

Further Reading

Published: *January 2020*

Transcription, Editing and Markup: Paul Saba and Sam Richards

Copyright: This work is in the Public Domain under the Creative Commons Common Deed. You can freely copy, distribute and display this work; as well as make derivative and commercial works. Please credit the Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line as your source, include the url to this work, and note any of the transcribers, editors & proof-readers above.

There is a clear gap in the scholarly knowledge regarding the radical left groups, whether they had carried out armed actions against the dictatorship or had only theorized about this necessity, some scholarly investigation can be found in Miguel Cardina's work on Maoism in Portugal between 1964 and 1974, Ana Sofia Ferreira's on armed struggle organisations during the dictatorship and Raquel da Silva's on the narratives of political violence in Portugal both before and after the April Revolution.

The 2010 academic study conducted by Miguel Cardina on the Portuguese Marxist-Leninist organisations provided information about the movement. It looked at the impact of Maoism in Portugal in the last decade of the Estado Novo. Examining the organisational expression of this ideological body, starting with the Front of Popular Action and the Portuguese Marxist-Leninist Committee in 1964, it explores the theoretical and political assumptions that presented themselves as alternatives to those defined by Portuguese Communist Party.

CARDINA, Miguel (2009), «O maoísmo em Portugal: 1964-1974», in *Lutas Velhas, Futuro Novo*. Lisboa: Edições Dinossauro, pp. 33-72.
(*Doctoral Thesis 2010 Coimbra: Faculty of Arts, University of Coimbra. 389 pages*)

Other Portuguese language studies includes:

CORREIA, Hélder Manuel Bento (1999), *The political and ideological rupture in communist movement in Portugal (1963-1964)*. Work presented at History of Portugal discipline in the Master of Contemporary History. Portimão: Faculty of Arts, University of Lisbon.

CORREIA, Helder Manuel Bento (2000), *Portuguese Marxist-Leninist Committee. Brief History of a Political Organization (1964-1975)*. Work presented at History of Portugal seminar in the Master of Contemporary History. Portimão: Faculty of Arts, University of Lisbon.

PEREIRA, José Pacheco (2008), *“The One Divided into Two”*. *Origins and International framework for pro-Chinese and Albanian movements in the western countries and Portugal (1960-65)*. Lisbon: Alêtheia Editores.

PEREIRA, José VASCONCELOS, Álvaro (1976), *“The true Marxist-Leninists and work of the CM-LP to reorganize the Party,”* Seara Vermelha, No. 6, August 1976.

The doctoral research of Ana Sofia Ferreira and Raquel da Silva specifically studied the armed organisations which fought *Estado Novo*'s regime:

FERREIRA, A. S. (2015). *Armed struggle in Portugal (1970-1974)* (Doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the New University of Lisbon).

FERREIRA, A. S. (2015). *Memory of the armed struggle during the 40 years of democracy*. In M. Loff, F. Piety, & L. Soutelo (Eds.), *Dictatorships and Revolution. Democracy and politics of memory* (pp. 233-245). Coimbra: Almedina editions.



A collection of texts by Francisco Martins Rodrigues (Dinosaur / Abrente Editora) includes unpublished memories (written in 2006) about his days as a clandestine employee of the PCP and his first arrests. Attached is the report he wrote on sleep torture (1966) and defense in court (1970). In a special supplement dedicated to him by the magazine **Política Operária** (115, May / June 2008) of which he had been director, there is the previously unpublished text entitled “Two currents in the resistance to fascism” about the split with the PCP.

António Caeiro, Peregrinação Vermelha O Longo Caminho até Pequim [Red Pilgrimage The Long Road to Beijing]

Portuguese web sources

<https://www.marxists.org/portugues/index.htm>

<https://1969revolucaoressaca.blogspot.com>

<https://anabarradas.com/> The works by, and memories of Francisco Martins Rodrigues.

EPHEMERA aims to promote books, newspapers, ephemera and archive materials belonging to the personal library of José Pacheco Pereira, the largest private library – archive in Portugal, and to make the collection available online. <https://ephemerajpp.com/>

<https://www.lutapopularonline.org>

English language sources

Raquel Varela, *A People's History of the Portuguese Revolution* (Pluto Press, 2019), £19.99

“Portugal’s revolution of 1974 to 1975 was the most powerful and inspiring example of a revolutionary process to have taken place in Europe since the Second World War. It is part of our heritage and we must not allow it to fade away. That is why Raquel Varela’s book *A People’s History of the Portuguese Revolution* is so important.”

Strongly recommended by Peter Robinson, its English edition editor *International Socialism* Issue: 163

*

ACCORNERO, G. (2016). *The Revolution before the Revolution: Late authoritarianism and student protest in Portugal*. New York: Berghahn Books.

BERMEO, Nancy (1986) *The Revolution within the Revolution: Workers’ Control in Rural Portugal* (Princeton University Press).

CARDINA, Miguel (2013) *To Talk or Not to Talk: Silence, Torture, and Politics in the Portuguese Dictatorship of Estado Novo*. *The Oral History Review* 2013, Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 251–270

CARDINA, Miguel (2017) *Territorializing Maoism: Dictatorship, War, and Anticolonialism in the Portuguese “Long Sixties”*. *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, 11.2, Fall 2017.

Da SILVA, R. (2016). *Giving Them a Voice: Narratives of Political Violence in Portugal* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham) examines the lives and experiences of former political violent activists in Portugal, who acted in three distinct periods surrounding the Carnation Revolution of April 25th (1974), which overthrew Estado Novo’s dictatorship and established democracy: a pre-revolution period (1964-1974), a counter-revolution period (1975-1976) and a post-revolution period (1980-1987). This English-language research aims to explore the dynamics of engagement with, life within, and disengagement from, a political violent organisation from the point of view of the actors of the violence themselves, whose voices are traditionally silenced. This is, thus, the first in-depth qualitative investigation of the phenomenon in Portugal, which employed life history interviews to collect first-hand accounts about their subjective experiences, meanings and perspectives.

Da SILVA, R., Ferreira, A.S. (2019) *The Post-Dictatorship Memory Politics in Portugal Which Erased Political Violence from the Collective Memory*. Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science 53, 24–43 (2019) English-language research available from internet search.

DOWNS, Charles (1990) *Revolution at the Grass Roots: Community Organizations in the Portuguese Revolution* (SUNY).

HAMMOND, John, (1988) *Building Popular Power: Workers' and Neighbourhood Movements in the Portuguese Revolution* (Monthly Review Press).

MAILER, Phil (1977) *Portugal: The Impossible Revolution?* London: Solidarity.

PINTASSILGO, J., De ANDRADE, A. N., & BEATO, C. A. S. (2019). Student Movement in Portugal throughout the '60s: Actors' Representations of a Period of Social and Cultural Experimentation. *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, 6(1), pp. 145-159. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14516/ete.266>

RABY, L. David (1988) *Fascism and Resistance in Portugal: Communists, Liberals and Military Dissidents in the Opposition to Salazar, 1941-1974*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

RIBEIRO, Nelson « Shortwave Broadcasters operated by the Portuguese Political Opposition 1960-1970s », *Encyclopédie pour une histoire nouvelle de l'Europe* [online] 2016, consulted 14/01/2020. Permalink : <http://ehne.fr/en/node/1300>

ROBINSON, Peter (1999) *Portugal 1974-1975: The Forgotten Dream*. Socialist History Occasional Papers Series No.9

JulioPérez Serrano(2018) *Radical Left in Portugal and Spain (1960–2010) in Challenging Austerity : Radical Left and Social Movements in the South of Europe* Edited by Beltrán Roca, Emma Martín-Díaz and Ibán Díaz-Parra. London Routledge

TRINDALE, Luís (2017): *What Shall I Do With This Sword? Narrative, Speech and Politics in the Carnation Revolution*, Cultural and Social History. DOI: 10.1080/14780038.2017.1314577