is chiefly conceived in terms of the 'remembered past', in order to be able to continue the lifestyles of the formerly experienced geographical spaces. The "Carnation Revolution" initiates a disturbance in the established order of things, a moment of identity crisis, and a landmark of transforming lived experience to meaning, a step towards transcending "the tyranny of the remembered present"².

² The expression is from Edelman, G. 1992. *Bright air, brilliant fire: on the matter of the mind*. New York: Basic Books

References:

- Bauman, Zygmunt 1973 (1999). *Culture as praxis*. London: Sage
- Berger, Peter, Luckmann, Thomas 1966 (1991). *The social construction of reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. London: Penguin
- Couto, Jorge (dir.) 2000. *25 de Abril: a revolução dos cravos*. Lisboa: Instituto Camões
- Edelman, Gerald M. 1992. *Bright air, brilliant fire: on the matter of the mind*. New York: Basic Books
- Giddens, Anthony 1991. *Modernity and self-identity. Self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Hall, S. Guy, P. et. al. 1997. *Doing cultural studies: the story of the Sony Walkman. Culture, media and identities. Open University Series, Book 1*. London: Sage
- Hall, S. Guy, P. (eds.) 1996. *Questions of cultural identity*. London: Sage
- Halliday, M.A.K., Hasan, Ruqaiya 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1994. *An introduction to functional grammar*. 2nd edition. London: Arnold
- Kress, Gunther, van Leeuwen, Theo 1996. *Reading images. The grammar of visual design*. London: Routledge
- Lemke, Jay L. 1992. Interpersonal meaning in discourse: value orientations. In M. Davies, L. Ravelli (eds.), *Advances in systemic linguistics: recent theory and practice*. London: Pinter, 82-104
- Lemke, Jay L. 1998. Resources for attitudinal meaning. Evaluative orientations in text semantics. *Functions of language*, 5, 1: 33-56
- Reis, António (ed.) 1994. *Portugal: 20 anos de democracia*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores
- Van Dijk, Teun 1988. *News as discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum
- Volosinov, V. N. 1973. *Marxism and the philosophy of language*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Williams, R. 1976. *Keywords, a vocabulary of culture and society*. London: Fontana Press
- Woodward, K. 1997. *Identity and difference: culture, media and identities. The Open University Series, Book 3*. London: Sage

13-4-74

The root of the matter: Prime Minister again discusses national issues overseas

"Let us seek equitable and possible policies for the evolution of the Overseas Provinces but with just one condition: that Portuguese Africa shall continue to be animated by the spirit of Portugal and that its life, as well as its work, shall be that of those who are proud to be Portuguese."

This was the text, as it were, of the address given by the Head of the Government, Prof. Marcello Caetano, over the Radio and TV on 28 March, in one of his periodic 'family talks'.

He deplored the prevailing selfishness of our society - each individual seems to say: "My life is short, so let me get as much out of it as I can", regardless of the interests of his neighbour, his community and his country. This of course is not peculiar to Portugal and it is certainly no sign of progress unless it be progress to anarchy. "People cannot live in anarchy and therefore the reaction is bound to take the form of an iron regime of authority. The Communist systems of Government are implacable towards anarchy. Have no doubt about it: if Socialist rule were to be established in the West - which God forbid - it would not be a romantic anarchism or a complaisant Social Democracy. It would be a despotic collectivism; and it would take years for such a dictatorship to evolve into a more humane regime."

But Prof. Marcello Caetano was chiefly concerned with the Overseas Provinces and with recent events connected with their problems: "The country has refused to abandon the lands overseas where large communities live and prosper as integral parts of the Portuguese Nation." Once again he recalled how the Portuguese established themselves in those parts, centuries ago. "Foreigners cannot feel what we feel when in Africa we pass by Mansagana where in the seventeenth century the Portuguese defended Angola, or the Island of Mozambique where Camões lived, in the sixteenth century."

13-4-74

The root of the matter: Prime Minister again discusses national issues overseas

"Let us seek equitable and possible policies for the evolution of the Overseas Provinces but with just one condition: that Portuguese Africa shall continue to be animated by the spirit of Portugal and that its life, as well as its work, shall be that of those who are proud to be Portuguese."

This was the text, as it were, of the address given by the Head of the Government, Prof. Marcello Caetano, over the Radio and TV on 28 March, in one of his periodic 'family talks'.

He deplored the prevailing selfishness of our society - each individual seems to say: "My life is short, so let me get as much out of it as I can", regardless of the interests of his neighbour, his community and his country. This of course is not peculiar to Portugal and it is certainly no sign of progress unless it be progress to anarchy. "People cannot live in anarchy and therefore the reaction is bound to take the form of an iron regime of authority. The Communist systems of Government are implacable towards anarchy. Have no doubt about it: if Socialist rule were to be established in the West - which God forbid - it would not be a romantic anarchism or a complaisant Social Democracy. It would be a despotic collectivism; and it would take years for such a dictatorship to evolve into a more humane regime."

But Prof. Marcello Caetano was chiefly concerned with the Overseas Provinces and with recent events connected with their problems:

"The country has refused to abandon the lands overseas where large communities live and prosper as integral parts of the Portuguese Nation." Once again he recalled how the Portuguese established themselves in those parts, centuries ago. "Foreigners cannot feel what we feel when in Africa we pass by Mansagana where in the seventeenth century the Portuguese defended Angola, or the Island of Mozambique where Camões lived, in the sixteenth century."

Communists and fellow-travellers are wont to see in the Portuguese stand merely the defence of 'capitalist interests'. "I have said before that if in Angola and Mozambique only Capitalist interests were at stake, we should not have to worry over defence, since great companies can look after themselves very well and always find ways of coming to an understanding with those in power. In Africa we are defending the Portuguese men and women of all races and colours, who confide in the flag of Portugal. We are upholding the principle that continents are not the preserve of particular races and that, in order to make full use of empty spaces and undeveloped riches, multi-racial societies should be created. We believe that the Whites have a right to live in those territories which they made habitable and to which they brought civilisation; that it is their due to participate in the government and administration of those lands."

African racialists hold that the only admissible course for the Portuguese is to scuttle - to forsake their Overseas Provinces. This has very recently been re-affirmed in connection with the publication in Portugal of a book analysing the Portuguese position in face of overseas problems. "Foreign newspapers and our usual adversaries hastened to endorse everything which in that analysis seemed to them favourable to their own contentions, at the same time rejecting any solution other than the immediate surrender of the Provinces to the movements of so-called 'liberation'. This was demanded in the United Nations by the 'Committee of 24' and even in the House of Representatives of the United States."

Prof. Marcello Caetano reiterated that the enemies of Portugal rely principally on a collapse of the home front. This was manifest in the enthusiasm shown by information media in so many countries when reporting and magnifying the military episode in which some officers, unthinkingly or perhaps ingenuously, took part a few days ago at Caldas.

"We should never forget" he said - "that foreign countries strive after what is conducive to their own interests. It is not their policy, generously and desinterestedly, to work for the good of Portugal. They may say so, but it is not true... In the savage world in which we live each one seeks what is to its own advantage. Woe to us if we do not fully comprehend where our own interest lies and know not how to defend it."

25-5-74-1, front page

Young woman in the Cashbah

Tangier, under direct Moroccan rule, is not what it used to be - in the go-as-you-please days of international control. But there is still plenty of colour and excitement, says Ann Leslie, who recently paid the city an illuminating visit... (etc).

25-5-74-2, page 6
The New President

General António de Spínola was proclaimed the new President of Portugal at a ceremony held on 15 May at the Queluz palace, attended by the Papal Nuncio Mgr Giuseppe Sensi, the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, His Eminence Dom António Ribeiro, the Diplomatic Corps and leading personalities. The President took the oath as follows:

"I swear on my honour to guarantee the exercise of all rights and liberties of citizens, to observe the law and cause it to be observed, to promote the general welfare of the Nation, and to defend the independence of the Portuguese Fatherland."

After the proclamation the new President gave a short Address in which he reviewed and commented upon the declaration of the Junta of National Salvation, made on 25 April.

"Before anything else [he said] we must examine our consciences thoroughly to see if in fact we are being democratic when we plan ways of deciding and applying fractionary measures before the people have defined, by consensus, the kind of society in which they wish to live. For Democracy is the government of the people, by the people, for the people..."

He went on to say: "Democracy is not a thing obtainable by conquest or even perhaps something to build up. Democracy must be lived and therefore our intention cannot be other than the construction of solid foundations for a democratic way of life..." "I reiterate therefore the programme already announced, which tends to promote a structure based on party and Association, in a completely open atmosphere, it being the business of the instituted power to ensure that the liberties of some shall not be imperilled by the excesses of others."

"The Movement aims at creating a Legislative Assembly that will hold the incontestable mandate of the Portuguese people. The resolutions of such a chamber, after a proper referendum, will define our political, economic and social status. Only then can we hope for that rebirth of the country which we all long for."

"In the meantime we shall do our utmost to restore peace overseas. But the destiny of the Portuguese Overseas must be democratically resolved by all who call those lands theirs. The decision must be entirely free; in Africa, as here, we shall do everything we can to prevent the force of minorities - of whatever kind - from affecting the free development of the democratic process in course of being."

While providing for a political party system the new order must ensure unity in government. "We must therefore have a Government without Parties since it belongs to all Parties; without trends, because it must comprehend all trends; without a programme since its programme is that of the Armed Forces Movement."

It was announced at the same time that the new Electoral Law must be passed before 15 November and that the election of deputies for the Constituent Assembly will take place up to 31 March 1975.

The Chief of Staff for the Armed Forces is to have the same category as the Prime Minister. The Council of State, whose duty is to advise the President of the Republic, will be made up of the members of the Junta of National Salvation, of seven representatives of the Armed Forces, and of seven citizens of acknowledged merit appointed by the President.

8-6-74-2

The President in Oporto: "The choice is between liberty and anarchy"

On his first visit to Oporto, on 29 May, President António de Spínola recalled the glorious traditions of the city and stressed that he and they wished to construct a new Portugal, a Portugal that would be democratic, truly free and with greater social justice, a Portugal where all Portuguese might lead a worthier life and a happier one.

"But this free Portugal which we all long for, must rise under the sign of peace, of justice and of work. Without peace in the fields, in factories, in the streets and in the hearts of men, without the joint effort of all Portuguese in order to increase the productivity of labour, without social justice expressed by an equitable yield of the product of that labour - without these, it will be impossible to build up the prosperous Portugal of the future."

"On April 25," he said, "the Armed Forces restored liberty to the people of Portugal and put an end to the paternal rule of chosen elites. Thenceforth the people, in open dialogue were able to voice their legitimate desires."

But after one month of euphoria it was now time for all the Portuguese to reflect that a free and democratic society cannot be maintained without civic discipline and mutual respect.

"As from now every Portuguese citizen must ponder well what course he shall follow: whether the road leading to the salvation of the country or the road to ruin."

"Every Portuguese must see for himself that any form of anarchy is bound to lead to new dictatorships, to regimes similar to that which came to an end in April 25."

"I take this opportunity to alert all Portuguese that the notions of democracy and of liberty which inspired the movement of the Armed Forces are being criminally undermined by counter-revolutionaries. These come from various sectors and their aim is solely destruction, anarchy, economic chaos and unemployment. It is the well-known 'scorched earth' device..."

"The first great choice which the people of Portugal must make is between democratic liberty and anarchy - that anarchism which at all times has been the destructive canker of democratic societies."

He emphasised that the Armed Forces will not let the purity of the democratic principles that inspired the movement on April 25 be in any way compromised: "and if at any time the Armed Forces are compelled to meet violence with force, they will do so without hesitation since they now have the strengthened, legitimate authority of those who act in defence of the true liberty of the Portuguese people."

8-6-74-3

Wages & salaries: new regulations

A communiqué issued by the Provisional Government, following a Council of Ministers held on 25 May reported on the content of two Decree-Laws affecting wages and salaries.

To have effect immediately, a minimum monthly remuneration of Esc. 3,000 (f.55) is payable to all workers and employees. Exception is made in the case of agricultural labourers, domestic servants and members of the Armed Forces whose cases will be dealt with in subsequent legislation. Moreover, firms employing five or fewer persons may be exempted from this minimum if they can show that they are not able to pay it owing to particular circumstances.

On the other hand, salaries above Esc. 7,500 (f127) per month are temporarily frozen. This does not affect higher salaries already in force but only increases. Family allowances, at present Esc. 160 (£2.71) per month per child are to be raised to Esc. 240. In Portugal this Abono de Família is paid on all children. Cash drawings on current accounts, which had been restricted, are now unlimited.