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## THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL AND SALAZAR'S REGIME IN THE ROMANIAN PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS

There are a few things worth mentioning before we begin. First of all, due to space restrictions, this study only refers to the press and publications in the interwar period, more exactly, the years between 1925 and 1944, leaving the periods before and after (the communist period) to be approached another time. Second of all, we must mention that we have consulted the central press in Bucharest, especially the independent publications, but at the same time, some regional press, especially in the "western" part of the country, closer to the place where the events took place; in the special dimension.

To begin with, the information about the revolution, more precisely, the revolutionary status in Portugal is limited, incomplete, and sometimes confusing and contradictory, while, as Salazar and his regime are concerned, until 1938, only a few people had heard about him and possessed knowledge about "Estado Novo". There are several causes that attribute to this. First of all, we must mention the space and distance that had separated Romania and Portugal, which did not affect, however, the interest towards what was happening in the Western part of the continent, but on the contrary, sometimes the perception upon the events. The main reason there was a lack of information, and particularly its lack of precision, was due to the restrictions being imposed on the informational system in Portugal, and the government offered the public

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information which was favorable for it to disclose, this information usually being a distortion of reality.

The external news were issued to the biggest publishers in Bucharest, from where the other newspaper agencies in the country obtained them, through the telegraphic agency Rador, a society which had exclusive rights. Its main partners were the Administration Council, the Government, the National Bank of Romania and The Romanian Trade Agency. Subscription to the telegraphic service of the society was expensive, if we are to believe the protest of the directors of the big publishers in 1926, the prices were considerably reduced, and its functioning was not according to the needs of the time<sup>(1)</sup>.

The news published by the Romanian press regarding the events in Portugal were partially coming from direct sources - from the correspondent of the Rador agency in Lisbon. At other times, the news were acquired by the regular correspondents - from the big publishers in Paris, London, Madrid, Berlin or Vienna. To compensate for the lack of information with regard to the issues in Portugal, the big publishers in Bucharest also resorted to other sources in possession of more accurate information.

The Portuguese republic, since its establishment on October 1910, has proven to be a "bloody disorder", far from achieving peace even after World War I. A quarter of a century of disturbance, conspiracies, and revolutionary rhetoric had created a spirit that was intangible to any regime. Encouraged to protest under the monarchy, the Portuguese people were protesting even more under the republic. The crisis suffered by all the European nations after the war, was especially intensified in Portugal by the political struggles. The crowd on the streets became the master of the internal policy and anarchy started to appear in the army, allowing the government to be vulnerable to a threatening rhythm. José Relvas, an upright democrat, was replaced two months after he had come to power by a purest democrat, Domingos Pereira. His influence also came to an end after three months and was replaced by colonel Sá Cardoso, of the cleanest republican tradition. He was also banished after almost seven months by a popular manifestation. Dr. Domingos Pereira then came into power for the next four months. In the beginning

<sup>(1)</sup> *Dimineata*, Bucureşti, nr. 7027,1926, p. 11.

of August 1920, a new government was formed under the presidency of Antonio Granjo, which only lasted for three weeks - until the 1<sup>st</sup> of November. Alvaro de Castro was next in line and lasted for only a month. Another government was created under the Lieutenant Colonel Liberato Pinto, which quit on March 2 1921. Bernardino Machado, who was the former president and former minister, then came to power. He was the most respected figure of the republican revolution, but even he was forced to quit on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May by the Republican Guard itself, after which Antonio Granjo came into power only to be replaced in August. He became the victim of a revolution in October 1921. The new revolutionary Government, under the presidency of Colonel Manuel Maria Coelho, was also forced to quit after three weeks. Next up was the minister Maria Pinto who reigned for six weeks, and after him, Cunha Leal, who lost power after the same amount of time. The only Government which was able to remain in power for almost two years was one governed by Antonio Maria da Silva, whereas the one under Ginstal Machado also failed after a protest and was replaced on December 18, 1924 by a cabinet under the presidency of Major Alvaro de Castro, which lasted until June 30 1925, when a new government was created under Antonio Maria da Silva<sup>(2)</sup>. Starting with 1925, there was a new force in the Portuguese political field - the army, which would have to be taken into account by all the political parties coming into power from that moment onwards.

There is little mentioned in the Romanian press of the waterfall of events in Portugal after the 1<sup>st</sup> World War. The press presented this information telegraphically just as it arrived from Rador, without adding any comments. This is how, in the edition on July 22 1925, the publisher *Dimineata* from Bucharest published on the first page the telegram that had been sent on July 20 from Lisbon by the Rador Agency with the title "Rebellion in Portugal" with the following content: "military forces lead by officers escaped from the *San Julia* fortress have rebelled yesterday morning, helped by *Vasco da Gama*. The Government had immediately taken the necessary measures. Five of the leaders of the revolutionary movement have been caught. After few hours of struggle, the rebellion was crashed. The cruiser *Vasco da Gama* had surrendered. Siege had

<sup>(2)</sup> Mircea Eliada, *Jurnalul portughez și alte scrieri*, vol. II, București, Humanitas, 2006, pp. 99-142.

been proclaimed"<sup>(3)</sup>. No other words in the following numbers or in other newspapers have been written, with regard to the process in Court of the conspirators punished by the jury and the prosecutor, general Oscar Carmona, the news of the payment celebrated all over Lisbon, condemning Da Silva's Government.

There was also a lack of information with regard to the Revolution on May 28, 1926. On May 29, the newspaper *Dimineata* posted on the first page the picture of doctor Vasco Borgas, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, under the title "Events in Portugal" without any additional comment. Barely in the newspaper the next day, had the start of a military revolution been announced. "In the Northern and Southern Portugal the revolution has started" was mentioned in the telegram from Lisbon. "Two divisions have rebelled and their commander has launched a proclamation to the people, suggesting banishing the current Government". Without any other comments, the article ended mentioning that "this has been the 18<sup>th</sup> revolution in Portugal in the past 15 years"<sup>(4)</sup>. It was difficult to understand what was really happening in Portugal, even for those that took an interest. This was due to the lack of information in the press, which in turn, was the result of the restrictions imposed by the Portuguese Government, which, in addition to this, had issued an official statement claiming that the peace was reigning in the country. The reader was unaware, since the Lisbon garrison was more or less faithful to the Government. The revolution had begun in Braga, the Northern part of Portugal. It was initiated by General Gomes da Costa, who was heading towards the capital while being accompanied by revolutionary troops after succeeding with the coup. In the South, general Oscar Carmona was concentrating troops at Vendas Novas, and in Lisbon, commander Cabeçadas was addressing a letter to the president of the republic, Bernardino Machado, in the name of the army, requesting the reassignment of the Government of Antonio Maria da Silva and to establish a new government of republicans which were worthy of the country's trust.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Dimineata*, nr. 6700, 1925, p. 1.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 7004, 1926, p. 9.

In the numbers in June 7,9,10 and 11, the same newspaper published the latest news from Lisbon regarding the proclamation of the general riot in Portugal, the dissolution of the Parliament, and the reassignment of the president Bernardino Machado. The newspaper mentioned that it had been proclaimed by the Federation of the Portuguese Syndicates and the Communist Party, while the official sources announced that news of the riot orders had not reached the working class. On the contrary, the private sources reported that the railway workers had declared the riot and the canceling of the traffic on the railways<sup>(5)</sup>. The decision of the military government was announced, without further details, in the newspaper on June 9 1926, and the next day, the declaration of the president was posted, "Torced to renounce due to the revolutionary movements in the past days", and whose photo was on the first page on the newspaper on June 11. In the article with the title "Why did the Portuguese President reassign?" was stated that "the former Portuguese President, Mr. Bernardino Machado has declared that he believed he would be able to keep the trust of the Constitutional Government opposing the rebels. But, due to the events, which made this impossible, he called on the commander Cabeçadas, who deserved the trust of the republicans, giving him the executive power to avoid the conflicts. Mr. Bernardino Machado added that he was sure that the patriotism of the people would help in solving the crisis and that everyone would be around Commander Cabeçadas, a glorious figure since the instauration of the Republic in 1910". The Romanian press had not published further news implying that the president was wrong and Cabeçadas, lacking any political sense and ambition, had left the presidency of the government established in June 4 1926, in favor of Gomes da Costa, who established a new Government on June 9; The latest one had also been replaced with another lead by general Carmona, which, on November 26 1926 was elected President of the Republic, ad-interim, continuing to hold the presidency of the Council of Ministers.

This was a state of temporary existence. In the newspapers published on February 6,1927, under the title "Rebellion in Portugal", the publisher *Dimineata* briefly mentioned on the first page that "a part of the garrison in Porto displayed rebellion. The Government was confident though.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 7012,1926, p. 11.

The siege had been announced all over the country. There is peace in Lisbon.<sup>(6)</sup> The news supplied by Rador continued on page 9 under the title "Another pronunciamento in Portugal", where it also mentioned that on February 4 "there had been a new attempt for a coup d'etat, organized by the military. The rebels have been surrounded by the faithful troops of the Government and after negotiations of hours, they have surrendered. The paper published on February 7, 1927 contained the news provided by Lisbon stating that the rebellion in Porto had been completely crushed and the leaders had surrendered to the governmental troops<sup>(7)</sup>. Two days later, on February 9, the same newspaper posted two private telegrams under the title "The Revolution in Portugal", but the content of the telegrams was contradictory. While the telegram from Madrid was stating that "the rebels have been defeated by the governmental troops, and peace was resettled in the country", the one from Lisbon was stating that "the Porto garrison rejected the idea of capitulation and the governmental troops have surrendered the city, making pressures on the garrison to surrender"; at the same time, refusing, "they started bombing the city, creating fire" and even though, part of the population left the city before the bombing, "a large number of civilians have been killed"<sup>(8)</sup>.

The start of the revolution in Lisbon had been announced in the number on February 10, 1927, through news sent from Paris by Rador agency, inspired from the *Daily Mail* newspaper. Another telegram from Lisbon disclosed details of the revolution. It was alleged that the revolution that had started there "had immediately taken an extremely violent character and had spread incredibly fast. The initiative of the revolution had been taken by the crew on the war ships in the harbor. Police, the infantry, and the Republican Guard joined the movement started by the sailors. The insurgents had control over most of the important parts of the city and arrested the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Minister of Foreign Affairs". Further on, it was mentioned that "there have been violent fights between the troops faithful to the government and the revolutionary troops. For hours there have been shots fired with machine guns in the streets. By evening, the cruiser *Carvalho Araújo* had started bombing the parts of the city where the

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 7250, 1926, p. 1.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 7251, 1926, p. 9.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 7253, 1926, p. 9.

troops faithful to the Government were settled". It killed 31 people, while another 132 people were severely injured. In retaliation, the faithful troops arrested and imprisoned 150 people in the Monte Santo fortress, most of them being politicians and reporters belonging to the opposition. The entire administration of the country had been affected. According to the telegram, the diplomats had a meeting under the presidency of the Papal Nuncio, where it was decided that no action shall be taken for the moment<sup>(9)</sup>. It was proclaimed that the fights continued in Porto with the same grimness, the bombings reaching the climax on the night of February 7/8, continuing with insignificant stops. Many monuments had suffered due to the bombings, the post office and the famous theatre *São João* being completely destroyed. The number of deaths reached around 100, while minor casualties numbered in the thousands.

Since the revolutionary movement was increasing, more space was given to the issue in the publications on the following days. The events in Portugal also appeared in other newspapers. The news from Lisbon were taken over by the Rador agency from Paris, Berlin and Madrid. These news though, were limited, confusing and contradictory, the ban being a barrier for precise news to be transmitted. Regardless, the private telegram from Paris was sent on February 8. It was stating that "the current revolution is overtaking all the previous by proportion"; that "the rebels have gained adepts in the entire country", in such a way that the Government was forced to proclaim the siege in the country, prohibiting the traffic on the streets between 10 pm and 6 am. Taking news from Lisbon, posted on the *Intransigent* newspaper, in the telegram was mentioned that deputy Morais, former general Governor, "had addressed an ultimatum to the Government, requesting the withdrawal within 24 hours" and that the Prime Minister would run away from Lisbon. Other news from Madrid, transmitted from Berlin to Bucharest by Rador, were referring to the repressive measures of the Government: the suspension of the *II Mundo* newspaper, for trying to publish an article which was not submitted to the restrictions. 150 reporters were arrested, claiming that "they have been openly or secretly on the side of the rebels"<sup>(10)</sup>. The telegram from Berlin mentioned that "according

<9> *Ibidem*, nr. 7254,1926, p. 1.

<sup>m</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.



to some versions", the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Portugal, Stollen, would be caught by the rebels and kept hostage, together with the Minister of Internal Affairs. It was announced that the revolutionary movement would extend all over Portugal, the news being supplied "from different parts".

*Realitatea* newspaper in Cluj, with some delayed comments on the events, noted that the rebels in Lisbon took advantage of the circumstance in which the army had been sent to Porto in order to suppress the rebellion there. Provided with information from the Parisian edition of *Chicago Tribune*, it was announced to the Romanian readers that the entire population of the capital had turned on the revolutionary side and had decided to oppose resistance to the government's attempts to retake the power; the Government had not been intimidated, and decided to apply the most drastic measures for resettling the peace, but it had been proven that the difficulty of the situation arisen by declaring the general riot of the railways in Southern Portugal, the reason for not being able to transport the troops. The newspaper recorded news related in the French press as well, emphasizing on the "slight possibility of reestablishment of order, due to the requirements of the rebels only asking for the restoration of the constitutional regime", this representing the main claim of the ultimatum "forwarded to the dictator Carmona"<sup>(11)</sup>.

In another telegram from Paris, posted on February 10, 1927 in the *Dimineata* newspaper, it was stated that, due to the tough ban and the interruption of the telegraphic connection with Lisbon there are less news coming from Portugal regarding "the civil war unleashed there". It was explained to the Romanian readers that "the revolutionary movement had been organized by the former leader of the Democrat Party, Morais, who won the Porto garrison on his side from the first moment, garrison against which the Government had sent faithful troops under the direct command of the Minister of Internal Affairs. Although the city had been bombed, the rebels were able to resist and had the possibility to communicate with the neighboring cities, which joined the revolution by spreading this propaganda all the way to Lisbon", where "the majority of the garrison and the entire Republican Guard have gone on the rebels' side, and the working class declared a general strike in the favor of the

<sup>(11)</sup> *Realitatea*, Cluj, nr. 2,1927, p. 7.

revolution". Because both camps were claiming they were "confident on the situation", the telegram mentioned that "it cannot be understood what the end of the revolution would be".

News from Lisbon, sent during the night of February 9 /10, transmitted to Bucharest the following day and published on February 11 in the *Dimineata* newspaper, announced that "Porto is still occupied by rebels", but further news claimed the contrary, that the governmental troops, commanded by the Minister of War, would have occupied the city. It was reminded that the bombing of Porto by the artillery and air forces had provoked considerable damage and a large number of victims that the strike in the railways had extended in the entire country and everywhere the siege had been declared<sup>(12)</sup>. A different telegram from Berlin, which was consulting news from Madrid, and published in the number of the newspaper announced that "the Portuguese rebels had installed a new Government, declaring the former Cabinet illegal", which still, "was stable in Lisbon by that time, where the tough siege had been declared. The traffic on the Capital's streets is forbidden, the shops are closed". Plowever, another telegram sent from Paris by Rador announced that the President of the Portuguese Republic had been arrested by the rebels. The news was in the London's newspapers, as a result of a telegram from Madrid, not yet confirmed.

The number on February 11 of *Dimineata* newspaper was recording the reactions of Great Britain and the United States of America towards the events in Portugal. That is when it was found that the first one was following closely the events and for "protecting the lives and interests of its loyal followers" a British cruiser left the Gibraltar heading to Lisbon while two cruisers headed to Porto. As the USA was concerned, the official news from Washington that the American legacy in Lisbon "has been forced to leave the city because of the bombing" was published together with the report of the Ambassador of the USA in Portugal "qualifying the situation in Portugal as very serious". Primo de Rivera was supporting the same idea, through a declaration for the press representatives, adding that "the entire Northern part of Portugal is on the revolution side". The news was published in the number of February 12 of *Dimineata*, together with an article relating the continuation of fights (1<sup>st</sup> page),

<sup>(12)</sup> *Dimineata*, nr. 7246,1927, p. 9.

but also "the repressing of the Lisbon revolution" and "the reestablishment of peace in Porto" (9<sup>th</sup> page) transmitted from London, Madrid and Paris. The *Daily Mail* newspaper correspondent in Portugal was communicating the following details regarding the fights, through the wireless telegraphy of a foreign ship in the Lisbon harbor: "the rebels have made trenches and barricades and set machine guns behind them. The city was bombed by the governmental troops and many civilians fell on the streets. The main street of Porto was completely ruined. The *Vangoi* gunboat turned on the side of the revolutionaries and bombed the artillery of the governmental troops" as well as the war ship *Benia de Jaro*. Other news transmitted from London announced that in Lisbon "the rebels have created a temporary Government" and have issued a proclamation declaring that "they would do all that is required for creating a new republican Government". 200 soldiers have fallen in the fights where "several infantry regiments have participated to, the marine troops and the republican guard", fights that lasted 40 continuous hours<sup>(13)</sup>.

The news sent from Paris by Rador, regarding the crash of the riot in Lisbon and the reestablishment of the peace in the country, was taken from an official letter of the Portuguese Government announcing that "in Lisbon, the revolution started at noon time on Monday (February 7, n.n.). The rebels, part of marine, the republican guard and police, had blocked different parts of the city. The Government had immediately taken action against them, using machine guns and canons. With the help of the faithful garrison, the disarming of the rebelling cruisers was possible, stopping the bombing of the city. The rebels were successful in occupying the Army Arsenal and the telegraphic channels, creating the impossibility of any type of communication. The arsenal was given back the night before (February 9) at 20:30 after an attack that lasted 44 hours of continuous artillery bombing. There is absolute peace all over the country at this point in time". The reestablishment of peace in Porto, starting in the morning of February 8, was confirmed by the news sent to Reuter agency by the British cruise *Windsor*. The same agency confirmed the news received by the wireless telegraphy of *Camus* cruise, relating that the governmental troops had occupied the Army Arsenal in Lisbon and suffered enormous damages by the destruction of the

M *Ibidem*, nr. 7247,1927, p. 1.

Rio de Janeiro and Brasilia markets, situated in two modern areas of Portugal's capital<sup>(14)</sup>.

Direct news from Lisbon published in the number next day, February 13, in *Dimineata* newspaper, were confirming the defeat of the revolutionary movement, the surrender of the insurgents and the peace settlement all over the country. "The revolutionary committee - it was said - had been arrested the night before at 12 am. From this morning onwards, peace had prevailed in Lisbon. The post office and the telegraph had retaken their activities as well as the commerce. From the data obtained until the moment it was concluded that in Lisbon and Porto, there were 250 victims and 850 injured persons. The former Prime Minister Santos had been murdered in Porto. The leaders of the insurgents in Porto, Morais and Cortes committed suicide". The news also contained an official letter of the Portuguese legacy in Paris transmitted to the newspapers, stating that "the revolution had been defeated. The army had proven once again its power. The rebels were forced to capitulate. The insurgents in the Arsenal became prisoners". Further on, the *Anulo* rebelling cruise had been announced<sup>(15)</sup>, that it was forced to capitulate as a result of the artillery fire opened against it, and the crew had found refuge in a German commercial ship. Officially the peace was announced to have been reestablished all over the country. The deed was confirmed by the telegram from Lisbon sent by Rador, on February 11, mentioning that "starting with the day before, the absolute peace had been established in the Capital. The traffic had resumed. The firemen and all the ambulance services in the capital had started working the entire day for recovering the corpses from underneath the wrecks. The communications abroad were needy due to the bombings that had caused severe damage to the wires"<sup>(16)</sup>.

A private telegram from Madrid, published in the same number of *Dimineata* newspaper, offered details regarding the repressive measures and the accounts for the fights: "the rebel officers and soldiers, prisoners in Porto, were transported on a war ship that would take them to Lisbon

<sup>m</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

<sup>(15)</sup> We believe it is about a confusion, because the announcement posted few days later by the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, through the legacy in Paris, conferred the same deeds to the cruiser *Carvalho Araújo*.

<sup>(16)</sup> *Dimineata*, nr. 7248,1927, p. 11.

to be judged by a War Council. The leaders of the rebellion, general Diaz and colonel Ferreira, are still in Porto. Most of the officers that were involved in the rebellion wore civilian dressing for their protection. Many of them crossed the Spanish border". From Lisbon "it was announced that the former Minister of Foreign Affairs was set free. During the fights, Mendes Reis, the leader of the insurgents, was killed. In Lisbon, the number of victims reached 300. The damages were enormous; many public and private edifices suffered important damages. Police checked the houses of the suspected people to have taken part in the rebellion and arrested the guilty".

The correspondent in Lisbon for Rador, confirmed in the telegram on February 11, the information regarding the murder of commander Américo Olavo, the War Minister, the freedom of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the murder of commander Mendes Reis, which was the leader of the revolution in Lisbon, the arresting of the heads of the rebellion in Porto, general Sousa Dias and Ferreira Vigo, together with other 50 officers, which had been embarked on a war ship and sent to Lisbon for being judged. Regarding the damages, the number of victims was evaluated at 196, and material damages consisting in goods and houses.

The number on February 14, 1927 of *Dimineata* newspaper published new information regarding the defeat of the revolution, the arresting of the leaders of the movement, other repressive measures of the Government. The news were coming from a telegram from Lisbon and an official announcement of the Portuguese Legacy in Paris. The siege had been maintained all over Portugal and the Government had decided to take severe measures against the authors of the revolutionary movement; that except commander João Manuel Carvalho, who managed to escape with a motor boat, all the other leaders of the rebels would be arrested. The Capital had retaken its normal aspect, the traffic had been reestablished, the banks opened their offices and the trains were now going regularly.

The announcement of the Portuguese Legacy in Paris was coming from the side of the Minister of External Affairs, who announced that the revolution had been permanently defeated both in Porto and Lisbon, where, after suffering severe damages, most of the rebels surrendered without any conditions. The ones that were hiding in the trenches and in the Army Arsenal were refugees on the Tejo river and the crew of the

*Carvalho Araújo* cruiser, which had made a pact with the rebels, and found refuge on a German ship after the fire of the war ship was shut off by the coast batteries used by the faithful troops of the Government. In Porto, the last rebels surrendered without conditions on February 9. Due to the support the rebels became railway employees, the Government ordered the occupation of the administrative places of the socialist trade-union and shut them off for unlimited period of time. The frontier guard and the custom officers got an order to stop the run of the rebels in Spain by all means. From London, Rador agency was telegraphing the news that the Portuguese Government "has decided to cross out all the secret associations and dissolution of the political offices, prohibiting after all, the right for strikes.

The *Tribuna* newspaper in Oradea was also making a synthesis of the events, which developed amazingly fast, presenting unexpected changes of situation, with the title "The Revolution in Portugal", on February 13, 1927. It was mentioned that "in Portugal, a little Latin country on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, there had been on the previous days a new revolution, which apparently, was more terrifying than the previous ones. The revolution had been thought by the opposition deputy, Mr. Morais, the head of the Democratic Party, which had gotten the Porto and Douro garrisons on his side, and after that, there were adepts for the revolution all over the country declaring a civil war. The sailors on the revolution side started bombing the harbors and Lisbon, the capital city. The batteries responded to that and the war became fierce. Many houses were destroyed and many people were injured or killed on both sides. The telegrams were stating that the revolution was about to win, that the Government had ran away. The last telegram though, announced that the revolution has been defeated and its leaders arrested"<sup>(17)</sup>.

Taking into account "all the news from private sources", the Rador correspondent in Paris appreciated that "the current suppressed revolution had been the most dangerous and most terrifying Portugal has been through since the abolishment of the Monarchy". In an interview of the correspondent for the *Daily Mail* newspaper, adopted by *Realitatea* newspaper in Cluj, the Portuguese Prime Minister went through with the following declaration regarding the difficulty of

<sup>(17)</sup> *Tribuna*, Oradea, nr. 7, 1927, p. 1.

the peace operation: "The evil this country suffers has deep roots in the administrative disorganization and the lack of discipline which shows the wrong governing of different political parties for 16 years and especially that of the democrats, which have thought more of their own interests instead of the national ones. Due to this, the environment became favorable for the foreign propaganda between the working classes, especially from Moscow and other communist countries... Bringing their personal benefits to an end, benefits they enjoyed for many years, it was naturally understood that the political parties would always decide on conspiracies, in order to bring the dictatorship to an end<sup>(18)</sup> and to get back the power". Further on, it is shown that in front of the revolution against the legal sway, the Government was forced to take measures. Because the army and the marine had been faithful to the Government, the plotters were forced to rely more on the dissatisfaction elements of the people in order to start the revolution. In Lisbon, this element had been leading the troops and the sailors that took part in the revolution. But when the military leaders had surrendered, they asked the government to disarm the civilian attendants in order stop other barbaric acts. Regarding the measures the Government would have taken, general Carmona declared that the decrees which would be adopted, such as "cancelling the military societies that took part in the revolt, as well as all the political or secret associations together with canceling the right to revolt", those were to contribute substantially to the peacekeeping in the country. At the end of the declaration, the Prime Minister mentioned that his Government would stay in power "only until stopping the social and administrative state, when the dictatorial power would be given to more competent hands which would continue the development of the country"<sup>(19)</sup>. The newspaper from Cluj shared the interview with images representing general Carmona, a house sieved by bullets, the governmental troops in action on the Lisbon streets, the revolutionary delegates with their eyes covered, who were taken to the area of the governmental troops with peace proposals and together

<sup>(18)</sup> Established after the military movement in 1926, seen as having the role to establish order, the dictatorship being applied "in a large spirit and without referring to violent reprisals or persecutions".

<sup>(19)</sup> *Realitatea*, nr. 4, 1927, p. 7.

with the news that the revolutionary leaders would be taken and kept on the islands of the Portuguese colonies.

Could it be that Portugal owed its stability<sup>(20)</sup> "to the political genius of general Carmona" for putting Salazar as the head of the Finance Ministry and for having made him a dictator, but the military dictatorship was not well seen abroad. On March 25, 1928, the correspondent for Rador in Paris announced the election of general Carmona as the president of the Republic through the telegram sent to Bucharest, where he mentioned that the election had been without a "counter-candidate"<sup>(21)</sup>.

The opposition of the old political parties and certain military elements did not lead to an easier disarmament. In July 1928 there was a new revolutionary attempt in Lisbon lead by a military group which was not willing to accept the new orientation of the movement in May 28, 1926. The *Realitatea* newspaper on July 28, 1928 was commenting the event mentioning that: "with all the warmth, the Portuguese people have found the necessary energy for attempting a new revolution. But Portugal got us used to this idea: this was the 27<sup>th</sup> during two years and the world shows no emotion to it any longer. The army has killed some rebels and injured some dozens; in the end the revolution has been defeated<sup>(22)</sup>". *Tribuna* newspaper in Oradea mentioned: "the Portuguese habit" in accordance with it, "if the opposition is not pleased with the regime, organizes a revolution and if it wins, it changes the Government and takes the leading of the country, and if it does not win, fills the prison"<sup>(23)</sup>.

Keeping in mind the information sources and in the limits of the possibilities, the Romanian press continued to mention the events in Portugal. In the publication in January 18, 1930, *Viitorul* newspaper announced that president Carmona gave Sousa Pais the duty to form the new Government. On January 23, 1930, the same newspaper announced that "the new Portuguese Government had been created under the presidency of general Domingo Oliveira, who just like the preceding one,

<sup>(20)</sup> Starting with 1991 until 1926, Portugal knew 8 state leaders and 43 Governments. Comparing it to such a severe ministerial instability and such a serious political crisis, from 1926 to 1942, Portugal got to know a single ruler - President Carmona - and only 5 Governments. Mircea Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

<sup>(21)</sup> *Dimineata*, nr. 6484, 1928, p. 1.

<sup>(22)</sup> *Realitatea*, nr. 28, 1928, p. 2.

<sup>(23)</sup> *Tribuna*, nr. 7, 1927, p. 1.



had a military character"<sup>(24)</sup>. In the number in April 7, 1931, *Dimineata* newspaper published a short telegram with the title "Military dictatorship in Portugal", supplied by Rador in Vigo, where it was mentioned that "in Funchal, severe disturbances had been produced", the news was provided by the travelers coming from Portugal. At the same time, there was another telegram from Funchal, from Rador correspondents: "yesterday, April 14, there was a pronunciamento in the city The civilian authorities have been arrested, the public power being remitted from general Sousa Pais, the highest in rank officer of the garrison"<sup>(25)</sup>.

The numbers of *Dimineata* newspaper on April 11, 15 and 18 1931, kept the Romanian readers informed. Under the title "Bloody fights in Madeira", the number on April 11 published an announcement of the Portuguese legacy in Berlin, broadcasted through Danub Agency, where it was mentioned that "all the ports on Madeira island were closed for sailing" and "any mean of communication on the island with foreign countries had been stopped". It was also mentioned that "there were bloody fights on the island between the rebels and police" and that many of them ended up dead or injured<sup>(26)</sup>. The edition on April 15, 1931, of the same newspaper announced the news sent from Paris and London by the Rador correspondents taken by the French newspapers or the British Admiralty, being announced from Lisbon that "the Portuguese garrisons in Angra do Heroísmo and Ponta Delgada in Azores had joined the revolutionary movement in the Madeira islands" and the Government continued to concentrate troops for repressing the riot. The *Echo de Paris* newspaper was announcing that "the news received from Lisbon regarding the riot in Azores and Madeira was extremely confusing. Apparently, the revolutionary movement in the island was spreading. The government ordered the arresting of general Mottal, former Minister of War and Ambassador in London. The insurgents in Funchal stated that there had been severe fights, while the Government in Lisbon declared that peace was settled in the islands. The authorities in the capital decided to take severe measures against the foreign correspondents responsible for the inexact reports of the events". Although the Government had announced that "all over the Azores

<sup>(24)</sup> *Viitorul*, București, nr. 6580, 1930, p. 5; nr. 6584, 1930, p. 6.

<sup>(25)</sup> *Dimineata*, nr. 8724, 1931, p. 1.

<sup>TM</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 8728, 1931, p. 15.

islands, the peace was settled", he had proclaimed the siege, deciding to send troops for repressing the military riot in Ponta Delgada. News from Lisbon on April 16 announced that the university and the schools had been shut down and two more war ships had been sent to suppress the riot in Azores. Because the movement had spread all the way to Portugal, "the Government prohibited any republican meeting. The army had overtaken the railways and the most important strategic places in the country" and "decided to shut down the universities temporarily", due to the disturbances among the students<sup>(27)</sup>.

The news that the British Admiralty ordered the cruisers *Curlew* and *Atiene*, who belonged to the armada of Gibraltar to be ready for departure towards Lisbon or any other city in Portugal in order to be able to protect the interests of the British employees<sup>(28)</sup>.

More details regarding the riot in the Madeira islands we were able to find out from the number in April 18, 1931, of *Dimineata* newspaper, published in the telling of the witnesses of the events, taken from the London newspapers. According to these, "the riot had been skillfully organized by 300 political prisoners which had been deported to Madeira". The disturbances had started from February, due to the Portuguese Governments actions of "offering monopoly to several politicians over the cereals". In order to reestablish peace, the Government in Lisbon sent a military governor together with 300 soldiers to deport several people that were unhappy in the Azores. The rebels managed to determine the Governor's troops to join the Madeira garrison, already conquered by them, and on April 5, the Governor was arrested and a military dictatorship had been proclaimed. After other declarations of witnesses as well as from the measures taken by the Portuguese Government, it had been concluded that "the situation was dominated by rebels" and, although there was peace for the moment, the fear of "start of serious fights, in case of troops landing", as the Government was threatening. The result of this situation was the decision of a part of the populations in Funchal to find refuge in the mountains, whereas the majority of the tourists left the island of Madeira<sup>(29)</sup>.

*wIbidem*, nr. 8733, 1931, p. 13.

<sup>TM</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 8730, 1931, p. 1.

<sup>(29)</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 8733, 1931, p. 5.

Regarding the set up of a new revolutionary Government in the Portuguese islands, the *Gazeta de Vest* newspaper in Oradea offered information on April 22, 1931, through a telegram sent from Paris by Rador containing an announcement for the press of commander Sebastião da Costa who was in France as a representative of the Government proclaimed by the rebels in the Islands of Madeira and Azores. In this announcement it was mentioned that "the population had decided not to listen to the anti-constitutional orders of the Lisbon Government"; that "in the rebelling territories a new Government had been created presided by Sousa Dias", and this decision had been published in the Official Journal in Funchal and sent to the foreign Consuls in Madeira<sup>(30)</sup>.

The number in April 18 1931, with the title "the struggle against the dictatorship of Carmona" in the *Dimineata* newspaper was published together with the photo of the President, the article being taken from the Viennese newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*. The article made a synthesis in the political evolution of General Fragoso Carmona showing that in Portugal "there was another rebellion going on", the 22<sup>nd</sup> since the removal of the kingship, pointed against the dictatorship of General Fragoso Carmona. It was shown that "in 1926 he had a decisional part in the riot which led to the abdication of president Machado and marshal Gomes da Costa's military dictatorship, which later became the Minister of Foreign Affairs" but later on, feeling threatened, "he overturned his superior, taking the title of Prime Minister and Minister of War upon himself, followed by self-proclaiming President of the Republic. In March 26, 1928, he agreed on being elected final president, but being, of course, the only candidate". It was mentioned that "there had been repeated riots against his dictatorship", which "Carmona had suppressed in a very tough way", and "in August 1927, several officers entered the Council of Ministers and this is how a lieutenant fired a gun upon the general, but he was not injured".

Carmona's regime - as mentioned in the article - "had a soft character generally, although it restricted the individual freedom and kept a tough ban upon the press". Regarding the new movement, it was stated that, "according to all the appearances", might be about "a co-operation between Carmona's opponent officers and the republican

<sup>m</sup> *Gazeta de Vest*, Oradea, nr. 499, 1931, p. 6.

politicians which wanted to end the dictatorship"; that the riot "started in Madeira, extended to Azores and was getting closer to the mother land"; its organizing and leadership though, "might have started from Paris, particularly from a league of some exiled Portuguese politicians led by the former president of the Republic, Bernardino Machado"<sup>(31)</sup>.

The article in the Viennese newspaper mentioned the accomplishments of the Carmona regime "on financial and political plan", but the Romanian reader did not know at the moment that those were due to Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, who became Minister of Finances with dictatorial power in this sector. In the number on June 27,1932, the *Universul* newspaper was announcing the resignation of the Portuguese Government. On June 6, 1932, the same newspaper informed the Romanian readers about the death of the former king, Manuel the IInd and on June 7, there was a telegram from Lisbon, sent by Rador, with the following content: "The Salazar Government has been permanently created. The Prime Minister assumed the Ministry of Finance as well. Mr. Pinto Reis was named Minister of Internal Affairs and Mr. Mendes the Minister of External Affairs"<sup>(32)</sup>.

Shortly after the being named the leader of the Council of Minister, Salazar announced the reestablishment of the parliamentary regime in Portugal. The news was brought for the Romanian readers by *Universul* newspaper in November 26, 1932, which published the telegram from Lisbon, by Rador, mentioning that: "The President of the Portuguese Council declared that the Government intended to modify the Constitution, because he was willing to have a parliamentary and democratic regime for Portugal. This reform could be accomplished after the complete annihilation of the monarchic movement in Portugal"<sup>(33)</sup>.

Until 1935, the publications regarding Salazar's political life and activity were almost completely missing in Romania. "In the beginning, Oliveira Salazar was not at all known beyond the borders of his country. He was called a mystic man that dedicated his life to numbers and to God"<sup>(34)</sup>. The investigations made in the libraries in Cluj Napoca and

<sup>(31)</sup> *Dimineata*, nr. 8733,1931, p. 5.

<sup>(32)</sup> *Universul*, București, nr. 174,1932, p. 13; nr. 184,1932, p. 11.

<sup>(33)</sup> *Ibidem*, 1932, nr. 326, p. 11.

<sup>(34)</sup> C.3.C, *Un dictator al tăcerii: Oliveira Salazar*; in *Ceie Trei Crișuri*, anui XXIII, 1942, nr. 7-8, p.154

Oradea revealed only few books and articles from magazines that were trying to keep "the Romanian intelligence" informed regarding Salazar's special dictatorship.

The first article which shed some light about Salazar, "a single informational study, more precisely a biographic article from a larger series, was published in the columns of the *Lumea Noua* magazine, written by madam Manoilescu, in April 1934"<sup>(35)</sup>.

The situation had changed somehow after 1935, when numerous studies and articles were written by journalists and professors who were able to obtain information about Portugal due to exchange visits. Such an article was published in the *Gândirea* magazine in August 1935. Al. Gregorian, the author, expressed his views with a reproaching attitude towards the Romanian intellectuals: "it's a shame that there has been only a mediocre book written about the Portuguese phenomena and Salazar's catholic dictatorship. Some kind of superficial and confusing report written by the pen of a journalist from a gazette in Lisbon, *Diario da Noticias*, barely mentioned anything about the finance professor Salazar of Coimbra. Portuguese Blaise Pascal, who was able to create the miracle of a new Portugal in the Iberic Peninsula in three years, from the flesh of a nation tired of romanticism, adventures and revolutions and with a rich historical background, filled with heroes, legends and conquerors"<sup>(36)</sup>. The work of the Portuguese journalist seems to have been documented in the foreword of "Paul Valery's so good work" and in "faith profession of the dictator himself, posted in the beginning on purpose to cover for some lame pages..."<sup>(37)</sup>.

But who is Salazar? In order to reward the lack of information in Romania, Al. Gregorian made a presentation of the professional-political evolution of the Portuguese Dictator. "Oliveira Salazar was a professor. He taught financial sciences in the University of Coimbra, and in his spare time he made Christian exegetics". He was a deputy who only attended one meeting of the Room "for never turning back in the democratic Parliament in Lisbon". Afterwards, in 1926, he was "forced to get the Ministry of Finance and was almost arrested by a revolutionary

<sup>(35)</sup> Mihail Manoilescu, "Portugalia lui Salazar", *Revista Cursurilor Şi Conferinţelor*, nr. 3, 1936, p. 3.

<sup>(36)</sup> *Gândirea*, anui XIV, nr. 8, 1935, p. 431.

<sup>(37)</sup> *Ibidem*.

Committee of Officers. After five days, he ran away to his hometown, pretending to be ill". Two years later, it was impossible for Salazar to refuse leading the treasury of the Republic. He had to obey the orders of General Gomes da Costa, the head of the revolution. "He lived up to it and said his goodbyes to the students, and the professor started his journey again towards the capital as he was going to be sacrificed... He would work like a servant to clean the mess in all the State Institutions and disastrous budget"<sup>(38)</sup>.

A deep crisis was affecting Portugal. All the state institutions were "discomposing, the marrow of the State was in putrefaction, the parties had exhausted all the moral and material resources of the Republic [...] In this chaotic background, Oliveira Salazar is stood up, shiny and providential"<sup>(39)</sup>.

In 1932, after years of toil, Salazar was named the Prime Minister. "Salazar was unknown in Portugal, where, still, he was called to be a savior, after he was hate like a monster that came to make economies and impossible works as well as making a balance in the budget, in the beginning of his mandate as a Minister". "His first step in fixing the crisis was to abolish the political parties. "The parties and the occult forces, he declared to Frederic Lefevre for *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, have confiscated the freedoms of the Portuguese people. The dictatorship is the only force able to pull the people from the hidden powers working through parliamentarians and the big economic groups. The main purpose of the dictatorship is the freedom of the State, and through this, the freedom of the individuals. For, if the State is not superior to everyone, there cannot be individual freedom"<sup>(40)</sup>.

According to Gregorian, Salazar was an artist, who wanted to make Portugal a masterpiece in which he could find himself - to make him perfect. The moral model of his reforms was the Holy Gospel. Salazar was a profound Christian and a mystic person. The financial, economical, political orders were strictly tied to the moral order. But the moral order

<sup>m</sup> *Ibidem*. Aceleași informații pot fi găsite și în lucrarea lui Mircea Eliade, *Salazar și revoluția în Portugalia*, București, Editura Seara, 2002, dar și în monografia completă pe care reputatul ziarist și poet Antonio Ferro i-a dedicat-o lui Salazar - *O homem e a sua obra*, 1933.

<sup>m</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>m</sup> *Ibidem*.

did not need to be created by the State. [...] The moral order already exists in Christianity. This was the sensible difference between Salazar's regime and National Socialism. Salazar's dictatorship was demofila. Form this point of view, Salazar was a maurassian who focused on clear distinctions: not democracy, but demofflie"<sup>(41)</sup>.

The positive image of Salazar kept spreading. "An inflexible will and a perfect lucidity kept the dictator focused on all the national problems. [...] His spiritual formation is of a geometrical harmony. The scientific honesty and the perfect humanism were in perfect conjunction with one another". He was an educated person, perfectly informed about all the good books available and knowledgeable of all the social experiments of the time, keeping only what was suitable with his ideas for a state. Extremely delicate and not interested in acclamations, Salazar used to get lost within the crowds. "When he was found somewhere, the people who admired him had doubts about whether or not he was really the beneficent Salazar". Even so, the finance professor from Coimbra was the most popular person in Portugal. The people that knew him loved him<sup>(42)</sup>. He was always seeking studies rather than popularity<sup>(43)</sup>.

In 1936, the famous professor Mihail Manoilescu published in the Magazine of "Courses and Conferences" a speech in the Carol I Foundation of may 1936, shortly after a chain of conferences in Portugal, in the Faculty of Law in the universities of Coimbra and Lisbon. From the very beginning, he emphasized on the fact that "nobody is writing in our country about what is happening in Portugal. The reason behind this is that there aren't revolutions every day, and so this country does not appear interesting for the journalists anymore"<sup>(44)</sup>. In the beginning of his presentation, as a compensatory measure, Mihail Manoilescu felt an interest in taking the public back into the historical past, where the two countries from two extremities of Europe were one, The Roman Empire. After a short period of time, the famous economist and historian spoke about the geographical, historical, and cultural similarities. He proved that "it is absolutely compulsory to talk about Portugal since ever in order to be able to mention Salazar's Portugal, [...] because, unlike the

<sup>(41)</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 142.

<sup>(42)</sup>*Ibidem*.

<sup>(43)</sup>C.3.C, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>(44)</sup>Mihail Manoilescu, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

people, who consider themselves above their own country, the dictator of today's Portugal would be offended if someone claimed the history of Portugal started with him"<sup>(45)</sup>.

After talking about Portugal's independence in the 12th century, during Afonso Henriques, he continues with the love story between prince Pedro, Afonso the IVth's son and beautiful Ines de Castro, a young lady of the court, afterwards mentioning about Henrique the Navigator and the XVth century Portugal, the earthquake in 1755 in Lisbon, the Portuguese society of the XIXth century and the beginning of XXth, continuing with the restoration of the Republic in 1910. The largest part of the speech was dedicated to Salazar's Portugal, starting with his promotion in the financial field: "there is a person, Salazar, in the finances, who claims to be a finance professor. This was all that was known about him". And Manolescu continues: "how full of knowledge is this call of a person from nowhere, who was only promoted due to his abilities". Salazar did not know the modern duties. He did not accept the scandal [...] and did not know any other way that the one from his office to his modest apartment, such as his room previously in Coimbra"<sup>(46)</sup>.

The forces supporting Salazar were "the army with the president of the Republic, the youth, the patriots and the entire country. [...] Dare you talk to him about his results, he would tell you: it is all due to the president, General Carmona. And whoever asked the president, the answer would be the same: it is all due to Salazar. This was the amazing contest of moral elegance that these people started, that seems to have put the foundations of a true Platon's *Republic of Wise* nowadays...".

The second force supporting Salazar was the youth<sup>(47)</sup>. Although there was no paramilitary party in Portugal, the youth in schools and universities "was raised in a sportive and political spirit at the same time". It must be mentioned that the vanguard university and school association - *Acção Escolar Vanguarda* - which was "born from the initiative of the dictator, and close to his heart. I have also seen these young people and you cannot imagine how nervous I was. They were walking like our youth, with their arm up [...]. They were all wearing

<sup>m</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>(46)</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>(47)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 14, Sterie Diamandi, *Galeria dictatorilor*, Bucureşti, Editura Cugetarea, RC. Georgescu-Delafraş, 1938, p. 280.



long black pants and shirts of the color that means the best prophecy for all the countries: the green shirt... "(48) 49.

The dictatorship in its military shape had neither program nor ideas. "In his famous speech on May 28, 1930, Salazar displayed the value of the corporative state and the constitution in March 1933 gave clear judiciary to this state. [...] The corporatist inspiration had a Christian background". The Portuguese dictator saw in this corporatism the possibility to bring morality into the economic life. The Christian inspiration made Salazar's regime different from fascism, "which subordinates the human being in the State too much" and also from Hitlerism, "of pagan essence, subordinating everything, people and things, to a particularity for nation or race, considering it an all-powerful system possessing the beginning and the end and undermines all the individual and collective manifestations" ^.

According to Manoilescu, the corporatism found a solid base in Portugal based on its historical past. It mentioned "the house of the twenty four corporations", founded in 1393, when each corporation had a flag and a saint. In Salazar's time, according to Manoilescu, the corporations were based on syndicates and managers associations. The grouping of enterprises was done in *federations*, when they were identical, and in *unions*, when they were close. "Regarding the corporation, it was the bridge linking the workers and the managers" (50).

In Salazar's Portugal, the Corporative Chamber was working together with the National Assembly. It consisted of only 80 members, divided into 24 sections. Five of the deputies were working in cereal production and animal breeding, five in the area of wines, four for fishery, four for graphic arts and press, two for tourism, four for the moral and spiritual interests, five for science, letters, arts, three for education and sports, four for politics and general administration, two for justice, etc. The Chamber had only three lawyers. "It is remarkable that in this Chamber, 43 members represent the moral and social interests and only 37 the economical interests (51). Although it had a consultative role,

(48) Mihail Manoilescu, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

(49) N. Romanescu, *Oliveira Salazar: Doctrina și organizarea revoluției portugheze (recenzie)*, in *Viața Românească*, anii XXXI, nr. 8, 1939, p. 152.

(50) Mihail Manoilescu, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

(51) *Ibidem*, p. 16.

this Chamber had more power than the national Assembly<sup>(52)</sup>, a result of the universal vote and *deliberative*.

After the discussion with Salazar, Manoilescu drew the conclusions regarding the corporatism: "it is obvious that the greatest issue of corporatism [...] is that this kind, born and raised by the state, must become the autonomous one, due to the virtues of the functioning of the system and the corporatist spirit that develops and strengthens through the daily results within the corporative institutions"<sup>(53)</sup>.

The praises for Salazar continued with those few pages dedicated to him by Sterie Diamandi in *The Gallery of the Dictators* published in 1938. The lack of information in Romania regarding the Portuguese dictator was remarked in this work as well, from very few lines: "not only the large audience but also many intellectuals heard this name being mentioned for the first time [...]. Who is this Salazar who is taken as an anecdote?" so that Dimandi would go on: "both the man and the masterpiece created by him were totally unknown by the public. Around the name of Salazar there was no chat. The world did not see his face in the newspapers, magazines or cinema movies. Third hand stars were enjoying more publicity than the man who had the destinies of the Portuguese people in his hands"<sup>(54)</sup>. Still, in the second half of the 20th century, Salazar started to get into the press, publications and public opinion in Romania and Europe. The masterpiece created on such a tough material as Portugal was during those years, caught the attention and admiration even between the counterparts. "He was the only dictator that did not make his name dirty with blood and who did not believe in continuing through terror"<sup>(55)</sup>. The dictatorship promoted by Salazar was welcomed by the people. "It was the most honest, wise and *cumpatat* dictatorship in Europe, and at the same time, the most long-lasting in its applications", as Sterie Diamandi quoted Jacques Bainville, another writer preoccupied by the image of the dictators of the time<sup>(56)</sup>.

<sup>(52)</sup>Această cameră era formată din 90 de deputați aleși pe o listă unică.

<sup>(53)</sup>Mihail Manoilescu, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>(54)</sup>Sterie Diamandi, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

<sup>(55)</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 276.

<sup>(56)</sup>*Apud* Jacques Bainville, *Dictatorii*, în *ibidem*, p. 275.

A special man, Salazar, as Manoilescu mentioned, was surrounded by young people, most of the professors, and people he used to work with. The Portuguese dictator stated in a speech on January 28, 1934: "what great surprises had the events in the past years in Portugal brought to the prophets. While he was thinking that the dictatorship would abolish everything ending in a military terror adventure, people were mentioning a Government made in majority by professors"<sup>(57)</sup>.

For being able to explain the situation in Portugal on those times, Sterie Diamandi mentioned that "it was the first country in the world which had known the misfortune of the monetary inflation. The attempts were happening in raw: first, King Carlos I and the inheriting prince, further on, the president of the Republic, Sidonio Pais, a valuable man who tried to save Portugal from disaster"<sup>(58)</sup>. Further on, after the proclamation of the Republic, between 1910 and 1926, there were sixteen revolutions in Portugal and forty two governments. "On top of this political anarchy, there was also a financial chaos. From 1891, due to the crisis, Portugal had to pay the golden unit. The budgets were always modified and the services were completely disorganized". Salazar's coming to the headquarters of the financial department found the State in complete failure. "The debts were up to 2065 million 'Escudos', the budget was suffering for chronic deficit, the payments were delayed, the public debt was pressuring all the way to crashing. The waste and negligence, the theft and bribery were normal... After the expression of General Carmona, Portugal *was suffering from severe affections*"<sup>(59)</sup>.

The only solution the people knew for such circumstances was a revolution. And it wasn't long until it happened. On May 28, 1926, in Braga, General Gomes da Costa together with Carmona and others started the revolutionary march that ended in Lisbon at the moment of dictatorship instauration. The situation kept becoming more and more desperate. The new Government tried to obtain a loan from the Society of Nations but received a negative response. The only salvation was to bring Oliveira Salazar, the well known professor from Faculty of Law, famous for his abilities in the financial matters, to Lisbon. "He was there for only three days. He left because his colleagues did not understand that they should

<sup>(57)</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 276.

<sup>m</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 277-278.

*wIbidem*, pp. 278-279.

have obeyed what he was asking for. He was not the kind of person looking for the ranks and fancy titles. He preferred to study instead of having the satisfactions coming with the public titles. He felt much better at the desk or in the library than in his position of Minister"<sup>(60)</sup>. To years later, he had to return for leading the Portuguese financials on the President's request: "he is coming in his own name, brought by the head of the state, in a moment of terrifying financial crisis"<sup>(61)</sup>. He put conditions though, mentioning that if he was forced to leave the government, he would not return under any circumstances. It was not just a simple rhetoric flower or threatening circumstance. It was an honest and decisive expression of his thoughts". The President and the Council of Ministers gave him unlimited powers. "Within two months, the new Minister of Finance made the miracle of being able to create the budget on the exercise in 1928-1929, in such a way that it ended with 285 million escudos exceeded. From that moment on, in a time of global crisis, and almost everywhere the budgets end up in enormous deficits, Portugal was the country with balanced budgets"... He was above all, a hard worker, able to manage his own income in a very responsible way, with knowledge and talent. Under no circumstance would he accept to spend more than he was earning; that is how he managed to reduce without mercy, any expenditures he found useless or inappropriate for his income<sup>(62)</sup>. He considered it was his duty to "guard over the well-being of the low classes, the ones that were less favored and insure the minimum compatibility for the needs at the time"<sup>(63)</sup>.

With Salazar's instauration, for the first time the fictitious numbers and the ambiguous situations disappeared. "Two of Salazar's most appreciated measures were unburdening the budget by its political customers by suppressing the sinecurists and abolishing the plurality of offices. This is how the wastage with the goods of the State came to an end... The administrative negligence, the bribery and the tips also disappeared"<sup>(64)</sup>. Salazar started to pay back the internal and external loans of the country.

<sup>m</sup>*Ibidem*, pp. 280-281.

<sup>(61)</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 288.

<sup>(62)</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 282-283.

<sup>(63)</sup> N. Romanescu, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

<sup>(64)</sup> Sterie Diamandi, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

He loved the people, "but because we love him, we don't want the Government to be spread over all the heads". Salazar had never been an "obedient disciple that accepted the ideas of his master without any control [...] He appreciated the freedom of thought as one of the most essential spiritual goods. This is how the difference between him and other dictators can be explained. He was the most tolerant and respectful of all with regard to the human rights and freedoms. He was on the side of an authoritarian state but rejected the concept of a totalitarian state. He alone, of all the dictators, emphasized on making this distinction"<sup>(65)</sup>. Unlike the other dictators, Salazar considered that the sovereignty of the State should be railed by morality and law. He did not separate ethics from politics. "On the contrary, Salazar wanted politics to be penetrated by a strong moral spirit"<sup>(66)</sup>.

Just like a "skilful doctor", Salazar realized that it is not enough to apply a local treatment for solving the real issues of the country, but rather there was a need for a general one. In addition to that, Salazar understood that there was no such thing as an ideal political regime, valid for all the countries at all times. "Each nation created its own regime that fit its organic structure the best suitable way, satisfying its needs and corresponding to its historical evolution"<sup>(67)</sup>. In his concept, a democratic regime, typical for British, would have been a great failure for Portugal. But the dictatorial regime in Portugal, through the Constitution established, "imposed the respect and the warranty of the rights for the individuals, families and local corporations and authorities to the State; it ensured the freedom and respect for all the beliefs and religious practices; it recognized the right of the parents and their representatives to educate and raise their kids; it recognized the Church with its special organization, giving it full freedom to practice its spiritual actions. Salazar, as he enjoyed saying, was looking to only abolish *that freedom that was going against the common interest*"<sup>(68)</sup>.

A new principle that was at the foundation of the new Portuguese State was the corporative organization, which was seen by Salazar as an intermediate solution between the liberal economy and the conducted

<sup>(65)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 287.

<sup>m</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>(67)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 289.

<sup>w</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 291.

one. Because of this "the state could have benefits from all the productive forces keeping the principles of the private properties at the same time, those of the private inflation, the moderate competition, using its authority to put limits for any sort of abuses" (69). From Salazar's point of view, the state could not limit its powers to the administrative and political role only, leaving the national economy in the hands of destiny. The private initiative had to be saved. "According to him, the corporative organization was presenting this advantage".

On the other side, the dictatorship aims "for wresting the power from the hands of the political parties customers; for keeping the state safe from the coups of some bold minorities keeping it in permanent contact with the needs of the country; organizing the nation from up to down with its different manifestations in the collective life, from family to the administrative body and the moral and economic corporations, all within the state becoming the expression of reality" (69) (70). By this political program, it is understood that Salazar is promoting "the national sovereignty".

As Diamandi describes it, Salazar's dictatorship was "violence and oppression free". "In Portugal - according to Salazar - none of us would dare to claim that the power of the state towards the crowd is considered simple primary material for big political purposes. None of us can consider the state as the origin of morality and justice. By the contrary, the superior justice standards must guide its deeds and legions" (71).

The entire political program promoted by him would determine everyone around to realize the fact that they had him next to them, as the head of the country, the only person capable of reforming Portugal. Starting with June 1930, the President of the Republic empowered Salazar as Prime Minister. Nothing in his daily life changed. He kept being modest. He did not like the parades and the crowd. Each year he took part in two official receptions, unavoidable rituals. Afterwards, he would rarely be seen in public, only when it was about reporting his actions during the mandate" (72).

(69) Citat din cuvintele lui Salazar, p. 291

(70) Autorul nu precizează de unde anume a luat acest citat, ci doar sugerează că sunt cuvintele lui Salazar. Vezi: *Ibidem*, p. 293.

(71) *Ibidem*, p. 295.

(72) *Ibidem*, pp. 296-297.

Besides all these, Salazar never showed interest for giving up the colonies. He issued a document in this regard, known as The Colonial Document, through which he declared the Portuguese colonies "as lands that are part of the Portuguese State territories". At the same time, Salazar put the foundation of the corporatist organizations in 1933 based on some decrees promoting: "1. the status of national work; 2. managerial associations; 3. managerial syndicates; 4. popular homes; 5. fishermen homes; 6. cheap housing; 7. the National Institute of Labor and Provisions"<sup>(73)</sup>.

Portugal's well being seemed to be Salazar's single and definite aim.

Around the Second World War, Salazar's work, *The Doctrine and organizing the Portuguese Revolution*, was published in Romanian language in the "Universul" publishing house. Soon, N. Romanescu, an editor, published in the *Viata Romaneasca* magazine a review of this work. Romanescu stated: "For those who hoped to find out a new valuable social doctrine corresponding with the political situation of the author, reading works like *The Doctrine and organizing the Portuguese Revolution* by Salazar of *the Fascism* by Mussolini, offers many reasons for deception. It was especially addressed to the followers to listen and to consent to the dictator's words, willingly or unwillingly, these 'doctrinal' books which, surprised the non impartial and contradictory statements by lack of clarity in the ideas promoted to the readers that considered themselves 'free citizens' willing to 'rationalize'. Salazar's 'doctrine', created mainly for a theoretical justification of a long governing, was revealing, as other similar 'doctrines', its commanded improvised character"<sup>(74)</sup>.

The second part of the review analyzed the vision and the politic program of the Portuguese dictator and his statements regarding the democracy and the liberalism. "Mr. Salazar assigns to the democracy some advisedly distorted conceptions, such as: *the absurd idea of considering the individuals as abstract beings, geometric equally* or he concludes that *it doesn't have social and economic content*"<sup>(75)</sup>. On the other hand, regarding the re-statement of the National State and family idea, the Romanian journalists saw nothing but: "a reiteration of the old bourgeois concept". "However *the identification* of the state with the

<sup>(73)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 298.

<sup>(74)</sup> N. Romanescu, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>(75)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 152.

nation as Salazar comprehends it, namely the assembly of all Portuguese living in the Metropolis, in colonies and Diasporas is an innovation that undermines the states authority and independence on the borders where other nationalities were living, but the dominant one. [...] The only excuse would be that Mr. Salazar considers his doctrine valid only for the Portuguese, trying to draw a borderline between his concept and his way of seeing other dictators"<sup>(76)</sup>.

Unlike the "idea of authority" in case of the Hitler's and Mussolini's approach to totalitarianism, the Portuguese state "admits in the particular initiative the most fecund instrument of the progress and of the social economy", but it considers itself obliged by "coordinating and ascertaining the economic and social life direction"<sup>(77)</sup>. Consequently, the big war once unleashed, Salazar, "the balanced man, compos mentis on everything it was goad and guide, said aloud: The situation after this war wouldn't have to be different from the situation after the previous war. The present era had to be found under three signs: that of activity, work and social care. Nations will not be able to evade the principle of work and no company will be able to evade the principle of social unity"<sup>(78)</sup>.

<sup>(76)</sup>*Ibidem.*

<sup>(77)</sup>*Ibidem.*

<sup>(78)</sup>*Latinitatea Portugaliei, în Ceie Trei Criçuri, anui XXIII, nr. 11-12,1942, p. 230 (articolul nu este semnat).*