

# Révolução democrática Portugal

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- notes - réflexions
  - questions posées lors des débats
  - conf. Six + México + USA
- 

1981

MARIA DE LOURDES PINTASILGO

PRIMEIRO MINISTRO

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro



Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

**Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo**

April 12-14, 1981

THE CLASS OF  
**1930**  
FELLOWSHIP

The Class of 1930 Fellowship was established by the members of the class to continue the tradition begun by President Hopkins of bringing distinguished men and women to the Dartmouth campus for visits of several days. The Class of 1930 Fellow will present a major address and during the several days join students and faculty members in smaller groups, both in class and in more formal settings.

The faculty and students of the College express their gratitude to the Class for this important gift.

The Class of 1930 Committee also extends its thanks to the Women's Studies Program which assisted in making arrangements for Prime Minister Pintassilgo's visit.

## MARIA DE LOURDES PINTASSILGO

### **Portugal: Revolution and Democracy**

In April 1974, Portugal emerged from the 40-year-long dictatorial rule of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar and began a complex process marked by revolution, decolonization, modernization and democratization. Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo has been at the center of this process, first as Secretary of State and Social Security, then as Minister of Social Welfare, Ambassador to UNESCO and finally as Prime Minister, after 10 different governments had been formed and fallen since 1974. She was Portugal's first woman Prime Minister and only Europe's second.

An independent, not belonging to any political party, she is a chemical engineer by training. Profoundly influenced by the writings of the French philosopher Simone Weil, Prime Minister Pintassilgo left her profession in 1960 to work full-time for the Graal, an international movement of Catholic women. She has been a forceful voice in support of women's rights in Portugal's struggle for democratization. "Sexism is a violation of human rights" she once said, "but it happens in specific ways, on specific grounds. At the same time, women's fight cannot be seen as an exclusive or isolated fight. It is like racism — a social plague."

Prime Minister Pintassilgo's career exemplifies the spirit of service and leadership which has helped improve the world in which we all live.

## PREVIOUS CLASS OF 1930 FELLOWS:

John Sloan Dickey	1976-1977
Margaret Mead	1977-1978
Saul Bellow	1978-1979
Andrew Young	1979-1980

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## CLASS OF 1930 COMMITTEE

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- "les élus locaux" - A. Hecoubert
- dém. inexistante jusqu'à nos jours
- ↓ pouvoir entre les mains de notables

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- rôle des é-ligés portugais
- " presse étrangère et impact sur  
les militaires
- USA / anarchistes / \* progressistes
- comment le MFA a été amené  
à
- rôle du PC en été 75 / conséquences  
par la suite
- RA - Gov.

~~missions réelles et le sens~~

~~pourquoi PS parle / parle trop?~~

~~habitués / é-ligés (#)~~

~~portugais en Afrique~~



(4) Dans quelle région se situe la confiance par rapport aux militaires ?

Depuis 1910 la répub. port. a eu autant de présidents militaires qu'a civils. Mais Et. (17) remarque les militaires ont correspondu, de fait, à des périodes de régime autoritaire ou anti-démocratique.

La seule conclusion est une certaine fragilité du processus et l'anarchisme inhérent que des forces démocratiques évoquant une autorité qui retire d'ailleurs sa légitimité.

Le problème qui a traversé  
# le processus est la question  
de l'existence de pouvoirs de  
légitimité autres q̄ le suffrage  
universel.

Le PR élu en 76 ne pouvait  
pas sa légitimité d'le seul pou-  
voir des urnes. C'était la  
rév. qui l'amenaient au pouvoir  
par la main des militaires,  
organisés en Conseil des 20.

Mais chaque fois qu'il faisait  
appel à l'esprit du 25 Avril  
les forces de droite n'épargnaient  
pas leurs critiques.

En réalité, il aurait  
pu (et aurait du) donner

à ses interventions extra-par-  
lementaires une fidélité et  
un engagement à l'esprit premier du  
25 Avril. Cependant, la droite  
prenait de + en + de poids  
et envoutait le PR à la  
recherche mythique de per-  
sonnes et situations "éternelles"  
tant de tous les partis (!).  
Les socialistes se tenaient  
eux, de + en +, à la démo-  
cratie formelle et transfo-  
raient pour leurs relations  
avec le PR les mêmes cri-  
staux.

En été 77 le PR forme un groupe d'étude sur la situation économique — six notables de tendances diverses parmi lesquels le min. de l'écon. et du plan ! Si du côté du PR il y avait impatience face aux palliatifs écon. et financiers, du côté du PS il y a eu l'aveu pratique de son incapacité à gérer la crise.

D'ailleurs la secret. d'état au Plan, en poursuivant une politique écon. ≠, ainsi qu'une subordination de l'écon. aux fins et buts sociaux, a dû démissionner.

A cette époque-là ce groupe  
est assez mal vu dans les  
media. Le PR qui pensait  
le compléter avec un autre  
groupe axé sur l'ensemble  
de la polit. sociale et renonce  
au moins officiellement.

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L'activité du PR s'oriente  
aussi vers les relations exté-  
rieures. Il n'est pas <sup>considéré</sup> ~~pris~~  
par les autres chefs d'Etat  
comme un symbole de  
la Nation qui se considère  
lui-même ~~un~~ spectateur des  
lieux établis. "La diversification  
des liens" et des rapports  
avec d'autres pays il estime  
devoir la sauvegarder.

Dans ce domaine, il tient  
tête à tous et maintient  
sous l'essentiel l'esprit  
du 25 Avril.

A travers le conflit  
présidentialisme / parlementarisme  
ce sont deux tendances pré-  
sentes d le pouvoir qui  
viennent à la surface) :

- d'un côté, le député est  
le-pouvoir-à-la-portée-de-  
-tous (à la rigueur sans  
usage car il est seule-  
élu par des listes de parti)
- de l'autre côté, c'est le  
pouvoir humain, humanisé  
où le visage (à la rigueur  
la performance à la TV)  
est l'essentiel.

Pendant l'été 75 le MFA  
a suédo en trois sections:

- Cop Con
- Gringalves
- 9

Jusque-là nous avions développé  
la thèse d'une voie originale pour  
le socialisme. (Par socialisme  
on entendait des choses bien  
différentes — depuis une justice  
sociale à l'entière et Entière,  
~~Car~~ vainqueurs ni vaincus,  
jusqu'à une formule de manuel  
marxiste orthodoxe...)

Nous étions convaincus que notre  
projet le + important était  
de laisser le projet de  
société ouvert, façonné par  
le peuple au fur et à mesure  
de ses évolutions.



• La question qui se pose d'emblée est celle-ci :

est-ce possible - oui ou non - de faire aujourd'hui une société / en liberté sans contraintes extérieures et sans que des modèles H faits viennent influencer le cours des événements ?

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- le rôle du MFA comme élément  
de cohésion des manifestants /  
populaires :

- une autorité "incontestable"  
(qui ne venait pas de la force  
des armes)
- un pôle de mystère et d'éloignement  
par rapport aux luttes  
de personnalités

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- comités de Defesa & Revolução - PCP + FA

- Plano de Acção Política - NFA e IV Gov.,  
a 19 Junho q o PS e Belé (rua)  
a 21 apoiou.

- PS é quem desencadeia a luta anti-  
-comunista: manifestações nas Antas  
e na Fonte luminosa tra o IV Governo.

## Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

— Institucionalização do MFA na  
noite 11 Março e a presença de  
gente fada e gente fada e ver e  
isso no Centro de Sociologia  
Militar

↓ 240 achados dos FA enfraquecidos  
em ódio de soberania e  
transformaram-se quase  
num parlaf.

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frases: **Fundação Cuidar o Futuro**  
delírio trifal, espírito ijeja felizada,  
aventureirismo ávido do kónio de S.  
Divisão, falta perspicácia de dirigentes e/  
na fidelidade cega a Moscovo.

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acordo entre o Kromlin e a Casa Branca  
f: a permanência de K. no esfera oc-  
cidental

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- No CM, VG e AG tentam eliminar  
os grandes esquadristas mas foi  
impossível travar isso.

- a agitação nas FA é o mesmo  
problema q percorre todos os exér-  
citos do mundo: comme les grandes  
armées traditionnelles

- a democratização interna do  
MFA provoca perturbações q tem  
m.º q ver c/ o ressurgir da  
extrema-direita e de a ditos  
q subverte total/ a hierarquia

- Documento-Carta do MFA de  
8 Julho, faz t'boa base de restri-  
ções e aponta p: a criação de uma  
Assembleia Popular Nacional  
(morte do Parla, dit. do prof.)  
"dissol. d Const., já!"

"A Europa contemplava-nos, estupefacta, entre um racional temor e uma imensa comiseração" - Fracé Antunes

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os militares "criaram a alternativa p.<sup>o</sup> q. a oposição ~~tem~~"  
e mostrou inábil em 48 anos.

- "os militares tornam-se o fantástico enigma do Nazif"

- "novo nequismo doutrinar"

### Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

- grupos ex. <sup>das</sup> / único país ocidental onde a extr.-esq. <sup>o</sup> desafiou a hegemonia do PC :

"poder popular", alizença <sup>Foro</sup>  
através de estruturas <sup>MPT</sup> pps

- importância de a extrema-esq. querêr acossar "de/a esquerda", já portadora de tentativas liberal, conservadora:

- 9
- gráfico das votações nos vários partidos e coligações
  - evolução da implantação dos partidos no país (onde? q. d. d. d.)
- 

— a desilusão dos jovens capitaneada face à ineptia dos partidos: o élan revolucionário de uma juventude idealista q' vira mundo face a uma classe política civil adulta e q' do mundo apenas conhecera o ambiente que existia no das colónias portuguesas no estrangeiro;

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período de fim do V Gov:  
o papel de Fabião / N.A. / Otelo /  
P. L. H. Azevedo / - - -

"PC + PS + left groups  
have never functioned as  
producers of theoretical or even  
ideological interpretation  
- they merely diffused ill-articulated  
concepts and too quick slogans"

"as if difference couldn't be  
formulated but under the  
form of opposition" EPC

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"we are never contemporary of  
ourselves" EPC



— Steps of Port. democracy seen as a cultural phenomenon: onsets + shortcomings

- liberation of the "word"
- cultural "dinamization"
- change of cultural prototypes, habits, language
- going to the "roots" in search of identity
- creation on artistic fields

• permissividade de

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• incapacidade de ver na arte e na estética algo de sagrado e decisivo

• on-m creating events (comunicados, relatos, etc.)

- the temptation of the social-democracy  
in the Swedish way... (long-term  
desire)

- CDS already in '76, the  
"viable extreme-right"

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- to think over the phenomenon  
of political democracy

- economic democracy / the  
dependence on the outside / the  
transnationals / the IMF / the  
concept of develop/

+ 3 attempts towards a more  
human + rationalized way of  
putting economy at the service of  
men: { MA program  
      { Plan Proposal for '78  
      { Gov

- "vanguard" como núcleo dominante no  
campo d. exp.<sup>da</sup> rev. e marxista

- In Portugal the 2 basic questions  
raised by the experience of the past  
7 years are but a part of wider,  
almost universal questions:

- is there a possibility for a  
revolution to take place putting  
into the forefront the mechanisms  
of representative democracy?

what is the link between the  
social movements where they are  
and the party-line super-structure?

- is civil power the condition  
for democracy or are we all, in  
fact, in the hands of the military  
power?

In fact,

(15)

~~And yet~~ there was some 915 thing universal in the experience we were ~~have~~ lived in my country in the past years.

~~First of all,~~ that it was ~~believed that it was~~ possible to ~~make a revolution~~ today to put the wrong things right, to give equality of opportunities to all regardless of their social origin or of their geographical situation, to create prototypes of relations to structure the society.

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We believed that we ~~§~~ could generate, with our will, expertise + imagination, our own path towards a more just society - away from imported models, past experiences, "recipes" from school handbooks.

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We believed that democracy was that power in the hands of everyone, the capacity of every individual to choose his/her life, to determine the environment, to give goals + targets to his/her action in relation to other actions.

We believed that new 7  
patterns of develop/ +  
social justice could be  
found.

We believed that new  
relations of solidarity  
with all peoples of the  
world could be built  
+ sustained...

Of course, these ~~the~~  
aspirations were not  
equally present in every  
one with the same degree  
of conviction.

Peter Weitz (German  
Marshall Fund)

Tuesday 3.30 pm

11 Dupont Circle  
(New Hampshire Av.)  
Wash. D.C.

(Jean McVeigh)

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→ proyecto político puede o no surgir en el momento revolucionario?

→ como la derecha ha podido ocupar

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- papel de los retornados en la nueva soc. port.

- da el pto de vista político

- movimientos de ciudadanos como izflus

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→ revolucionarios ≠ hombres de Estado

① ≡ mujeres

② modificaciones materiales ligadas a las estructuras mentales

③ participación de las personas en grupos no-tan institucionalizados

movimientos sociales ← recomposición de la izquierda



1 - efectiva/ las causas q̄ provocaron el pz  
de la dictadura

~~ha sido la falta de apoyo y relación~~  
es una causa principal/externa

- como ~~anular~~ la población p̄  
provocar el reingreso de los p̄judicados  
- disposicione de reingresar económicamente  
no por causa

→ qual es la capacidad política de M. Soares  
frente a las elecciones

- ~~no es una revolución~~  
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+ sangre de sus hijos  
significado p̄ el exterior de  
las fronteras

- relación entre los revolucionarios y los hombres  
de Estado

- funcionamiento de los gobiernos de salvación  
nacional

- papel de los grupos de presión  
{ Iglesias  
grupos amigos  
caudales  
militares  
huelga-antes

# McGill

**Centre for Developing-Area Studies**

and

**Inter-University Centre for European Studies**

**Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo**

**who has served in Portugal as Prime Minister,  
Ambassador to UNESCO and Minister of Social Affairs**

**PORTUGAL: THE POLITICAL  
SITUATION SEVEN YEARS  
AFTER THE APRIL  
REVOLUTION**

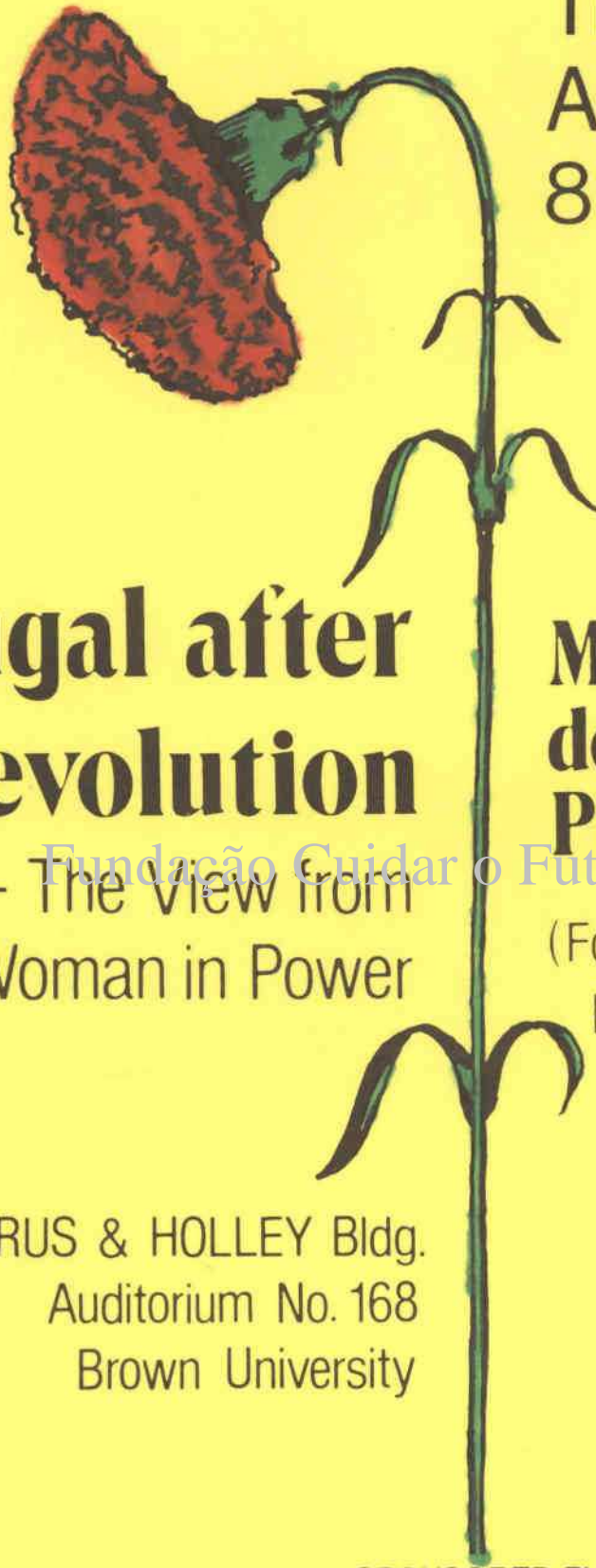
**Thursday, April 16, 1981**

**2:00 p.m.**

**Macdonald-Harrington Building**

**Seminar Room C103E**

Thursday  
April 9, 1981  
8:00 pm



# Portugal after the Revolution

— The view from  
a Woman in Power

**Ms. Maria  
de Lourdes  
Pintasilgo**

(Former Portuguese  
Prime Minister)

BARUS & HOLLEY Bldg.  
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