

---

# Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962- 1994

*Guide to the Microfilm Collection  
of Princeton University Library*

**Primary Source Media**



## Primary Source Media



12 Lunar Drive, Woodbridge, CT 06525  
Tel: (800) 444 0799 and (203) 397 2600  
Fax: (203) 397 3893

P.O. Box 45, Reading, England  
Tel (+ 44) 1734 583247  
Fax: (+ 44) 1734 394334

ISBN: 1-57803-280-6

All rights reserved, including those to  
reproduce this book or any parts  
thereof in any form

Printed and bound in the  
United States of America

2005

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Collection Overview .....	vi
Introduction .....	vii
Editorial Note .....	xiv
Acknowledgements .....	xv
<i>Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962 – 1994</i>	
<i>Section I: Unpublished Conference and Research Papers</i> .....	1
<i>Section II: Newspapers and Periodicals</i> .....	11
<i>Section III: Monographs and Special Journal Issues</i> .....	14
<i>Section IV: Subject Files</i>	
<i>Africa</i> .....	16
<i>Economy</i> .....	17
<i>Industry</i> .....	17
<i>Labor</i> .....	17
<i>Military</i> .....	17
<i>Movimento da Forças Armadas</i> .....	18
<i>Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado</i> .....	18
<i>Partido Popular Democrático</i> .....	18
<i>Partido Comunista de Portugal (Marxista-Leninista)</i> .....	18
<i>Partido Comunista Português</i> .....	19
<i>Partido Socialista</i> .....	19
<i>Political Repression</i> .....	20
<i>Politics and Government</i> .....	20
<i>Popular Participation</i> .....	20
<i>União Democrática Popular</i> .....	21
<i>Section V: General News Coverage</i> .....	22

## COLLECTION OVERVIEW

This collection is divided into five sections. Section I consists primarily of unpublished conference and research papers concerning the Portuguese Revolution and produced between 1962 and 1994; the section also contains a few press releases, interviews, and declarations. Section II consists of longer runs of Portuguese newspapers, and some periodicals, from 1974 to 1980. Section III is comprised of monographs and particular issues dedicated to Portugal of a few journals. Section IV is made up of subject files containing assorted publications, including some flyers and posters. Section V consists of random issues of newspapers and magazines that provide a more general news coverage for the period. Contents for each section are detailed below.

Most of these materials were gathered by Professor Kenneth Maxwell of Harvard University, with some of the newspapers and ephemera from the collections of Professor Nancy Bermeo of Princeton University and Professor John L. Hammond of Hunter College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York. Princeton University Library is grateful to them for facilitating the use of these materials in order to preserve them on microfilm.

## INTRODUCTION

### *The Collection on the Portuguese Revolution: Its Origins and Significance*

The Portuguese Revolution of 1974–1975 was at the center of the transition to democracy in Portugal. It was an extraordinary period: unexpected, much misunderstood, and dramatic in its effects on the international scene. The Portuguese upheaval of the mid-1970s was more like the European revolutions of the 1820s and 1848 than it was like the great Revolution of 1789 in France and 1917 in Russia. That is, it was startling in its psychological power and significant enough in its impact to transform social discourse and to radically remake the institutional context within which political power is exercised. But, once over, it was hard for many outsiders to understand what had happened.

In many ways, the extraordinary events of the mid-1970s in Portugal are already ancient history. The Portuguese Constitution and economic system are both marked by a self-conscious escape from the legacy of the revolution. As a consequence, contemporary Portuguese democracy rests, in part, on the suppression, or sublimation, if you will, of the memory of this experience of conflict.

As a consequence, a great deal of what has been written about the making of democracy within Portugal has tended to reflect a self-imposed amnesia; the story often begins in 1976 with the establishment of constitutional government in Portugal. The problem with this approach is that the Constitution of 1976 emerged out of the conditions of the revolutionary period. It incorporated a rhetoric and imposed statutory limitations on economic activity that reflected a point of view then dominant, but which by the end of the 1970s no longer found resonance among the Portuguese public or the Portuguese political classes, not to mention Portugal's future partners within the European Community.

Most foreign observers were caught flat-footed by the events of April 25, 1974. It took the eminent political scientist Samuel P. Huntington to place Portugal at the beginning of what he called the “third wave” of democratization. Huntington, like the historian Stanley G. Payne, judiciously discerned Portugal's precociousness in this regard. How to interpret this *precocity* is another matter altogether. One major problem with the idea of the “third wave,” or at least with the way it has been formulated in academia, is the *flattening out* and *homogenization* of Portugal's case into comparative frameworks—frameworks which tend to obscure many vital elements in Portugal's process of democratization. Ironically, to many in Portugal, this has provided—inadvertently perhaps—a useful subterfuge. The documents, newspapers and subject files that comprise this collection provide an important corrective to this tendency. Most of them were collected while political conflict in Portugal was at its most intense—from April 1975 through the end of 1975—and they reflect the emotional and intellectual heat of that period.

But why has a flattening out of this critical episode in twentieth-century European history occurred? For those on the Right, this homogenization stems from a desire to deemphasize the history of the revolution—even deny that a revolution occurred—as well as, to some degree, to “demilitarize” and strip this period of its African dimension. Both the military and African decolonization were essential components of the Portuguese crisis of the mid-1970s, and these dimensions of the crisis are well represented in these documents. In fact, the major objective of

the junior officers who initiated the coup in 1974 was to end the wars in Africa. From April 1974 until November 1975 the interconnection between the process of decolonization and political developments within Portugal was intimate. We cannot understand one without the other. These were contentious issues then and remain so today; so amnesia about these matters is less than a surprise. The image of any revolution is very much part of a struggle for historical memory, a process which in itself can involve both affirmation and denial.

On the Left a similar process of obfuscation has taken place. During the 1980s, for example, the Portuguese Communist Party appropriated to itself “the defense” of what it called the “gains of the revolution”—by which the Communists meant principally the radical expropriation of the large businesses, banks and landholdings in 1975 and the socialist clauses in the 1976 Portuguese Constitution. These nationalizations and land expropriations were declared “irreversible,” and so they were until the constitutional revision of 1982.

Yet rearguard action in defense of these measures by the Communists actually disguise the fact that the nationalizations and expropriations of land and property in 1975 were prompted as much by the absence, or collapse, of state authority as by any preconceived plot—although plot the Communists (and others) certainly did. The Communists were always glad to *accept* credit for the very factors that others *blamed* for Portugal’s problems. These claims by the Communists became convenient for many former radicals who had by the 1980s moved to the center and right of the political spectrum. This includes a large number of politicians and pundits who remain active in Portugal. It also explains why political parties in Portugal retain certain designations, which are rhetorically to the left of their actual position on any normal European Left-Right political spectrum (e.g., Partido Social Democrata).

In 1975 the Communists pursued a predictable policy aimed at subverting the upper levels of administration and seizing the so-called “levers of power” within the bureaucracy, the press, the military and the unions. Ironically they often found, when they succeeded in getting there, that these “levers of power” simply did not work. In the fluid anti-authoritarian atmosphere after April 25, 1974 no one in Portugal was paying much attention to orders from above.

Deference, authority and discipline all disintegrated for a time, and the Communists found themselves challenged by many vocal and active groups to their left. This the Communist leadership—tightly disciplined, closely attuned to Moscow, hardened but isolated by decades of clandestine and underground activity—neither liked nor understood. It often led them to miscalculate the political dynamics of the very revolutionary situation for which they had so long hoped. In this environment, the far left became key provocateurs, emerging essentially as a large, chaotic, mobilized, aggressive, uncoordinated popular movement composed of students, soldiers, landless workers, and homeless people in the cities. At the grass roots-level, this movement took the initiative into its own hands, forcing the pace of change between January and November 1975. In many cases the Communists sought to resist that rapidity of that pace, but were forced—as was the leadership of the Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas [MFA])—to acquiesce after the events. This was particularly the case with the land seizures in the Alentejo, the most revolutionary actions of 1974-75. The activities of these popular movements are well documented in Sections II and IV of this collection.

The sublimation of the revolution is also a product of the demilitarization of Portuguese politics. A key element in the political equation after April 25, 1974, and throughout 1975, was the political intervention of a radicalized and increasingly undisciplined military. Yet, over the course of the 1980s, the MFA found itself marginalized both within the Portuguese political system and within the armed forces. The army slowly reestablished hierarchical structures, shed its conscripts, and imposed discipline—the inevitable consequence of the establishment of a Western democracy in Portugal. As civilian politicians were elected by universal suffrage under the new Constitution of 1976, even the “moderate” officers who had played a central role in stiffening the civilian opposition to extremism had no political role in the new European-style democracy that was developing. When the Council of the Revolution was abolished in 1982, the coup leaders of 1974—the “captains of April” as they had been named in that euphoric spring—had no formal role left within the institutional structure of Portuguese democracy. They were reduced over time to little more than a coterie of veterans, honored each year on the anniversary of April 25, but effectively neutralized as a political, ideological, and military force. As always, it is the victors who write history. And, in the case of Portugal, the victors were the civilian politicians—socialist leader Mário Soares in particular—who joined forces with moderates in the Armed Forces Movement—Major Ernesto Melo Antunes and General António Ramalho Eanes—to oppose the radicalization of the “hot” summer of 1975. For documents on the military and military-civilian relations see, in particular, Section I of this collection, especially the subsection “papers without authors,” which contains important items on the MFA.

Selective memory has clearly been immensely useful to many actors in Portuguese political life. There is, of course, one great *disadvantage* to all this forgetting: its occlusion of specific *dynamics* vital to understanding the new Portuguese democratic regime’s formation. In particular, it obscures the fact that the Portuguese faced many agonizing choices in 1974 and 1975: fundamental choices affecting politics, faith, civil rights, freedom of the press, the role of political parties, and the form of the constitution and democracy itself. By obscuring the centrality of these choices, this historical amnesia hides the actual sources of the strength of Portuguese democracy: its birth in struggle, in popular affirmation, and in the choices made by Portuguese men and women of all classes, regions and levels of education.

It is worth emphasizing how important this struggle was. In the mid-1970s many believed political parties to be moribund, elections mere beauty contests, and liberal democracy itself nothing but a sham. But on April 25, 1975, the first Portuguese free elections ever—the election to the Constituent Assembly—proved all these assumptions erroneous. New political parties could and did arise; elections could and did provide a geography that revealed the true dimensions of political support for these parties. The results demonstrated categorically that popular support for authoritarian solutions, especially those proposed by the Communists, was limited. When the people were allowed to vote, they turned out in overwhelming numbers to show they valued democracy—and wanted it. Thus this election became a *foundational* event. Its significance cannot be underestimated. And it does great credit to the MFA, which had established this electoral timetable in their original program and had stuck to it. The elections also showed where support for radical change lay and where it did not. It revealed that Portugal was a deeply divided nation, regionally and over fundamental issues. It became evident that the north and center of the country were much more conservative, Catholic, and private property-conscious than the south; and that large sectors of the country were not willing to support a

radical reordering of society and the economy. This, in turn, showed outsiders—the United States, Western Europe, the United Kingdom and Sweden, all then ruled by social democratic governments with strong links to the Portuguese Socialist Party—whom they needed to support in Portugal. Rather than encouraging coup-minded right-wing exiles, they might aid the political process within Portugal itself. This was another decisive result of the election. There was to be no U.S.-sponsored “Pinochet” for Portugal, and there were to be no “Contras” crossing the border from Spain. This was a very lucky escape for Portugal, as the consequences of either of these types of intervention would have been violence and bloodshed. Documents covering the critical Constituent Assembly election of 1975, including the complete electoral results, can be found in Section III.

Hindsight has many advantages—we now know outcomes, or we think we do—but its disadvantage is to rob history of any feeling for the choices men and women confront in moments of turmoil. This is probably why, despite all the theories of revolutions and the academic and ideological debates about their causes, every revolution is a shock and a surprise. Indeed, the Portuguese Revolution was both a shock and a surprise. April 25, 1974, was qualitatively different from many other contemporaneous regime changes because the transition in Portugal began with a coup d'état. Almost all the military interventions in this period were coups of the Right. Regime changes in Chile (only seven months prior to April 25, 1974), and Argentina (March 1976), not to mention previous coups in Brazil and Greece, all ushered in dark periods of repression and, sometimes, vicious internal dirty wars. What occurred in Portugal after April 25, 1974, was very different. This was a military coup from the Left, and it ushered in a period of revolution. The aftermath should be seen as not only a process of establishing democracy, but as the process of a revolution “tamed.” In fact, Portugal recaptured in the mid-1970s much of the euphoria of revolutions past, when everything and anything seem possible. It was a moment the English poet William Wordsworth encapsulated in his famous phrase about the French Revolution: “Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, But to be young was very heaven!” and which Karl Marx, writing of the 1848 revolution in France, called a moment of “sparkling brilliants.”

There was, of course, another vital characteristic of what happened in Portugal thirty years ago, a characteristic which does immense credit to the Portuguese people. The political upheaval in Portugal was almost entirely without bloodshed. In fact, it was because of this blood-free path that the Portuguese Revolution is not remembered by indelible images such as the storming of the Bastille during the French Revolution or the fall of the Winter Palace in Saint Petersburg during the Russian (October) Revolution—both of which dramatically marked a *rupture* with the past. These events remain forever embedded in popular imagination and in historical text to proclaim the *intent* of radical change. But even “tamed” revolutions, like that in Portugal, had such moments. Several occurred over the course of 1975: the burning of the Spanish Embassy and the siege of the government by thousands of workers in the parliament building of San Bento; the blockading of the roads between the north of the country and Lisbon in the same period, effectively cutting the country in two for a time; and the contingency plans to declare the Azores independent, and to establish a government in Oporto in the eventuality of an outbreak of civil war following a Communist seizure of power in Lisbon. For these aspects of the Portuguese crisis the newspapers and political party publications of the time are essential sources; many of these can be found in this collection in Sections II and IV.



All of these intense conflicts and confrontations—which these documents reflect—were elements in a dynamic of failure or success played out in the coalescence and disintegration of military and political alliances during the tumultuous period between the collapse of the old order and the crystallization of the new. They led to another *foundational* moment for the new democratic regime, the decisive confrontation on November 25, 1975, when the military radicals were decisively defeated. But throughout all this, and in the face of chaotic conditions and armed confrontations, Portuguese respect for human life outweighed the passions of ideology. The Portuguese, particularly the Portuguese military and the then provisional president of the republic, General Costa Gomes, were not prepared to kill other Portuguese for their beliefs or to allow this to happen. This indeed is worthy of celebrating in this sober post-9/11 epoch when people are all too willing to kill others to promote their beliefs. There was conflict in Portugal to be sure, and there were victims. It is important to remember this: people were imprisoned, driven into exile, lost property and jobs, which precipitated lasting antagonisms. But it did not produce hatreds so intense as to lead to mass murders such as occurred in the Balkans when Yugoslavia collapsed or in Mozambique and Angola once the Portuguese had departed. Very few people died in Portugal proper during the Portuguese Revolution, and for this we should be eternally grateful.

The consequences of April 25 were also dramatic on the world stage. The collapse of Portuguese rule in southern Africa ended the last of Europe's overseas empires. Five and a half centuries after the European conquest of Ceuta, the great fortress on the African side of the entrance to the Mediterranean opposite Gibraltar, Angola gained its independence. On November 11, 1975, for the first time in 550 plus years, the Portuguese flag was no longer raised each morning above a fortress in Africa. And in southern Africa, the loss of the white-ruled buffer provided by the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique was dramatic. It sealed the fate of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and, in time, the fate of white rule in South Africa itself.

Because of the events of the mid-1970s, Portugal also played a significant and precocious part in the great ideological conflict of the twentieth century. The triumph for anti-Communist democrats in Portugal's domestic conflict between 1974 and 1976 set in motion many of the forces which would help bring about the end of the Cold War in Europe, reinvigorating liberal democracy at the grassroots. This was no mean achievement. Portugal reinvented and reinvigorated political parties. Elections gave the regime democratic legitimacy. In short, representative democracy lived.

In Europe, the events in Portugal had especially important consequences. In Spain, with the tragic history of their own civil war very much in mind, all parties to the political transition following General Francisco Franco's death in late 1975 were educated by the Portuguese events. King Juan Carlos, in particular, knew Portugal well, spoke Portuguese, and had lived in Estoril as a youth. As a consequence, the Spanish political and military elites from within the old regime and within the opposition to it, behaved with greater caution and good sense, striving to avoid repetition of the Portuguese collapse of the previous year. With both Iberian dictators gone, the old excuse some Europeans had made—the French in particular—for excluding Portugal and Spain from the emerging integrated Europe were no longer relevant. Portugal's entrance into the European Community in 1986 brought Portugal fully back to the European fold.

Again, historically, this was a singularly important and symbolic moment, closing the 500-year chapter of European imperial adventures overseas. The wealth of reports, monographs and unpublished conference papers in this collection reflect in part the intense interest Portugal evoked for a time among academics, U.S. and European government officials and politicians. A rich selection of these can be found in Section I of this collection.

But in the end international forces alone do not explain the outcome of the social and political struggles in Portugal. These struggles, in the final analysis, must be seen in their domestic Portuguese context. In many respects the most remarkable feature of the emergence of democracy in Portugal was the triumph of the political “moderates,” of those who believed in the messy art of democratic politics and not in the utopian promises of the authoritarian Left or Right, both of which believed that the Portuguese people were not ready to run their own affairs without guidance. These views were soundly rejected. The overwhelming desire of the Portuguese people was that extremism be avoided and that democracy prevail. And we need to remember that in the mid-1970s such an outcome was far from certain. Alistair Horne, in his brilliant book on the French decolonization in Algiers, *A Savage War of Peace*, noted about that bitter struggle “the sad, repeated failure of the moderates, or a third force to compete against opposing extremes.” The lesson, Horne continued, “is one of constant relevance to the contemporary scene, whether it be in the Northern Ireland, South Africa or Latin America....” In his conclusion, Horne treats the triumph of extremism over moderation as inevitable.

Fortunately for Portugal, he was wrong. Portugal broke this pattern decisively. The Portuguese by 1976 were able to create a representative and pluralistic system of government, fully comparable to the Western European mainstream—and they did so peacefully and by the electoral process.

At one point in 1975, Henry Kissinger had told Mário Soares he was doomed to become a Kerensky, the hapless Russian social democrat overthrown by Lenin’s Bolsheviks in 1917. Soares told Kissinger he had no intention of becoming a Kerensky. “Neither did Kerensky,” Kissinger replied. But in the context of the Portuguese Revolution, it was Kerensky who survived, not Lenin. It was the moderate socialist Mário Soares who eventually became president of the republic, not the Communist leader Álvaro Cunhal or any of the radical military populists. In this aspect, Portugal was indeed a precocious forerunner of the largely peaceful transitions from authoritarianism to democracy of the late 1980s in Latin America and Eastern Europe. This was and remains a truly remarkable achievement.

The materials in this collection formed part of the research base for my book, *The Making of Portuguese Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), where I provide a comprehensive bibliographic essay and bibliography (pp. 201-235) which scholars may find useful when using this microfilmed collection. The document contained in this microform set were collected over many visits to Portugal, beginning in 1964 and continuing through 1994. Between April 1974 and through 1976, I followed these historical developments closely—both in Europe and in Africa—and the materials here come mainly from my visits to Portugal during that time. Supplementary materials were added by Princeton Professor Nancy G. Bermeo, author of *The Revolution Within the Revolution: Workers’ Control in Rural Portugal* (Princeton University Press, 1986). John L. (Jack) Hammond, professor of history at Hunter College and the Graduate Center, CUNY and author of *Building Popular Power: Workers’ and Neighborhood Movements in the Portuguese Revolution* (Monthly Review Press, 1988), also passed on to me a box of

materials he had collected while researching his book, and I have added them here. In addition, I donated several hundred books from this period to the Princeton University Library which are now in its general collection, making Princeton a major repository of printed materials related to this critical period of Portuguese and European history and, insofar as it also involves materials on the decolonization of the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa, a key moment in recent African history.

*Kenneth Maxwell*  
*Harvard University*

## EDITORIAL NOTE

Items from the *Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994* collection from the Princeton University Library have been published in the order and within the sections provided by the curators.

### Format

This guide lists items according to the order in which they appear on the reels. Each individual entry guide lists the number of the microfilm reel on which the item is located, as well as its *target*, or sequential position on the named reel.

Items in Section I are listed in alphabetical order by author's last name, or, in the case of papers without an author, by title.

Newspapers and periodicals in Section II are organized alphabetically by title. In most cases, the user will be able to see exactly which issues within a chronological time frame are included.

In Section III, monograph authors and special journal issue titles are integrated into one alphabetical list.

The Subject Files that comprise Section IV appear in the following order: Africa, Economy, Industry, Labor, Military, Movimento da Forças Armadas, Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado, Partido Popular Democrático, Partido Comunista de Portugal (Marxista-Leninista), Partido Comunista Português, Partido Socialista, Political Repression, Politics and Government, Popular Participation, and União Democrática Popular. Items are organized within each subject area according to an alphabetical list that integrates both author and title entries.

The random issues of newspapers and periodicals found in the final section are organized alphabetically by title.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without assistance from many individuals. Primary Source Media wishes to thank Fernando Acosta-Rodriguez, Frank Fonseca, and Amanda Whitehead, the exceptional staff of the Latin American Collection at Princeton University, for their commitment to making these resources widely available and their support of this project. SR extends a debt of gratitude to Kenneth Maxwell of Harvard University for writing the informative introduction to this microfilm edition of the collection. Primary Source Microfilm editor Bennett Lovett-Graff oversaw the acquisitions process. Christine Gauvreau served as editorial project manager, reviewing all the files, preparing the materials for microfilming, and creating the collection guide. A special thanks is due to Lisa Graves, who functioned as manufacturing project manager, and to JoAnn Lebel for overseeing the smooth manufacturing operation. Thanks also to Ron Whitney and staff for masterfully filming this valuable resource.

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section I: Unpublished Conference Papers and Research Papers**

- Afonso, Aniceto  
O movimento dos capitães - algumas considerações. (s.d.) (17 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 1
- Andrade, Joaquim Pinto de  
MPLA: Joaquim Pinto de Andrade on the crisis in the Movement: excerpts from a message to the Angolan people, Radio Brazzaville, July, 9, 1974. (5 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 2
- Antonio, Mario  
Literatura angolana e "expressão portuguesa." (s.d.) (11 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 3
- Antunes, José Freire  
Kennedy, Portugal and the Azores Base: 1961. Paper prepared for the Kennedy and Europe Conference, October 8-10, 1992, European University Institute, Florence, Italy. (24 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 4
- Azevedo, Pinhero de  
Address to the nation by Prime Minister Designate Admiral Pinhero de Azevedo (September 13, 1975). (7 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 5
- Balsemão, Francisco Pinto  
Democracy and authoritarianism and the role of the media in Portugal (1974-1975). [1978]. (63 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 6
- Bender, Gerald J.  
Portugal, Angola and Mozambique: one year later. [Paper] prepared for the Seven Springs Center Symposium on Change in Contemporary Southern Africa, May 9-11, 1975. (17 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 7
- Bermeo, Nancy  
Socialist Party policy toward worker management in Portuguese industry. [Paper prepared for the] International Conference Group on Modern Portugal, June 1979. (21 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 8
- Bloomfield, Richard J.  
The United States and the future of democracy in Spain and Portugal. [Paper presented at the] New Hampshire International Seminar, February 3, 1984. (23 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 9
- Bossut, Michel (Dr.)  
Torture du sommeil - torture psychologique: Conference de presse, organisée par la Ligue Belge pour la Defense des Droits de l'Homme le 19 juin 1973. (12 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 10
- Bruneau, Thomas C.  
Central themes of Portuguese politics since the coup of 25 April 1974. [Paper] prepared for presentation to the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C., April 12, 1979. (30 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 11
- Bruneau, Thomas C.  
The left and the emergence of Portuguese liberal democracy. Paper prepared for the conference on "The European left confronts modernity", Center for European Studies, CUNY Graduate School, November 18-20, 1976. (46 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 12

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section I: Unpublished Conference Papers and Research Papers**

- Bruneau, Thomas C.  
Notes on the analysis of the relationship between international dimensions and regime formation in Portugal. Paper prepared for presentation to the II International Meeting on Modern Portugal, Durham, New Hampshire, June 21-24, 1979. (17 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 13
- Cabral, Amilcar  
A brief report on the situation of the struggle (January - August 1971). September 1971. (8 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 14
- Centro de Estudos sobre África (Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, Instituto Superior de Economia)  
Relatório de actividades da Comissão Coordenadora do CESA (Assembleia Geral de 6 de dezembro de 1988). (12 p.) Includes attachment: "Estatutos do Centro de Estudos sobre África". (4 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 15
- Chitunda, Jeremias K.  
The Angolan conflict and the east-west involvement: Assessing the opportunities for success. [Paper] delivered to Freedom Federation in Washington, DC, on April 23, 1983. (13 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 16
- CNSPP  
Political repression in Portugal is worsening: Press release. May 9, 1973. (12 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 17
- Conference on Communications and Political Culture:  
Kellog Conference Center, Columbia University, October 23 - 25, 1978, Conference on Communications and Political Culture: The Iberian Peninsula in transition. [Transcripts of six roundtable discussions]. (6 volumes)  
Reel: 1 Target: 18
- Conference on the Portuguese Economy  
Collected papers: Conference on the Portuguese Economy, October 11-13, 1976, Lisbon. (141 p.)  
Reel: 1 Target: 19
- Costa, Alfredo Bruto da, and Fernando Maia  
The distributive effects of social protection: The case of Portugal. Paper prepared for the European Conference on the Future of the Welfare State: Maastricht - The Netherlands, December 19-21, 1984. (42 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 1
- Costa Gomes, Francisco  
Speech to the Assembly of the Armed Forces Movement by General Costa Gomes (July 25, 1975). (3 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 2
- Cunha, Carlos  
The Portuguese Communist Party and perestroika: Resistance and reforms. A paper presented at the International Conference Group on Modern Portugal, IV International Meeting on Portugal, held at the University of New Hampshire in Durham from September 21 to 24, 1989. (25p)  
Reel: 2 Target: 3
- Cunhal, Alvaro  
Alvaro Cunhal, Secretary General of the Portuguese Communist Party [address] to the Central Committee of the Party (August 10, 1975). (13 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 4
- Cunhal, Alvaro  
Statement by Portuguese Communist Party on the current political crisis (August 20, 1975): Press conference by Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the PCP. (13 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 5

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section I: Unpublished Conference Papers and Research Papers**

- Da Rosa, Victor M. Pereira  
Emigration et dépendance dans une société périphérique: Le cas des Açores. Paper prepared for the II International Meeting on Modern Portugal, University of New Hampshire at Durham, June 21 - 24, 1979. (19 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 6
- Faria, José Gregório  
Portugal, os Estados Unidos e os problemas fora de área: As relações Portugal-Estados Unidos após o alargamento das comunidades europeias. Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos e Internacionais, Sesimbra, 29-31 de Janeiro de 1989. (28 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 7
- Ferreira, José Medeiros  
Aspectos internacionais da Revolução Portuguesa. April 1979. (15 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 8
- Figueiredo, Antonio de  
Portugal and Africa. Africa Contemporary Record, 1986/87. London, 1987. (46 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 9
- Fisk, Milton  
Popular power in Portugal. 1976. (19 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 10
- Foreign Policy Research Institute (Philadelphia).  
Friendly tyrants: A conference prospectus. (n.d.) (9 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 11
- Fry, Peter  
[Letter to Kenneth Maxwell, from Hahare] April 1-2, 1989. (6 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 12
- Gallagher, Tom  
From hegemony to opposition: The Portuguese Right before and after 1974. (n.d.) (11 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 13
- Garcia-Zamor, Jean Claude  
Observations on the Portuguese bureaucracy. (n.d.) (10 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 14
- Gonçalves, Vasco  
Analysis of the political situation by Vasco Gonçalves, Portuguese Prime Minister. Approved by MFA Assembly. (n.d.) (12 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 15
- Gonçalves, Vasco  
Prime Minister General Vasco Gonçalves speech to the Congress of Intersindical (July 27, 1975). (11p. – lacks p. 2-4)  
Reel: 2 Target: 16
- Gonçalves, Vasco  
Speech by Portuguese Prime Minister Vasco Gonçalves. (n.d.) (18 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 17
- Gonçalves, Vasco  
Speech by Prime Minister General Vasco Gonçalves at a meeting at Antonio da Costa School in Almada, sponsored by the Setabul Union of Trade Unions. (n.d.) (19 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 18
- Graham, Lawrence S.  
The military and the revolution in Portugal: The politicization of the Portuguese Armed Forces. Paper prepared for the Toronto conference on "The Crisis in Portugal," April 15-17, 1976. (49 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 19
- Graham, Lawrence S.  
Political transitions and the transition from authoritarian rule: Marcelismo and the consequences of the failure to liberalize. [1994] (10 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 20
- Graham, Lawrence S.  
Politics in revolutionary Portugal: An interim assessment. (n.d.) (42 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 21



**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section I: Unpublished Conference Papers and Research Papers**

- Graham, Lawrence S.  
The Portuguese military and the changing perspectives. (n.d.) (20 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 22
- Graham, Lawrence S.  
Problems of Portuguese bureaucracy and the prospects for administrative reform. [Paper] prepared for the June 21-24, 1979 meeting of the International Conference Group on Modern Portugal, Durham, New Hampshire. (31 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 23
- Hammond, John L.  
Political participation and the Portuguese transition from authoritarianism to democracy. [1979] (14 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 24
- Hammond, John L.  
Portugal's Communists and the Revolution. (n.d.) (22 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 25
- Hastings, Adrian  
CIIR [Catholic Institute for International Relations] Meeting - Chatham House: 3<sup>rd</sup> October, 1975: Chairman's opening remarks. 1975 (5 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 26
- Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento  
Prospects for Portuguese labour migration to the European Economic Community, 1980-1990. (n.d.) (188 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 27
- Kirin, Valeriy  
Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1630 GMT, 11 Dec., 1974 (Valeriy Kirin commentary). (3 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 28
- Kissinger, Henry A.  
Memorandum for the President: [various memoranda on South Africa and Portugal]. January 15, 1970 - March 29, 1971. (25 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 29
- Kissinger, Henry A.  
Statement on Angola by Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State, United States Senate, Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, January 29, 1976. (21 p.)  
Reel: 2 Target: 30
- Kurth, James R.  
Political parallelisms in southern Europe since 1815. [Paper] prepared for delivery at the Conference on Southern Europe, Columbia University, New York, New York, March 21-23, 1977. (35 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 1
- Linz, Juan J.  
The sources of radicalism in the Iberian Peninsula: [Paper] prepared for Workshop on the Sources of Radicalism and the Revolutionary Process, at the Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University, February 5, 1975. (30 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 2
- Logan, John R.  
Workers and the state in Spain and Portugal: Authoritarian politics in transition. (n.d.) (39 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 3
- Macedo, Jorge Braga de  
Colonial development of Angola: The rise and fall of a South Atlantic link? 1978. (64 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 4

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section I: Unpublished Conference Papers and Research Papers**

- MacLeod, Alex  
The French and Italian Communist Parties and the Portuguese Revolution. Paper presented before the Second International Meeting on Modern Portugal, Durham, New Hampshire, June 21-24 1979. (33 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 5
- Magalhães, José Calvet de  
Relations between the United States and Portugal: An historical outline. Portuguese / US relations after the enlargement of the EC, Sesimbra, January 29-31, 1989. [lacks indeterminate number of pages at the end] (39 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 6
- Mahoney, Richard D.  
The Kennedy-Salazar skirmish over Portuguese Africa: [Paper presented at the] International Conference Group on Modern Portugal, The University of New Hampshire, June 21-24, 1979. (93 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 7
- Maxwell, Kenneth R.  
China's involvement in Angola. 1977. (22 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 8
- Maxwell, Kenneth R.  
The ideological foundations of the Portuguese Communist Party: Strategy and tactics. (n.d.) (40 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 9
- Maxwell, Kenneth R.  
Observations prepared for conference on Portugal with Ambassador Bloomfield, February 23, 1978. (3 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 10
- Maxwell, Kenneth R.  
El proceso de la democratización. (s.d.) (13 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 11
- Maxwell, Kenneth R.  
O 25 de Abril e a democracia portuguesa: Palestra para o colóquio sobre o 25 de Abril, Lisboa, 18- 20 de Abril de 1994. (14 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 12
- McKinlay, R.D.  
The structure and termination of military regimes: A cross-national aggregate study. (n.d.) (42 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 13
- Minter, William  
The Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo) as described by ex-participants. Research report submitted to: Ford Foundation and Swedish International Development Agency. 1989. (17 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 14
- Mónica, Maria Filomena  
Moulding the minds of the people: Views on popular education in 20<sup>th</sup> century Portugal. (n.d.) (39 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 15
- Moura, Gustavo  
Os Açorianos, as bases norte-americanas e as relações com os Estados Unidos e a Europa: As relações Portugal - Estados Unidos depois da alargamento das comunidades, 2.º encontro, Sesimbra, 29 a 31 de Janeiro de 1989. (4 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 16
- MPLA  
Statement by political bureau of the MPLA, Luanda, 29 September 1975. (2 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 17
- Mujal-Leon, Eusebio M.  
[Paper on the role of the Communist Party in the Portuguese Revolution - lacks title page and p. 9-11] (n.d.) (55 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 18

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section I: Unpublished Conference Papers and Research Papers**

- Muller, H.  
Summary of speech in the Assembly by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. H. Muller, on 27 January 1976 (South Africa). (5 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 19
- Nazareth, J. Manuel  
A emigração portuguesa na século XX - uma perspectiva demográfica. [Paper presented at the] International Conference on Modern Portugal, June 21-24, 1979, University of New Hampshire. (22 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 20
- Neto, Agostinho (Dr.)  
Dr. Agostinho Neto's Independence Day Speech, Radio Clube Portugues (Lisbon), November 10, 1975. (7 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 21
- Neto, Agostinho (Dr.)  
Statement by Dr. Agostinho Neto, October 1, 1975. (2 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 22
- Neto, Agostinho (Dr.)  
Statement of the MPLA Political Bureau, Read over Luanda Radio by its President. Dr. Agostinho Neto, July 16, 1975. (3 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 23
- Opello, Walter C.  
The Second Portuguese Republic: Politico-administrative decentralization since April 25, 1974. [Paper delivered] at the Ninth Annual Conference of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, March 31- April 1, 1978. (20 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 24
- Pasquino, Gianfranco  
Le Portugal: De la dictature corporatiste a la democratie socialiste. Association Française de Science Politique: Table ronde des 6 et 7 Mai 1977: La sortie des dictatures. 1977. (22 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 25
- Pélissier, René  
L'Afrique Lusophone: Problèmes et perspectives. (s.d.) (11 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 26
- Pereira, Bernardo Futscher  
As relações entre Portugal e os EUA: Ensaio de prospectiva. (s.d.) (31 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 27
- Pimlott, Ben, and Jean Seaton  
Political power and the Portuguese media. [Paper prepared for the] International Conference Group on Modern Portugal, Durham, New Hampshire, June 1979. (17 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 28
- Porch, Douglas  
Decolonization and military revolt: The French and Portuguese experience compared. (n.d.) (16 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 29
- Portuguese Communist Party  
Portuguese Communist Party communique on withdrawal by Socialist Party from the Government (July 11, 1975). (4 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 30
- Prosterman, Roy L.  
"Talking points" on agricultural development and agrarian reform. May 1976. (6 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 31
- Raby, David L.  
Populism and the Portuguese Left: From Delgado to Otelo. Paper presented to the International Meeting on Modern Portugal, Durham, New Hampshire, June 21-24, 1979. (27 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 32

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section I: Unpublished Conference Papers and Research Papers**

- Radu, Liviu M.  
Political relations of Romania with Portugal, Portuguese Africa and the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé, 1973-1977. (n.d.) (7 p.)  
Reel: 3 Target: 33
- Radu, Michael  
Political relations between the Angolan "Liberation Movements" and Romania, 1973-1975. 1978. (33 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 1
- Riegelhaupt, Joyce F.  
Peasants and politics in Portugal: The corporate state and village "non-politics." [Paper] Presented to: University Seminar on the State, Columbia University, December 1972. (39 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 2
- Rocha, Nuno.  
The press in Portugal since the April Revolution. Conference on Communications and Political Culture: The Iberian Peninsula in Transition, Columbia University, October 1978. (17 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 3
- Roberto, Holden  
FNLA: Interview with Holden Roberto. Excerpts of interview given by the leader of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola to the Luanda weekly paper, Noticia. Radio Clube Portugues, Lisbon, September 20, 1974. (2 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 4
- Roett, Riordan, ed.  
Proceedings of a series of seminars conducted in cooperation with the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs) on "National security policy issues and contemporary Portugal": January 26, 1976; February 9, 1976; February 17, 1976; March 2, 1976; March 9, 1976. (131 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 5
- Samuel, Michael A. and Stephen M. Haykin  
The Anderson Plan: An American attempt to seduce Portugal out of Africa. [Paper prepared for the] International Conference Group on Modern Portugal, The University of New Hampshire, June 21-24, 1979. (31 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 6
- Sachs, Albie  
[Interview held with Albie Sachs, interviewer unidentified, in April 1989, at Columbia University]. (8 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 7
- Sachs, Albie  
[Untitled paper on post-colonial Mozambique]. 1989. (48p)  
Reel: 4 Target: 8
- Sakwa, Paul  
United States policy towards Portugal. 1962. (5 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 9
- Schaufele, William E., Jr.  
Statement of William E. Schaufele Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, United States Senate, Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, February 6, 1976. [lacks p. 9] (13 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 10

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section I: Unpublished Conference Papers and Research Papers**

- Schmitter, Philippe C.  
The impact and meaning of 'non-competitive, non-free and insignificant' elections in authoritarian Portugal, 1933-1974. 1976. (41 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 11
- Schmitter, Philippe C.  
The social origins, economic bases and political imperatives of authoritarian rule in Portugal. (n.d.) (42 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 12
- Soares, Mario  
Soares warns Costa Gomes on course of government: Text of letter from Portuguese Socialist Party Secretary General Mario Soares to President Costa Gomes. *Diario de Noticias*, August 9, 1975. (7 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 13
- Spinola, António de  
General Spinola's resignation speech (September. 28, 1974). [lacks p. 12, 14] (16 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 14
- Spinola, António de  
General Spinola's statement on transfer of powers in Africa, Lisbon Radio, July 27, 1974. (4 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 15
- Stevens, Christopher  
The Soviet Union and Angola. (n.d.) (12 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 16
- Sweeney, Jerry K.  
Luso-American connection. (n.d.) (17 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 17
- Szulc, Tad  
NATO, Portugal, Spain -- Iberian strategic and defense issues. February 1976. (13 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 18
- Thibaud, Paul  
La Péninsule Iberique et les idéologies françaises. (s.d.) (14 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 19
- Torres, Eduardo Cintra  
Angola, 1981: Way out of a dead end? (n.d.) (35 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 20
- UNITA  
Declaration of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of Unita, Nova Lisboa, October 15, 1975. (5 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 21
- UNITA  
Editorial comment by l'Unita (August 20, 1975) on Pravda's 'Observer'. (n.d.) (2 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 22
- United States National Security Council.  
Interdepartmental Group for Africa  
Study in response to National Security Study Memorandum 39: Southern Africa. 1969. (71 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 23
- Villaverde Cabral, Manuel  
Agrarian structures and rural movements in Portugal in recent times. March 3, 1978. (26 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 24
- Waldheim, Kurt  
Co-operation with the United Nations in decolonization: Communique issued after a two-day visit to Portugal by Dr. Kurt Waldheim, 4 August, 1974. United Nations Press Release 74/3, August 8, 1974. (3 p.)  
Reel: 4 Target: 25

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section I: Unpublished Conference Papers and Research Papers**

- Wheeler, Douglas L.  
 Literary and military golpes: The literature of the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1974  
 Golpe in historical context: [Paper] prepared for the "Colóquio Internacional sobre o 25 de Abril de 1974", Univ. Nova de Lisboa, April 18-21, 1994. (35 p.)  
 Reel: 4 Target: 26
- Wheeler, Douglas L.  
 Portugal's Armed Forces intervention in politics: A historical perspective, 1807-1974. (n.d.) (7 p.)  
 Reel: 4 Target: 27
- Wheeler, Douglas L.  
 Portuguese elections and history. (n.d.) (11 p.)  
 Reel: 4 Target: 28
- Wheeler, Douglas L.  
 Portuguese withdrawal from Africa, 1974-75: The Angolan case. March 1976. (30 p.)  
 Reel: 4 Target: 29
- Wheeler, Douglas L.  
 Report-commentary on "Regional conflict in a bipolar world": Angola and Mozambique. Conference, November 15-16, 1986, Wye Woods Conference Center. (13 p.)  
 Reel: 4 Target: 30
- Wiarda, Howard  
 Portugal: The two revolutions. Paper prepared for delivery at the XVII Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, February 1976. (18 p.)  
 Reel: 4 Target: 31
- Papers without Author**  
 Constitutional agreement between the MFA and the political parties (February 26, 1976). (2 p.)  
 Reel: 5 Target: 1
- Constructive engagement: Theory fails test of reality. (n.d.) (23 p.)  
 Reel: 5 Target: 2
- CS&A assumptions of key external factors: Portugal. (n.d.) (17 p.)  
 Reel: 5 Target: 3
- French Socialists on Portugal. (n.d.) (8 p.)  
 Reel: 5 Target: 4
- Guidelines for the Alliance between the People and the MFA (July 6, 1975). (28 p.)  
 Reel: 5 Target: 5
- Kinshasa agreement between FNLA and UNITA: Excerpts from Lisbon Radio. November 11, 1975. (2 p.)  
 Reel: 5 Target: 6
- Melo Antunes document (August 7, 1975). (14 p.)  
 Reel: 5 Target: 7
- The MFA's political action plan. (June 21, 1975). (19 p.)  
 Reel: 5 Target: 8
- MPLA: Agreement between the Three Tendencies: Communique published in Brazzaville, September 3, 1974. (2 p.)  
 Reel: 5 Target: 9
- NATO: Towards defense co-operation with the white regimes. (n.d.) (32 p.)  
 Reel: 5 Target: 10
- Political action plan of the Council of the Revolution of the Armed Forces Movement (June 21, 1975). (42 p.)  
 Reel: 5 Target: 11

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section I: Unpublished Conference Papers and Research Papers**

Portugal: A complex period of the Revolution.  
'Observer' article in Pravda,  
August 19, 1975. (9 p.)  
Reel: 5    Target: 12

Portuguese Armed Forces - An historical  
perspective.  
(n.d.) (20 p.)  
Reel: 5    Target: 13

Western military assistance to Portugal.  
(n.d.) (39 p.)  
Reel: 5    Target: 14

Working blueprint for a political program  
(August 13, 1975).  
(17 p.)  
Reel: 5    Target: 15

[Untitled paper on the U.S. intelligence  
Community in Portugal.]  
(n.d.) (9 p.)  
Reel: 5    Target: 16

[Untitled paper on the political situation in  
Angola.]  
(n.d.) (29 p.)  
Reel: 5    Target: 17

[Untitled report on the economic situation in  
Portugal].  
June 18, 1975. (12 p.)  
Reel: 5    Target: 18

## Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994

### Section II: Newspapers and Periodicals

Acção Socialista: Semanário do Partido Socialista (Lisbon)  
(weekly)  
No. 1 (November 30, 1978) –  
No. 14 (March 1, 1979)  
Reel: 6 Target: 1

Alavanca (Intersindical – unidade na acção – a força dos trabalhadores) (Lisbon)  
(weekly)  
No. 1 (December 9, 1974) - No. 90  
(December 6, 1976)  
[lacks No. 20 (April 30, 1975?)]  
Reel: 6 Target: 2

Alavanca (CGTP-Intersindical) (Lisbon)  
(monthly)[continuation of previous title,  
but in magazine format] No. 1 (April  
1977) - No. 22 (February 1979)  
[lacks No. 20 (December 1978)]  
Reel: 7 Target: 1

A Capital (Lisbon)  
(daily)  
No. 2427 (January 7, 1975); No. 2549  
(June 2, 1975); No. 2669 (October 22,  
1975); No. 2685 (November 11, 1975);  
No. 2687 (November 13, 1975);  
No. 2696 (November 24, 1975) –  
No. 2697 (November 25, 1975);  
No. 2964 (October 30, 1976); No. 3022  
(January 13, 1977)  
Reel: 7 Target: 2

Combate (A Libertação dos Trabalhadores é obra dos Próprios Trabalhadores) (Lisbon)  
(weekly)  
No. 1 (June 21, 1974) – No. 26  
(July 15, 1975); No. 38 (April 1, 1976)  
Reel: 8 Target: 1

O Diário (Lisbon)  
No. 21 (February 3, 1976) , No. 25  
(February 7, 1976), No. 28  
(February 11, 1976), No. 30  
(February 13, 1976), No. 32  
(February 16, 1976), No. 84  
(April 19, 1976)  
Reel: 8 Target: 2

Diário de Lisboa (Lisbon)  
(daily)  
No. 18658 (January 8, 1975);  
No. 18779 (June 2, 1975); No.18809  
(July 8, 1975); No. 18862 (September 9,  
1975)  
Reel: 8 Target: 3

Esquerda Socialista (Órgão do Movimento de Esquerda Socialista) (Lisbon)  
(weekly)  
No. 0 (September 12, 1974) - No. 38  
(July 16, 1975)[continued by: Poder  
Popular - July 21, 1975- see below]  
Reel: 8 Target: 4

O Jornal (Lisbon)  
(weekly)  
No. 5 (May 30, 1975); No. 9 (June 27,  
1975); No. 17 (August 22, 1975)  
Reel: 8 Target: 5

Jornal do Agricultor (Lisbon)  
(weekly)  
No. 1 (Nov. 25, 1976) – No. 94  
(October 1, 1980)  
Reel: 9 Target: 1

Jornal do Caso República (Lisbon)  
(biweekly?)  
June 6, 1975; June 27, 1975  
Reel: 9 Target: 2

A Luta (Jornal Socialista, Pluralista e Independente) (Lisbon)  
(daily)  
No. 11 (September 5, 1975) - No. 203  
(April 30, 1976) [many gaps]  
Reel: 10 Target: 1  
No. 207 (May 5, 1976) – No. 321  
(September 17, 1976) [many gaps]  
Reel: 11 Target: 1

Movimento 25 de Abril – Boletim Informativo das Forças Armadas [Lisbon?]  
(Programa do Movimento das Forças Armadas) (biweekly)  
No. 3 (October 25, 1974) - No. 12  
(March 11, 1975); No. 19 (May 30,  
1975) - No. 20 (June 3, 1975); No. 25  
(August 14, 1975)  
Reel: 11 Target: 2



**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section II: Newspapers and Periodicals**

O Mundo Português (Um Jornal para o Brasil e Portugal) (Rio de Janeiro)  
 (weekly)  
 No. 1246 (October 31, 1975); No. 1251 (December 5, 1975) – No. 1253 (December 19, 1975); No. 1261 (February 13, 1976); No. 1266 (March 19, 1976); Special election issue (April 16, 1976)  
 Reel: 11 Target: 3

Notícias (Maputo)  
 (daily)  
 February 15, 1978; March 2, 1978;  
 March 12-13, 1978  
 Reel: 11 Target: 4

Nova Vida (Trissemanário Setubalense ao Serviço dos Trabalhadores) (Setúbal)  
 [continues: O Setubalense - see below]  
 (tri-weekly)  
 No. 1 (January 7, 1976) – No. 37 (April 5, 1976); No. 39 (April 9, 1976) - No. 54 (May 19, 1976); No. 57 (May 26, 1976)-No. 84 (July 30, 1976); No. 107 (September 22, 1976) - No. 135 (November 29, 1976) [sequence lacks many issues]; No. 202 (May 20, 1977)  
 Reel: 12 Target: 1

Poder Popular (Órgão do Movimento de Esquerda Socialista) (Lisbon)  
 [continues Esquerda Socialista – see above](weekly)  
 No. 1 (July 23, 1975) – No. 23 (December 6, 1976); No. 29 (February 19, 1976)-No. 32 (March 10, 1976); No. 34 (March 23)-No. 45 (June 15, 1976); No. 47 (July 7, 1976) - No. 48 (July 21, 1976); fragment of October 13, 1976  
 Reel: 12 Target: 2

Portugal Socialista (Órgão Central do Partido Socialista)  
 (weekly)  
 No. 9 (October 9, 1974) – No.11 (October 24, 1974); No. 13 (November 7, 1974)-No. 15 (November 21, 1974); No. 17 (December 5, 1974)-No. 19 (December 19, 1974); No. 22 (January 9, 1975)-No. 30 (March 6, 1975); No. 32 (March 20, 1975)-No. 56 (August 13, 1975); No. 58 (August 27, 1975) – No. 94 (May 6, 1976)  
 Reel: 13 Target: 1  
 No. 95 (May 13, 1976) - No. 118 (December 9, 1976)  
 Reel: 14 Target: 1

Portugal Socialista (Órgão Central do Partido Socialista) (Lisbon)  
 [continuation of previous, but in magazine format] (monthly)  
 No. 119 (April 1977) – No. 135 (August 1978); No. 137 (November 1978) – No. 140 (February 1979); No. 143 (May/June 1979); No. 145 (July/August, 1979)-No. 146 (September/October 1979)  
 Reel: 14 Target: 2

O Primeiro de Janeiro (Lisbon)  
 (daily?)  
 No. 157 (June 9, 1975)  
 Reel: 15 Target: 1

República (Lisbon)  
 (daily)  
 January, 1975 - December 1975  
 [sequence lacks many issues]  
 Reel: 15 Target: 2

Revolução (Lisbon)  
 (weekly)  
 No. 26 (January 10, 1975);  
 No. 53 (November 14, 1975);  
 No. 58 (January 3, 1976)  
 Reel: 15 Target: 3

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section II: Newspapers and Periodicals**

Sempre Fixe (Lisbon)

(weekly)  
No. 42 (January 11, 1975) - No. 69  
(July 19, 1975)  
Reel: 16 Target: 1

O Setubalense (Defensor dos Interesses do  
Distrito de Setúbal) (Setúbal)

(tri-weekly)  
[continues Nova Vida - see above]  
No. 4793 (July 22, 1974) – No. 4836  
(October 30, 1974); No. 4838  
(November 6, 1974) - No. 4857  
(December 20, 1974); No. 4859  
(December 27, 1974) - No. 4860  
(December 30, 1974); No. 4887  
(March 5, 1975) - No. 4894  
(March 21, 1975)  
Reel: 17 Target: 1  
No. 4895 (March 24, 1975) – No. 4896  
(March 26, 1975); No. 4898 (April 2,  
1975); No. 4900 (April 7, 1975) – No.  
4932 (June 23, 1975); No. 4934 (June  
27, 1975) – No. 4997  
(November 26, 1975)  
Reel: 18 Target: 1

Sindicalismo (Lisbon)

(bi-weekly)  
No. 2 (December 1-15, 1977) – No. 12  
(May 1-15, 1978); No. 14 (June 1-15,  
1978); No. 16 (July 1-15, 1977)  
Reel: 19 Target: 1

Tempo (Lisbon)

(weekly)  
No. 1 (May 29, 1975); No. 4 (June 19,  
1975) - No. 5 (June 26, 1975); No. 15  
(September 4, 1975) – No. 20  
(October 9, 1975); No. 22 (October 23,  
1975); No. 24 (November 6, 1975);  
No. 26 (November 20, 1975) – No. 29  
(December 11, 1975); No. 31  
(December 24, 1975); No. 36  
(January 29, 1976); No. 131  
(November 17, 1977) – No. 133  
(November 30, 1977); No. 149  
(March 23, 1978); No. 230 (October 4,  
1979)  
Reel: 19 Target: 2

Tempo (Ed. Internacional) (Paris)

(weekly)  
No. 146 (March 3, 1978) – No. 156  
(May 12, 1978); No. 158 (May 24,  
1978); No. 167 (July 20, 1978) –  
No. 168 (July 27, 1978); No. 174  
(September 8, 1978); No. 182  
(November 1, 1978); No. 184  
(November 16, 1978); No. 186  
(November 30, 1978); No. 232  
(October 18, 1979); No. 237  
(November 22, 1979) – No. 238  
(November 29, 1979)  
Reel: 20 Target: 1

Tempo / Europa (Paris)

(weekly)  
No. 143 (February 10, 1976); No. 134  
(December 9, 1977) – No. 140  
(January 20, 1978); No. 142  
(February 2, 1978); No. 144  
(February 17, 1978) – No. 145  
(February 24, 1978)  
Reel: 20 Target: 2

União de Agricultores (Mensário da Agricultura  
e do Movimento Cooperativo) (Lisbon)

(monthly)  
No. 1 (February 1979) – No. 2  
(March 1979); No. 4 (May 1979) –  
No. 12 (January 1980) [No. 9 is  
mislabeled]  
Reel: 20 Target: 3

## Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994

### Section III: Monographs and Special Journal Issues

- Agee, Warren K and Nelson Traquina  
A frustrated Fourth Estate: Portugal's post-revolutionary mass media. Journalism Monographs, No.87 (February 1984) (56 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 1
- Braga a 'igreja' de D. Francisco, arcebispo. Natal, 1974. (55 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 2
- Caetano, Marcello  
Guidelines of foreign policy. Lisbon: Sec. De Estado do Inform. E Turismo, 1970. (20 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 3
- Caetano, Marcello  
Portugal's reasons for remaining in the overseas provinces. Lisbon, 1970. (31 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 4
- Caetano, Marcello  
Revision of the Portuguese constitution. Lisbon: Sec. De Estado da Inform. E Turismo, 1970. (28 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 5
- Caetano, Marcello  
A verdade sobre o 25 de abril. 2.<sup>a</sup> ed. Portugal, 1976. (29 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 6
- Cartilha política do povo.  
Lisboa: Ed. do jornal 'O Emigrante - Voz de Portugal, 1974. (100 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 7
- The church and revolution: Portugal. Rome: IDOC, 1975.  
Europe: Churches in their environment dossier-documentation communication project, No. 1. (96 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 8
- Cliff, Tony.  
Portugal at the crossroads. London: International Socialism, Special issue (September 1975). (48 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 9
- Eanes, Ramalho.  
Comemorando o 3.º aniversário do 25 de novembro: Discurso do presidente da república, General Ramalho Eanes. Vale do Zebro, 25 de novembro de 1978. Lisboa: Ministerio da Comunicação Social, 1978. (14 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 10
- Eanes, Ramalho.  
Mensagem de Natal: Dirigida pelo presidente da república, General Ramalho Eanes, aos emigrantes que não puderam vir a Portugal em 1978. Lisboa: Ministerio da Comunicação Social, 1979. (6 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 11
- Eanes, Ramalho.  
Um Portugal melhor: Mensagem dirigida aos portugueses, pelo presidente da república, General Ramalho Eanes, no dia 1 de janeiro de 1979. Lisboa: Ministerio da Comunicação Social, 1979. (10 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 12
- Eanes, Ramalho.  
Na posse do IV governo constitucional: Discursos proferidos pelos senhores presidente da república, General Ramalho Eanes, e primeiro-ministro, Prof. Mota Pinto, no Palácio da Ajuda, em 22 de novembro de 1978. Lisboa: Ministerio da Comunicação Social, 1979. (27 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 13
- Eleição para a Assembleia Constituinte 1975: V. I -Resultados por freguesias, concelhos e distritos do Continente e Ilhas Adjacentes. Lisboa: Ministério da Administração Interna, 1975. (205 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 14
- Free Portugal: Year 3, 1974-1976.  
Lisbon: State Dept. of Mass Communication, 1976. (66 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 15

## **Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**

### **Section III: Monographs and Special Journal Issues**

- Hamilton, Daniel  
Spain and Portugal: Internal developments and external significance. Report on a conference held at the Aspen Institute Berlin, October 28-31, 1984. Berlin: Aspen Institute Berlin, 1984. (Report from Aspen Institute Berlin, No.7/84.) (12 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 16
- Jara, José Manuel.  
Maoísmo em Portugal: Ideologia anarquista contra-revolucionária e paródia burguesa do marxismo. Lisboa: Edições Sociais, 1975. (79 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 17
- Nova leitura das eleições - 1975.  
Evora: Inst. Superior Econômico e Social, 1975. (Economia e sociologia, No. 19-20.) (197 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 18
- Patricio, Rui.  
Press conference by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Rui Patrício, given at the Palácio das Necessidades on July 23, 1970. Lisbon: Sec. De Estado da Informa. E Turismo, 1970. (23 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 19
- Portugal and Spain: Transition politics.  
Conflict Studies Special Report, May 1976. (24 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 20
- Portugal: Freedom year one, 1926/1975.  
Lisbon: Ministry of Mass Communications, 1975. (15 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 21
- Portugal: Key documents of the revolutionary process.  
Berkeley, California: Peoples Translation Service, 1975. (39 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 22
- Portugal Information.  
Lisbon: Ministry of Mass Communications, 1975. (32 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 23
- Portugal: Revolution and backlash.  
Conflict Studies Special Report, No. 61 (September 1975). (36 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 24
- Portugal: Un enjeu revolutionnaire pour l'Europe.  
Bulletin de Liaison du CEDETIM, No. 35-36 (May 1975). (112 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 25
- Portugal: Un peuple en lutte pour l'indépendance nationale et la démocratie.  
Paris: Le Mouvement pour l'Indépendance et la Liberté, s.d. (40 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 26
- O social-imperialismo revisionista soviético.  
S.p.: Editora Vento de Leste, 1975. (Cadernos Martins Soares, No.8). (208 p.)  
Reel: 21 Target: 27

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section IV: Subject Files**

**Africa**

Arriaga, General Kaulza de  
 O problema ultramarino português.  
 1966-1967.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 1

Zappa, Ítalo  
 Palestra proferida na ESG.  
 May 31, 1976.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 2

Guerrilheiro: Bulletin of the Committee for  
 Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné.  
 No. 22 (November-December 1974).  
 Reel: 22 Target: 3

Turismo em Moçambique  
 No. 14 (September 30, 1975); No. 15  
 (October 30, 1975); No. 18 (January 15,  
 1976).  
 Reel: 22 Target: 4

[Various documents regarding Portuguese-  
 Angola relations]  
 September 26, 1972 – February 22,  
 1974.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 5

Moreira, Adriano  
 Nação Abandonada. 1977.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 6

Sousa Ferreira, Eduardo  
 Portugal e o neocolonialismo. 1975.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 7

Barnett, Don  
 With the Guerrillas in Angola.  
 1976.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 8

Guterres, António et al.  
 Portugal pode viver sem as colónias?  
 1974.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 9

UNITA.  
 Communiques 15-30. 1983.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 10

[Letter from George Bush to Jonas Savimbi]  
 January 6, 1989  
 Reel: 22 Target: 11

UNITA radio interview with Jonas Savimbi  
 n.d.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 12

UNITA Statement Concerning the Peace  
 Agreements on Southwestern Africa.  
 January 20, 1989.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 13

Mozambique Briefing: Building a New Legal  
 System.  
 August 1988.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 14

Mozambique Briefing: Economic Recovery  
 Programme.  
 January 1987.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 15

Mozambique Briefing: The Roots of Armed  
 Banditry.  
 May 1987.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 16

Mozambique Briefing: The Children of War.  
 July 1987.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 17

Kwacha News: 1988 in Review,  
 No. 1 (January-February 1989).  
 Reel: 22 Target: 18

Free Angola Information Service, Inc.  
 UNITA responds to the New York Times  
 article on the alleged tortures. March 12,  
 1989.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 19

Free Angola Information Service, Inc.  
 Memorandum re: Recent foreign news  
 article on Marxist disinformation  
 campaign in Angola.  
 March 13, 1989.  
 Reel: 22 Target: 20

## Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994

### Section IV: Subject Files

[Items relating to the detention of Gen. Kaúlza de Arriaga]

n.d. [C.V. was not microfilmed due to privacy concerns.]

Reel: 22 Target: 21

[Items of correspondence from and about Gen. Kaúlza de Arriaga, including items from July and August 1975.]

Reel: 22 Target: 22

#### Economy

Banco Português do Atlântico

Conjuntura, No. 6 (January/February 1975).

Reel: 22 Target: 23

Banco Totta & Açores

The Portuguese Economy. October 1976.

Reel: 22 Target: 24

Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guiné

British Financial Interests in Angola, Guiné, Mozambique and Portugal. n.d.

Reel: 22 Target: 25

Ernst & Whinney International Series

Portugal. January 1983.

Reel: 22 Target: 26

#### Industry

Siderurgia Nacional

Nacionalização ou confisco? s.d.

Reel: 22 Target: 27

Grupo de Intervenção e Estudo Sector Textil

Relatório sobre a indústria textil.

January 1976.

Reel: 22 Target: 28

#### Labor

Comunicado sobre sindicalismo.

August 2, 1974.

Reel: 22 Target: 29

Intersindical

Documentos Sindicais, 1970-1974.

Reel: 22 Target: 30

Lei Sindical

April 30, 1975.

Reel: 22 Target: 31

Sousa, A. Teixeira de & Eduardo de Freitas  
Subsídios para uma análise da população activa operária em Portugal. 1974.

Reel: 22 Target: 32

Our Common Struggle: Newsletter of the Portuguese Workers Coordinating Committee.

No. 4 (December, no year).

Reel: 22 Target: 33

Our Common Struggle: Portuguese Workers Newsletter.

No. 15 (July 1976).

Reel: 22 Target: 34

Spartacus: Revista dos trabalhadores portugueses.

No. 3 (December 1974).

Reel: 22 Target: 35

Vida Rural.

No. 4 (May 31, 1974).

Reel: 22 Target: 36

Ministério da Agricultura e Pescas

As unidades colectivas de produção e a economia nacional. April 23, 1976.

Reel: 22 Target: 37

Congresso

Especial, January 25, 1977.

Reel: 22 Target: 38

Manifesto do combate.

June 21, 1974.

Reel: 22 Target: 39

#### Military

Carvalho, Otelo Saraiva de

Cinco meses mudaram Portugal.  
January 1975.

Reel: 22 Target: 40

Cardia, Sottomayor, et al.

Forças Armadas e democracia. 1976.

Reel: 22 Target: 41

## Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994

### Section IV: Subject Files

Leis constitucionais posteriores a 25 de Abril.  
1974.

Reel: 22 Target: 42

#### **Movimento das Forças Armadas**

Programa do Movimento das Forças Armadas  
Portuguesas. May 15, 1974.

Reel: 23 Target: 1

Movimento 25 de Abril: Boletim informativo das  
Forças Armadas.

Não dêis ouvidos à reacção. s.d. [poster]

Reel: 23 Target: 2

Movimento 25 de Abril: Boletim informativo das  
Forças Armadas

[poster calendar for 1975.]

Reel: 23 Target: 3

Movimento 25 de Abril: Boletim informativo das  
Forças Armadas

PAZ . . . MFA. s.d. [poster with doves]

Reel: 23 Target: 4

Melo, General Galvão de

MFA: Movimento revolucionário. 1975.

Reel: 23 Target: 5

Conselhos Revolucionários:

Projecto Povo—MFA. s.d.

Reel: 23 Target: 6

Sobre a ligação povo—MFA. May 21, 1975

Reel: 23 Target: 7

#### **Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado**

Matos, Arnaldo

A revolução tem de avançar a todo o  
vapor. July 18, 1975.

Reel: 23 Target: 8

Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do  
Proletariado

Documentos do Comité Central.

April 1975.

Reel: 23 Target: 9

Comité de Setembro

Controle dos liceus e técnicas nas Mãos  
da classe operária! Ocupemos as escolas!  
s.d.

Reel: 23 Target: 10

#### **Partido Popular Democrático**

Partido Popular Democrático

1.º Congresso Nacional. October 1974.

Reel: 23 Target: 11

Partido Popular Democrático

Política agrária. July 11, 1974.

Reel: 23 Target: 12

Partido Popular Democrático

Primeiro comunicado. Linhas para um  
programa resposta a um questionário.  
May 1974.

Reel: 23 Target: 13

Os emigrantes e o voto.

July 31, 1974.

Reel: 23 Target: 14

#### **Partido Comunista de Portugal (Marxista- Leninista)**

Partido Comunista de Portugal (Marxista-  
Leninista)

Apoio firme aos oficiais anticunhalistas!  
August 7, 1975.

Reel: 23 Target: 15

Partido Comunista de Portugal (Marxista-  
Leninista)

“ORPC” - UDP: lacaio de Cunhal. s.d.

Reel: 23 Target: 16

Partido Comunista de Portugal (Marxista-  
Leninista)

Unidade Popular: Orgão Central do  
Partido Comunista de Portugal (M-L),  
No. 1-19 (March 1969 - April 1974).

Reel: 23 Target: 17

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section IV: Subject Files**

**Partido Comunista Português**

Comité Central do Partido Comunista Português

Por uma grande campanha política de massas. July 1973.

Reel: 23 Target: 18

Comissão Distrital de Santarém do Partido Comunista Português

Ao povo do Distrito de Santarém. August 1974.

Reel: 23 Target: 19

Partido Comunista Português

Nota da Comissão Política sobre a Assembleia do MFA de 8 de Julho. July 9, 1975.

Reel: 23 Target: 20

Direcção da Organização Regional de Lisboa do Partido Comunista Português

Comunicado. January 30, 1975.

Reel: 23 Target: 21

Partido Comunista Português

O anticomunismo mostra cada vez mais a verdadeira face. n.d.

Reel: 23 Target: 22

Comité Local de Lisboa do Partido Comunista Português

Contra a escalada da reacção . . . , August 2, 1975

Reel: 23 Target: 23

Direcção da Organização Regional de Lisboa do Partido Comunista Português

APELO. August 12, 1975.

Reel: 23 Target: 24

Comité Central do Partido Comunista Português

O PCP e a situação política após as eleições presidenciais. July 5, 1976.

Reel: 23 Target: 25

Encontro Nacional do Trabalhadores Bancários promovido pelo Partido Comunista Português

A banca ao serviço do povo. August 1975.

Reel: 23 Target: 26

**Partido Socialista**

Partido Socialista

O partido do povo. [poster] s.d.

Reel: 23 Target: 27

Partido Socialista

Manifestação, dia 14. [flyer] s.d.

Reel: 23 Target: 28

Partido Socialista

Socialismo em liberdade: Inscreve-te no. s.d. [sticker]

Reel: 23 Target: 29

Partido Socialista

Antes da manifestação está a consciencialização. July 1974.

Reel: 23 Target: 30

Comissão Sindical do Partido Socialista

Sindicatos. s.d.

Reel: 23 Target: 31

Partido Socialista

Declaração de princípios do Partido Socialista. September 1973.

Reel: 23 Target: 32

Secretariado da Zona Central, Federação Distrital de Coimbra

[Collection of flyers from 1974.]

Reel: 23 Target: 33

Partido Socialista

Socialismo em liberdade! [poster] s.d.

Reel: 23 Target: 34

Distrital de Faro

Manifesto ao povo . . . Vota PS. s.d.

Reel: 23 Target: 35

Partido Socialista

Segurança social para todos. 1979.

Reel: 23 Target: 36

Partido Socialista

Política de preços e rendimentos. 1976.

Reel: 23 Target: 37



**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section IV: Subject Files**

- Partido Socialista  
Os transportes. 1976.  
Reel: 23 Target: 38
- Partido Socialista  
O PS está em luta. 1975.  
Reel: 23 Target: 39
- Ministre de l'Agriculture et des Peches  
Ingenieur Antonio Poppe Lopes  
Cardoso. s.d.  
Reel: 23 Target: 40
- Political Repression**  
Associação de Ex-Presos Políticos Antifascistas  
Elementos para a história da PIDE.  
September 28, 1976.  
Reel: 23 Target: 41
- Último relatório sobre a situação geral do país do  
ex-Ministerio do Interior para a ex-PIDE/D.G.S.  
[Editor & Publisher: Fernando Riberio  
de Mello.] May 1974.  
Reel: 23 Target: 42
- Castro, Raul de, ed.  
Estudantes do Porto no tribunal de  
polícia. September 1973.  
Reel: 23 Target: 43
- Comissão Nacional de Socorro aos Presos  
Políticos  
Repressão policial e judicial e balanço  
da solidariedade. 1972.  
Reel: 23 Target: 44
- Comissão Nacional de Socorro aos Presos  
Políticos  
Circular. February 6, 1973.  
Reel: 23 Target: 45
- Politics and Government**  
Political Parties in Portugal. March 1976.  
Reel: 23 Target: 46
- Manifesto reformador. April 18, 1979.  
Reel: 23 Target: 47
- Conselho da Revolução. s.d.  
Reel: 23 Target: 48
- Lista dos partidos que concorrem às eleições de  
1976.  
s.d.  
Reel: 23 Target: 49
- Ministério da Comunicação Social  
Plataforma de acordo constitucional  
com os partidos políticos. April 9, 1975.  
Reel: 23 Target: 50
- Ministério da Comunicação Social  
Foundations of the Constitutional  
Agreement with the Political Parties.  
n.d.  
Reel: 23 Target: 51
- Popular Participation**  
MES  
Jornada internacional de apoio á  
resistencia do povo chileno. [poster] s.d.  
Reel: 23 Target: 52
- Frente Socialista Popular  
O povo que responde. [flyer] s.d.  
Reel: 23 Target: 53
- Carta aberta ao povo português.  
s.d.  
Reel: 23 Target: 54
- Base do MDP/CDE de S. Mamede  
Comunicado à população. [flyer]  
January 7, 1975.  
Reel: 23 Target: 55
- Partido Comunista Português e Partido Socialista  
Povo de Lisboa. . . [flyer]  
July 25, no year.  
Reel: 23 Target: 56
- MDC/CDE  
Grande Comicio: Contra os  
monopólios - pela democracia. [flyer] January  
11, no year.  
Reel: 23 Target: 57
- Pardio Comunista Português e Partido Socialista  
Grande manifestação. [flyer] July 1974.  
Reel: 23 Target: 58

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section IV: Subject Files**

GDUP

O 25 de Abril preso em Caxias! s.d.  
Reel: 23 Target: 59

**União Democrática Popular**

União Democrática Popular

Levantemos uma barreira de aco. . .  
August 11, 1975.  
Reel: 23 Target: 60

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section V: General News Coverage**

- Report from Portugal from the American-Portuguese Overseas Information Organization.  
 No. 2 (January 16-31, 1976) – No. 4 (March 1976); No. 6 (May-June 1976); No. 8 (August –September 1976); No. 10 (August 1977) – No. 11 (April 1978).  
 Reel: 24 Target: 1
- Cuadernos para el Diálogo (Madrid) (Extra) June 1974.  
 Reel: 24 Target: 2
- O Cruzeiro (Rio de Janeiro).  
 No. 19 (May 8, 1974).  
 Reel: 24 Target: 3
- Flama (Lisboa).  
 No. 1401 (January 10, 1975); No. 1436 (September 12, 1975) – No. 1438 (September 26, 1975).  
 Reel: 24 Target: 4
- Journal Português de Economia & Finanças (Lisboa)  
 No. 342 (September 1-15, 1975).  
 Reel: 24 Target: 5
- Manifesto (Lisboa)  
 No. 4 (November 1974) – No. 5 (January 1975).  
 Reel: 24 Target: 6
- Notícias de Moçambique  
 No. 20 (April 19, 1975); No. 22 (May 3, 1975) – No. 25 (May 31, 1975); No. 27 (June 14, 1975).  
 Reel: 24 Target: 7
- Nouvelle Critique (Paris)  
 No. 78 (November 1974).  
 Reel: 24 Target: 8
- Portugal: An Informative Review  
 No. 34 (1973).  
 Reel: 24 Target: 9
- Portugal Information (Lisboa)  
 No. 16/17 (April – May, 1977).  
 Reel: 24 Target: 10
- Portugal Information Bulletin  
 No. 1 (December 6, 1975); No. 3 (April 7, 1976).  
 Reel: 25 Target: 1
- O Português na Inglaterra (London)  
 No. 6 (April 1974).  
 Reel: 25 Target: 2
- Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin (London)  
 Vol. 14, No. 1 (January 1974).  
 Reel: 25 Target: 3
- Seara Nova (Lisboa)  
 No. 1542 (April 1974).  
 Reel: 25 Target: 4
- O Seculo Ilustrado (Lisboa)  
 No. 1931 (January 11, 1975).  
 Reel: 25 Target: 5
- Soldados em Luta: Jornal dos soldados em luta no RASP.  
 No. 2 (October 23, 1975).  
 Reel: 25 Target: 6
- Vida Mundial (Lisboa)  
 No. 1842 (January 2, 1975) – No. 1844 (January 16, 1975); No. 1850 (February 27, 1975); No. 1871 (July 24, 1975); No. 1877 (September 5, 1975) – No. 1878 (September 12, 1975).  
 Reel: 25 Target: 7
- Gaspar, Carlos  
 O deserto dos tártaros revisitado.  
 October – December 1988.  
 Reel: 25 Target: 8
- Barreto, Jose  
 Comunistas, católicos e os sindicatos sob Salazar. 1994.  
 Reel: 25 Target: 9

**Documenting the Portuguese Revolution, 1962-1994**  
**Section V: General News Coverage**

- Voz da Revolução: Orgão Oficial da Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO)  
No. 8 (March 1972) – No.12 (September 1972); No. 19 (August – September 1973); Special (September 25, 1973).  
Reel: 25 Target: 10
- Combate Socialista (Lisboa)  
No. 2 (January 9, 1975).  
Reel: 25 Target: 11
- Comunidade (Lisboa)  
No. 2 (June 10, 1978).  
Reel: 25 Target: 12
- Diário de Coimbra  
June 9, 1975.  
Reel: 25 Target: 13
- Diário Popular (Lisboa)  
January 17, 1975; May 31, 1975;  
June 4, 1975; Supplement, October 4, 1976.  
Reel: 25 Target: 14
- O Gaiato  
No. 814 (May 24, 1975).  
Reel: 25 Target: 15
- Guarda Vermelha: Orgão Central da Federação dos Estudantes Marxistas – Leninistas  
No. 10 (March 8, 1976).  
Reel: 25 Target: 16
- Informação  
No. 15 (Special), January 3, 1975.  
Reel: 25 Target: 17
- Liberdade (Lisboa)  
No. 21 (April 21, 1976).  
Reel: 25 Target: 18
- Luta Popular: Orgão Central do Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado  
No. 271 (April 22, 1976).  
Reel: 25 Target: 19
- Nova Terra (Lisboa)  
No. 3 (May 29, 1975).  
Reel: 25 Target: 20
- Página Um (Lisboa)  
No. 77 (October 14, 1976); No. 106 (November 18, 1976).  
Reel: 25 Target: 21
- Portugal Hoje (Lisboa)  
No. 13 (August 3, 1974).  
Reel: 25 Target: 22
- Ribatejo na Luta (Torres Nova)  
No. 6 (January 1975).  
Reel: 25 Target: 23
- O Templário  
No. 1230 (September 12, 1975) – No. 1231 (September 19, 1975).  
Reel: 25 Target: 24
- O País (Lisboa)  
No. 16 (April 23-29, 1976).  
Reel: 25 Target: 25
- Portuguese Times (New Bedford, Massachusetts)  
No. 226 (June 26, 1975).  
Reel: 25 Target: 26
- Povo Livre: Orgão Oficial do Partido Popular Democrático  
Special edition (January 16, 1975).  
Reel: 25 Target: 27
- Seculo Hoje  
No. 3 (April 22, 1976).  
Reel: 25 Target: 28