

# WORLD WAR I AND THE POLITICAL CRISIS THAT FOLLOWED IT. CASE STUDY: „MOSCOW’S CONSPIRACY IN LISBON”

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## PRIMUL RĂZBOI MONDIAL ȘI CRIZELE POLITICE CARE I-AU URMAT. STUDIU DE CAZ: „COMLOTUL MOSCOVEI LA LISABONA”

**ABSTRACT:** *Our study is based on information from the Romanian press of the time, mostly from the central press and publications in Bucharest, especially the independent ones and also the ones from a certain area, those in the western part of the country, “closer” as space, to the events. Regarding the subject, we can firstly declare that we find scarce, incomplete, often confusing and contradictory information about the postwar revolutionary estate in Portugal. There are many causes. We mention the distance that separated Portugal from Romania, which has not affected the interest, we could say on the contrary, to what was happening in the country at the western extremity of the continent, but sometimes the perception of events. The main guilt for the scarcity of information and for their lack of accuracy was due to information system censorship exercised in Portugal, governments leaving transparency or offering to the public only the favorable versions, which often had nothing to do with reality.*

*Foreign news were given to the big newspapers in Bucharest, which were then taken by the rest of the newspapers in the country, by the telegraph agency Rador, the company that had exclusive rights. Subscriptions to the company’s telegraph service was expensive, however, and its operation does not correspond to the needs of.*

*The news of the Romanian press about the events in Portugal were taken from direct sources, from the newsmen in Lisbon, or from the big newspapers in Paris, London, Madrid, Berlin or Vienna. To compensate the lack of information, at least in the case of Portugal, the major newspapers in Bucharest have turned to other sources, private ones, often in possession of news closer to reality.*

**KEYWORDS:** *press, news, newsmen, revolutionary estate, instability*

**REZUMAT:** *Studiul nostru se bazează pe informațiile din presa românească a vremii. Am avut în vedere cu precădere presa și publicațiile centrale, din București, în mod special pe cele independente, dar și unele zonale, îndeosebi din partea de Vest a țării, mai „apropiată”, spațial cel puțin, de evenimente. În legătură cu subiectul, o primă constatare care se impune este aceea că informațiile despre starea revoluționară din Portugalia de după război sunt puține, lacunare, adesea confuze și contradictorii. Cauzele sunt mai multe. Menționăm, mai întâi, depărtarea, distanța ce separa Portugalia de România, care nu a afectat interesul, am spune dimpotrivă, pentru ceea ce se petrecea în țara de la extremitatea vestică a continentului, cât, uneori, percepția asupra evenimentelor. Vina principală pentru puținătatea informațiilor și mai ales pentru lipsa lor de precizie se datora cenzurii ce se exercita în Portugalia asupra sistemului informațional, guvernele lăsând să transpară sau oferind publicității doar versiunile ce le erau favorabile, dar care, cel mai adesea, nu concordau cu realitatea.*

*Știrile externe erau difuzate marilor cotidiene din București, pe care le preluau restul ziarelor din țară, de către agenția telegrafică Rador, societatea având drept de exclusivitate. Abonamentul la serviciul telegrafic al societății era scump, iar modul său de funcționare nu corespundea deloc necesităților vremii<sup>1</sup>.*

*Știrile privind evenimentele din Portugalia, apărute în presa românească, provin parțial din surse directe, de la corespondenții din Lisabona ai agenției Rador. Alteori, acestea sunt preluate, de aceeași corespondenți, din marile cotidiene ce apăreau la Paris, Londra, Madrid, Berlin sau Viena. Pentru a compensa lipsa de informație, cel puțin în*

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<sup>1</sup> *Dimineața* (București), 1926, nr. 7027, p. 11.

cazul Portugaliei, marile cotidiene din București au apelat și la alte surse, particulare, aflate adesea în posesia unor știri mai aproape de realitate.

**CUVINTE CHEIE:** presă, știri, corespondenți, stare revoluționară, instabilitate

The Portuguese Republic established in October 1910, proved to be a “bloody mess”, Portugal being far from finding peace after the First World War. A quarter of a century of agitation, conspiracy and revolutionary rhetoric had created a state of mind that no regime could satisfy. Encouraged to protest under the monarchy, the Portuguese protested even more strongly under the republic. The crisis that all European countries were facing in the aftermath of the Great War was exacerbated in Portugal by political struggles, the street becoming the absolute master of domestic politics. In the army, anarchy began to take place, the governments falling at a dizzying pace<sup>2</sup>. In addition, starting with 1925, in the field of Portuguese politics a new army force came into being, which all political groups would now have to take into account.

The many events in Portugal after the First World War were caught by the Romanian press which, in addition, resumed presenting them telegraphically as they were received from Rador Agency, without any comments on them. For example, in its edition of July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1925, the daily *Dimineața* in Bucharest published on the first page under the heading “Revolt in Portugal”, the telegram sent on July 20<sup>th</sup> by Rador Agency from Lisbon, containing the following: “Military forces led by officers escaping from *San Julia* Fortress rebelled yesterday morning, backed by cruiser *Vasco da Gama*. The government immediately took the necessary steps. Five of the heads of the revolutionary movement were caught. After several hours of resistance, the revolt was crushed. Cruiser *Vasco da Gama* surrendered. The siege was proclaimed”<sup>3</sup>. No word, however, in the following editions or in other newspapers about the trial of conspirators acquitted by the jury that had Oscar Carmona as general prosecutor; the news of acquittal was acclaimed throughout Lisbon, condemning the da Silva’s government”

The lack of information was also felt regarding the revolution of May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1926. On May 29<sup>th</sup>, under the heading “Events in Portugal”, the newspaper *Dimineața* published on the first page only the photograph of Dr. Vasco Borges, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, without any comments. Only in the following day edition the outbreak of the military revolution was announced. “The revolution began in North and South Portugal – said the telegram received from Lisbon. Two divisions revolted and their commander launched a proclamation to the citizens urging them to banish the current government”. Instead of other comments, the article concluded that “this is the 18<sup>th</sup> revolution in Portugal over the last 15 years”<sup>4</sup>. The reader, even the interested one, could hardly understand what was

<sup>2</sup> Pure democrat José Relvas is replaced after two months with a purer democrat, Domingo Pereira. He, in turn, collapses after only three months. A colonel, Sá Cardoso, of the purest republican tradition comes next, but he is banished after almost seven months of popular demonstration. The new government formed by Dr. Domingo Pereira lasts almost four months, followed by another one for three weeks. At the beginning of August 1920, a new government is being formed, under the presidency of Antonio Granjo, which runs until November 1<sup>st</sup>. The next one, presided by Dr. Álvaro de Castro, lasts for a month. Then, another one presided by Lieutenant Colonel Liberato Pinto, who resigned on March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1921. The new government formed by Bernardino Machado, former president and minister, the most venerable figure of the Republican Revolution, is forced to resign by the Republican Guard, on May 23<sup>rd</sup>. There is a new government, which in turn is replaced in August by another, under the presidency of António Granjo which fell victim to the revolution that broke out in October 1921. The new revolutionary government presided by Colonel Manuel Maria Coelho is forced to resign after three weeks. There is a six-week minister, Maria Pinto, and another one, Cunha Leal, about the same duration. Only the government led by António Maria da Silva manages to maintain power for almost two years, but the one after, presided by Ginstal Machado, falls quickly following a revolt and is replaced on December 18<sup>th</sup>, 1924 with a cabinet presided by Major Álvaro de Castro, who resisted until June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1925, when a new government António Maria da Silva was formed. Eliade 2006, pp. 99–142.

<sup>3</sup> *Dimineața*, 1925, no. 6700, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, 1926, no. 7004, p. 9.

really happening in Portugal, because the press was lacking information as the Portuguese government had introduced censorship and had given an official statement saying that peace reigns throughout the country. The reader could not find out that, since most of the garrison in Lisbon was loyal to the government, the revolution was triggered in Braga, northern Portugal by General Gomes da Costa, who, after his successful hit, was heading to the Capital with revolutionary troops; in the south, General Oscar Carmona gathered troops at Vendas Novas, and in Lisbon, Commander Cabeçadas addressed on behalf of the army, a letter to President Bernardino Machado asking him to dismiss the government of António Maria da Silva and form a new government of republicans that deserve the country's trust.

On June 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> editions, the daily *Dimineața* published the last news arrived from Lisbon about the proclamation of the general strike in Portugal, dissolution of Portuguese Parliament and resignation of President Bernardino Machado. About the general strike the newspaper wrote that it was proclaimed by the Portuguese Trade Union Confederation and the Communist Party and that while the official sources announced that the strike was no longer heard by the workers, the private news claimed that on the contrary, the railroad workers had declared a strike by suspending all rail traffic<sup>5</sup>. Without further details, the military government announced its decision to dissolve the parliament on the edition of June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1926, and on the following day was released the statement of President Bernardino Machado, "forced to resign after the revolutionary movement in the last days", whose photograph was printed on the first page of June 11<sup>th</sup> Edition. "The former President of Portugal, Mr. Bernardino Machado – would say the article entitled "Why did the President of Portugal resign?" – said he believed he could manage to keep the constitutional government's trust by fighting the revolutionists. As the events made impossible this solution, he called on Commander Cabeçadas, who deserved the republicans' trust and gave him the full power of the executive, to avoid divergences. Mr. Bernardino Machado also said that everyone's patriotism would help solve the crisis and that everyone would gather around Commander Cabeçadas, the glorious figure of the revolution that had established the Republic in Portugal in 1910". Romanian press no longer published news showing the president was wrong and Cabeçadas, without any political sense and ambition, resigned from the presidency of the government formed on June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1926, in favor of Gomes da Costa, which formed a new government on June 9<sup>th</sup>; that it was replaced by another one led by General Carmona, who on November 26<sup>th</sup>, 1926 was elected President of the Republic, while temporarily continuing to preside over the Council of Ministers.

It was a temporary condition that could not continue for long. In its edition from February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1927, under the heading "Rebellion in Portugal", the daily *Dimineața* briefly announced on the first page, that "some of the Porto garrison has rebelled. The government is, however, in control of the situation. The state of siege was declared throughout the country. Lisbon is quiet"<sup>6</sup>. The news sent by Rador Agency is reproduced on page 9, under the heading "Another pronunciamento in Portugal", saying that on February 4<sup>th</sup> "a new coup d'état organized by the military was attempted. However, the rebels were surrounded by troops faithful to the government and after several hours of talks they surrendered. Peace and order were restored in the country". On February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1927, the daily *Dimineața* announced the news from Lisbon that the revolt in Porto was completely repressed and that all rebel leaders surrendered to government troops<sup>7</sup>. Two days later, on February 9<sup>th</sup>, under the heading "Revolution in Portugal", the same newspaper would publish two private telegrams, whose content was contradictory. While the telegram arrived from Madrid announced that "rebels were defeated by the government troops", the telegram from Lisbon said that "the Portuguese garrison refused to capitulate, and the government troops surrounded the city asking the garrison to surrender"; that due to the refusal to surrender, "they started

<sup>5</sup> Idem, 1926, no. 7012, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Idem, 1926, no. 7250, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Idem, 1926, no. 7251, p. 9.

bombing the city, causing numerous fires” and, although part of population had left the city before the bombing, “a large number of civilians were killed or injured”<sup>8</sup>.

The newspaper edition from February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1927 announced the outbreak of the revolution in Lisbon, the news sent from Paris by Rador Agency being retrieved by the *Daily Mail* newspaper. Details about the fights we would find from another telegram sent from Lisbon. It stated that the revolution started there “immediately became extremely violent and spread with a stunning speed. The revolutionary initiative was taken by crews from the war cruisers in the port. The police, infantry regiments and the Republican Guard joined the sailors’ movement. The insurgents grabbed the important points of the city and arrested the ministers of Interior and Foreign Affairs”. Further, it was mentioned that “violent street battles took place between the troops remaining faithful to the government and the revolutionary troops. For many hours there were machine gun fires along the streets. Towards evening, cruiser *Carval Hoarano* began bombing the locations in the city occupied by troops remaining faithful to the government”, killing 31 people and seriously injuring 132. In turn, the troops remaining faithful to the government arrested and detained 150 people in Monte Santo Citadel, most of them politicians and journalists belonging to the opposition. The telegram said also that the entire administration of the country was completely shaken and the diplomatic corps held a meeting, under the presidency of an official legate, deciding not to take any action at the moment<sup>9</sup>. It also showed that in Porto the fights continued with the same fury, the city bombing reaching the climax on the night between February 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> and continuing with small interruptions. Many buildings have suffered from the bombing, the post and the famous old *San Juan* Theater being destroyed. 100 people died and a few thousand were injured.

As the revolutionary movement increased, more space was dedicated to it in the February 10<sup>th</sup> and the following editions of the newspaper. Events in Portugal appeared in other newspapers also. The news arrived from Lisbon were retrieved by Rador Agency in Paris, Berlin and Madrid. But, they became fewer and more confusing and contradictory, censorship impeding the transmission of accurate news about the revolution in Portugal. However, the private telegram sent from Paris on February 8<sup>th</sup> reported that “the current revolution exceeds everything in the past”; that “revolutionists have won adherents throughout Portugal”, so the government had to proclaim the state of siege throughout the country, forbidding traffic on the streets from 10 in the evening to 6 in the morning. Retrieving news from Lisbon published by *Intransigent* newspaper, the telegram mentioned that Deputy Morai, a former general governor, “has addressed the government an ultimatum requiring a withdrawal within 24 hours” and that the prime minister would have fled from Lisbon. Other news arrived from Madrid, sent from Berlin to Bucharest by the Rador agency, referred to the government’s repressive measures: the suspension of *Il Mundo* newspaper because it tried to publish an article that had not previously been subject to censorship, 150 journalists arrested on the grounds that “they were either openly or secretly on the rebels side”<sup>10</sup>. The telegram from Berlin mentioned that “according to some versions”, Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stollen, was caught by the revolutionists and held captive together with the Minister of the Interior. It was announced that the revolutionary movement would extend throughout Portugal, the news coming from “different sides”.

*Realitatea* newspaper in Cluj, commenting with some delay on the events, noted that the rebels in Lisbon took advantage of the fact that the army had been sent to Porto to suppress the revolt announced there. Retrieving information from the Paris edition of *Chicago Tribune*, the Romanian readers were informed that the entire population of the capital had gone on the side of the revolutionists, being determined to resist the government’s attempts to regain power; that the government had not been intimidated deciding to take the most drastic measures to restore peace, but encountered difficulties by the

<sup>8</sup> Idem, 1926, no. 7253, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Idem, 1926, no. 7254, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

declaration of the general rail strike in South Portugal, which was why it could not transport troops. The newspaper reported also the news that appeared in the French press, which emphasized that “the restoration of order is easily possible because the revolts require nothing more than the restoration of the constitutional regime”, this being the main claim of the ultimatum “forwarded to the dictator Carmona”<sup>11</sup>.

In another telegram arrived from Paris, published in *Dimineața* newspaper of February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1927, was stated that due the tight censorship and the interruption of the telegraphic connection with Lisbon, fewer news are coming from Portugal on the “civil war that broke out there”. Romanian readers were explained that “the revolutionary movement was organized by the former head of the Democratic Party, Morai, who won on his side from the beginning the Porto garrison against whom the government sent troops under the personal command of the Minister of the Interior. Although the city was bombed, the revolutionists could resist and were able to communicate with the neighboring cities that joined the revolution, spreading this propaganda to Lisbon”, where “most of the garrison and the entire Republican Guard passed on to the revolutionists side, and the workers declared a general strike in favor of the revolution.” As both camps said that “they master the situation”, the telegram stated that “it is not yet known what the end of the revolution will be”.

A news that came from Lisbon on the night between February 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>, sent to Bucharest on the following day and published in *Dimineața* newspaper of February 11<sup>th</sup>, announced that “the revolutionists still occupy Porto city”, but subsequent news backed up the contrary, that government troops led by the War Minister would have occupied the city. It was reminded that bombing Porto city by the artillery and aviation led to serious damage and many victims, that the rail strike had spread throughout the country and the state of siege had been declared everywhere<sup>12</sup>. Another telegram sent from Berlin, retrieving news from Madrid and published in the same newspaper edition, announced that “Portuguese revolutionists installed a new government, declaring illegal the former cabinet”, which “so far reigns over Lisbon, where it declared a tighter state of siege. Traffic on the Capital streets is forbidden, stores are closed”. Finally, another telegram sent from Paris by Rador Agency announced that the President of the Republic of Portugal was arrested by the revolutionists. The news appeared in London newspapers following a telegram in Madrid but unconfirmed.

*Dimineața* newspaper on February 11<sup>th</sup> records also the reactions of Great Britain and USA towards the events in Portugal. We find out that the former was watching closely the revolutionary movement and to “protect the lives and interests of his subjects”, a British cruiser left Gibraltar for Lisbon and two destroyers left for Porto. As regards to USA, Washington’s official news was published that the American Legation in Lisbon “was forced to leave the city because of the bombing” and that the report of the USA Ambassador to Portugal made to his government “qualified the situation in Portugal as very serious”. Primo de Rivera, who was of the same opinion, in a statement made to media representatives, added that “all northern Portugal is on the side of the revolution”. The news appeared in *Dimineața* newspaper of February 12<sup>th</sup>, along with another one on the continuation of the battles (page 1), but also the “suppression of the Lisbon Revolution” and “restoration of peace in Porto” (page 9), transmitted from London, Madrid and Paris. By wireless telegraphy of a foreign ship from the port of Lisbon, the *Daily Mail* correspondent in Portugal communicated the following details about the battles that took place: “The revolutionists made trenches and barricades behind which they placed machine guns. The city has been bombed by government troops and many civilians have fallen on the streets. Porto’s main street is completely ruined. *Vangoi* gunboat passed on to the revolutionists side and bombed the artillery positions of the governmental troops”, as well as the *Benia de Jaro* warfare. Other news from London announced that “the revolutionists have set up a provisional government in Lisbon” and made a proclamation stating they would “form a new republican

<sup>11</sup> *Realitatea* (Cluj), 1927, no. 2, p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> *Dimineața*, 1927, no. 7246, p. 9.

government". In the battles that took place, where "a few infantry regiments, navy troops and republican guard fought" and which "lasted 40 hours without interruptions", 200 soldiers fell<sup>13</sup>.

The news sent from Paris by Rador Agency on the suppression of Lisbon revolt and on restoration of peace in the country, came from an official statement of the Portuguese government announcing that "In Lisbon, revolution started Monday afternoon (February 7<sup>th</sup>, n.n.). Revolutionists being part of the navy, republican guard and police, barricaded in various parts of the city. The government immediately took the necessary measures, using cannons and machine guns. With the help of the faithful garrison, it managed to disarm revolted cruisers, thus preventing the bombing of the city. Revolutionists managed to occupy the Arsenal of the Army and telegraph stations, thus making impossible any communication. The Arsenal surrendered last night (February 9<sup>th</sup>, n.n.) at 20:30, after an attack that lasted for 44 hours and after a ceaseless artillery bombing. Throughout the country, absolute peace reigns". Restoration of peace in Porto starting with February 8<sup>th</sup> in the morning is confirmed by the news sent to Reuter Agency by English destroyer *Windsor*. The same agency confirmed the news that the government forces have occupied the Arsenal of the Army of Lisbon, which suffered great damage by destroying the markets of "Rio de Janeiro" and "Brasilia", located in two very modern neighborhoods of the capital of Portugal<sup>14</sup>, received by wireless telegraphy from *Camus* cruiser.

Direct news from Lisbon, published in the February 13 edition of *Dimineața* newspaper, confirmed the defeat of the revolutionary movement, the surrender of insurgents and the pacification of the whole country. "The Revolutionary Committee – it was said – was arrested last night at 12 o'clock. Since this morning peace has reigned in Lisbon. The post and the telegraph have begun to work and commercial activity to resume its course. From the dates so far it appears that in Lisbon and Porto there were 250 deaths and 850 injuries. In Porto, former Prime Minister Santos was assassinated. Heads of insurgents in Porto, Morais and Cortes committed suicide." The news also contained a press release from the Portuguese legation in Paris, mentioning: "The revolution was defeated. The army once again proved its power. Rebels were forced to surrender. The insurgents barricaded in the Arsenal were made prisoners". Further, it was announced that *Anulo*<sup>15</sup> cruiser, who revolted, was forced to surrender after the artillery fire open against it, and the crew fled aboard a German merchant vessel. Officially, it was announced that peace was restored throughout the country. The fact was confirmed by the telegram sent by Rador Agency on February 11<sup>th</sup> from Lisbon, which said: "Since yesterday, peace has been restored in the capital. Street traffic has been resumed. Firefighters and all ambulance services in the capital worked yesterday all day long to remove the bodies from under the ruins. Communications with foreigners are very difficult because bombing has caused serious damage to cables"<sup>16</sup>.

A private telegram sent from Madrid, published in the same edition of *Dimineața* newspaper, gives us details about the repressive measures and the balance of the battles: "The rebel officers and soldiers made prisoners in Porto were taken to a warship for Lisbon to be tried by a war council. Leaders of the revolt, General Diaz and Colonel Ferreira, are still in Porto. Most of the officers who took part in the rebellion were dressed as civilians in order to save themselves. Many of them crossed the Spanish border". From Lisbon – the telegram mentioned – "it is announced that the former Minister of Foreign Affairs was released. During the battles, insurgency commander Mendes Reis was killed. In Lisbon, 300 people have died. The damage is serious; many public and private buildings have suffered great damage. The police are searching the homes of those suspected of having participated in the revolt and are operating numerous arrests".

<sup>13</sup> Idem, 1927, no. 7247, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

<sup>15</sup> We believe it is a matter of confusion, because the press release given a few days later by the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, through the legation of Paris, attributes the same facts to the *Carvalho Aranje* cruiser

<sup>16</sup> *Dimineața*, 1927, no. 7248, p. 11.

Rador Agency Correspondent in Lisbon confirmed in his telegram of February 11<sup>th</sup>, the information about the assassination of the Minister of War, Commander Amerigo Olavo, the release of Minister of Foreign Affairs, the assassination of Commander Mendes Reis which led the revolution in Lisbon, the arrest of revolt leaders in Porto, Generals Senso Diaz and Ferreira Vigo, with 50 other officers, all of them sent to Lisbon on a warship for trial. Regarding the damages, he estimated the number of deaths at 196, besides the destruction of goods and buildings.

*Dimineața* newspaper of February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1927 published new information on the defeat of the revolution, arrest of movement leaders, other repressive measures of the government. The news came from a telegram in Lisbon and from an official statement of the Portuguese Legation in Paris. We are informed that the state of siege remained throughout Portugal and the government decided to take serious measures against the authors of the revolutionary movement; that except Commander Joab Mancel Carvalho who fled on an engine boat, all rebel heads were arrested. The capital took back its regular looks, traffic was resumed, the banks opened their doors and trains run normally.

Minister of Foreign Affairs was the one making the statement of the Portuguese legation in Paris, announcing that the revolution was defeated for good both in Porto and Lisbon, where after great damage, most revolutionists surrendered without any claims. Those sheltered in the trenches and the Army's Arsenal fled to the Tajo River, and the crew of *Carvalho Aranje* cruiser fled on a German ship after the warfare fire was silenced by the coastal batteries in the hands of troops remaining faithful to the government. In Porto, the latest revolutionists surrendered unconditionally on February 9<sup>th</sup>. Because of the support the revolutionists found in the rail strike, the government ordered the occupation of the administrative offices of socialist trade unions and closed them indefinitely. Border guard posts and customs officials have been ordered to prevent the revolutionists fleeing to Spain by all means. From London, Rador agency telegraphed that the Portuguese government "decided to suppress all secret associations and dissolve political offices", following to forbid also the right to strike.

*Tribuna* newspaper in Oradea also summarizes the events carried out with amazing rapidity and unexpected twists and turns, under the heading "The Revolution in Portugal", in its February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1927 edition. "In Portugal – mentioned the article – the Latin country on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, a new revolution broke out these days, which seems more terrible than before. The revolution was planned by the opposition Deputy Morai, the head of the Democratic Party, who won on his side the garrison of Porto and Duera, then other adherents all over the country, and a real civil war broke out. Sailors on the revolutionists' side have bombed the ports and the capital of Lisbon. Batteries responded and the war became terrible. Many rows of houses have been destroyed and many dead and wounded people on both sides have fallen. The telegrams stated that the revolution is almost overcoming, that the government has fled. The latest telegram however announced that the revolution was defeated and the revolution heads arrested"<sup>17</sup>.

Considering "all the news from private sources", Rador Agency Correspondent in Paris appreciated that "this repressed revolution has been the most dangerous and bloody one in Portugal since the abolition of its monarchy". General Oscar Carmona considered the movement as "Moscow's plot in Lisbon". In an interview for the *Daily Mail* newspaper, retrieved by *Realitatea* newspaper in Cluj, the prime minister of Portugal made the following statements regarding the difficulties of the peacekeeping operation: "The country's illness is rooted in the administrative disorganization and indiscipline stemming from the mismanagement of various political parties for 16 years, and especially from Democrats who have thought more about their interests than the interest of the country. Because of this state of affairs, the atmosphere has become more suited for elements of foreign propaganda among the working class, especially from Moscow and other communist centers... By suppressing the personal gains they have enjoyed

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

for so many years, it was natural for political parties to always conspire and by any means to end the dictatorship<sup>18</sup> and be back to power”. Further, it appeared that in the face of the revolt against legal ruling, the government was forced to resort to measures. Due to the fact that the army and the navy remained faithful to the government, the conspirators were forced to rely more on the elements of unhappiness of the citizens that would trigger the revolt. In Lisbon, this element has come to the forefront of the troops and sailors who took part in the rebellion. But when the military leaders of the revolution surrendered, they urged the government to immediately disarm their civilian comrades to prevent other barbarian acts. In relation to the measures to be taken by the government, General Carmona stated that the decrees to be enacted, namely “the abolition of all military societies that have taken part in the revolt, as well as all political clubs or secret associations, with the annulment of the right to strike”, will contribute much to the pacification of the country. At the end of the statement, the Prime Minister mentioned that his government would remain in power “only until the improvement of the social and administrative status, when the dictatorial power will be entrusted to more competent hands that will continue the country’s development”<sup>19</sup>. The newspaper of Cluj attached to the interview a group of images representing General Carmona, a house full of bullets, government troops operating on the streets of Lisbon, revolutionary delegates blindfolded taken to the headquarters of the government troops with peace proposals, and the news that the revolutionary leaders will be taken and admitted to the islands of the Portuguese colonies.

We may say that Portugal owes its stability from the following years<sup>20</sup> to the “political genius of General Carmona” because he brought Salazar to the head of the Ministry of Finance and made him a dictator, but the military dictatorship was not well seen outside the country. Announcing the election of General Carmona as President of the Republic, on March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1928, Rador agency correspondent in Paris stated in the telegram sent to Bucharest that the election was made “without counter-candidate”<sup>21</sup>.

The opposition of the old political parties and of certain military elements did not renounce so easily. In July 1928, broke out a new revolutionary attempt at Lisbon led by a group of soldiers not accepting the new orientation of the movement of May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1926. Commenting on the event, *Realitatea* newspaper of July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1928, mentioned: “With all the heat, the Portuguese have found the energy needed to try a new revolution. But Portugal has become accustomed to the revolution; this is the 27<sup>th</sup> one in 2 years and the world is no longer excited. The army killed a few rebels and injured a few dozen, and the revolution was defeated”<sup>22</sup>. In turn, the *Tribuna* newspaper in Oradea spoke of the “Portuguese custom”, according to which “if the opposition is not happy with the regime, it organizes a revolution, and if it wins overthrows the government and takes over the country’s leadership, if it does not win it crowds the jail”<sup>23</sup>.

As far as possible regarding information sources, Romanian press continued to record the events that took place in Portugal. In its edition of January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1930, *Viitorul* newspaper announced that President Carmona instructed Suza Pais to form the new government. On January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1930, the same newspaper informed that “the new Portuguese government was formed under the presidency of General Domingo Oliveira which, like the precedent, has a military character”<sup>24</sup>. In its edition of April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1931,

<sup>18</sup> Instated after the military movement in 1926, seen as having the role of establishing order, the dictatorship being applied “in a broad spirit and without resorting to violent retaliation or persecution”.

<sup>19</sup> *Realitatea*, 1927, no. 4, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> From 1911 to 1926, Portugal had 8 Heads of State and 43 Governments. Compared with a serious ministerial instability and a serious political crisis, from 1926 to 1942, Portugal had only one head of state – President Carmona – and only 5 Governments. Eliade 2006, p. 203.

<sup>21</sup> *Dimineața*, 1928, no. 6484, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Realitatea*, 1928, no. 28, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Tribuna*, 1927, no. 7, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Viitorul* (Bucharest), 1930, no. 6580, p. 5; no. 6584, p. 6.



*Dimineața* newspaper published under the heading “Military dictatorship in Portugal” a short telegram sent by Rador Agency in Vigo locality, where it was said that “in Funchal there were serious disorders”, the news coming from travelers arrived from Portugal. Next to it, another telegram from Funchal sent by Rador Agency correspondent, mentioned that “yesterday, April 14<sup>th</sup>, there was a pronunciamiento in the locality. Civil authorities were arrested, the public powers being handed over to General Suza Pais, the highest garrison officer”<sup>25</sup>.

Editions of April 11<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> 1931 of *Dimineața* newspaper keep the Romanian reader up to date with the events. Under the heading “Bloody battles in Madeira”, April 11<sup>th</sup> Edition published a statement of the Portuguese legation in Berling, broadcasted by Danub Agency, saying that “all ports on Madeira Island are closed for sailing” and that “any communication of the island with the outside is interrupted”. It mentioned that on the island “there were bloody battles between the revolutionists and the police” and that there are many people dead and injured<sup>26</sup>. April 15<sup>th</sup> 1931 Edition published the news sent from Paris and London by Rabor Agency correspondents arrived in Lisbon, retrieved by French newspapers or British Admiralty. From Lisbon, it was announced that “the Portuguese garrisons of Angra, Herassmo and Ponte Delgada in the Azores, joined the revolutionary movement in the Madeira Islands” and the government continues to gather troops to suppress the revolt. *Echo de Paris* newspaper reported that “the news received from Lisbon about the revolt in Madeira and the Azores is extremely confusing. It seems that the revolutionary movement in the islands expanded. The government ordered the arrest of General Mottal, former war minister and former ambassador to London. The Funchal insurgents confirmed that bloody fighting had taken place, while the Lisbon government declared peace in the islands. The Lisbon authorities have decided to take harsh measures against foreign correspondents responsible for inaccurate reporting of events”. Although the Portuguese government had announced that “Peace reigns on the entire Azores”, it proclaimed a state of siege, deciding to send troops to repress the military revolt in Punta del Gada. News sent from Lisbon on April 16<sup>th</sup> announced that the University and schools had been closed and two more warships were sent to defeat the Azores revolt. As the movement had expanded to Portugal, “the government banned any republican meeting, the army occupied the railways and the most important strategic points in the country” and “decided the provisional closing of universities” because of the agitation that reigned among the students<sup>27</sup>.

London sent the news that the British Admiralty ordered *Curlew* and *Attene* cruisers belonging to the Gibraltar Squadron to be ready to go to Lisbon or another city in Portugal to defend, if necessary, the interests of British subjects<sup>28</sup>.

More details about the revolt in Madeira Islands were reported in *Dimineața* newspaper of April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1931, publishing the stories of eyewitnesses of events, retrieved from London newspaper. According to these stories, “the revolt was organized in a very dignified manner by 300 political prisoners who had been deported to Madeira”. Disorders had started since February because the Portuguese Government granted to several politicians interested the monopoly on cereals”. To reestablish order, Lisbon government sent 300 soldiers and a military governor that deported some unhappy people in Azores. Revolutionists managed to convince the governor’s troops to join Madeira Garrison, already won by them, and on April 5<sup>th</sup> the governor was arrested and military dictatorship proclaimed. Other stories of eyewitnesses as well as the measures taken by the Portuguese government showed that “the situation is dominated by agitators” and although peace reigned at the time, there were fears of “the outbreak of serious battles, if troop landings with which the government made threats had taken place”. Due

<sup>25</sup> *Dimineața*, 1931, no. 8724, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> *Idem*, 1931, no. 8728, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> *Idem*, 1931, no. 8733, p. 13.

<sup>28</sup> *Idem*, 1931, no. 8730, p. 1.

to this situation, part of the population of Funchal had fled to the mountains, and most tourists had left Madeira<sup>29</sup>.

*Gazeta de Vest* newspaper of April 22, 1931 reported the establishment of a revolutionary government in the Portuguese islands, publishing a telegram sent from Paris by the Rador agency containing a statement of Commander Sebastian da Costa, who at that time was in the capital of France as the representative of the government proclaimed by revolutionists in the Azores and Madeira abroad. The statement said that “the population has decided not to listen to the anti-constitutional orders of the Lisbon government”; that “the revolted territories constituted a government led by Sousa Dias”, a decision published in the Official Journal of Funchal and communicated to foreign consuls in Madeira<sup>30</sup>.

Under the heading “The fight against Carmona’s Dictatorship”, *Dimineața* newspaper on its edition of April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1931 published next to the photograph of the President of Portugal, an article retrieved from the Viennese newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*. Pointing out that in Portugal “a revolt movement is about to outbreak”, the 22<sup>nd</sup> one since the abolition of kingdom in 1910, against the dictatorship of General Fragozo Carmona, the article reported in summary its political evolution. It was shown that “in 1926 he took a decisive part in the revolt that led to the abdication of President Machado and to the military dictatorship of Marshal Gomes da Costa, then became Minister of Foreign Affairs”, and later, feeling that he was in danger, “overturned his leader, proclaimed himself prime minister and war minister, and soon afterwards president of the republic. On March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1928, he allowed to be elected president, being, of course, the only candidate”. It was mentioned that “rioting had repeatedly taken place against his dictatorship”, which “Carmona had suppressed in a bloody manner” and “in August 1927, several officers entered the Council of Ministers and on this occasion a lieutenant shot the general with a revolver bullet; but he was not hurt.”

Carmona Regime – reported the article – “generally was gentle, but he restricted individual freedoms and maintain a rigorous censorship of the press”. About the new movement, they said that “apparently” it would be about “a collaboration between Carmona’s adversary officers and Republican politicians who would like to put an end to the dictatorship”; that the revolt “started in Madeira, spread in the Azores and was getting closer to the mother country”; its organization and leadership “would have started in Paris, namely from a league of exiled Portuguese political people led by the former president of the republic, Bernardino Machado”<sup>31</sup>.

The article in the Viennese newspaper reported also the successes of the Carmona regime “on financial and political-currency level”, but Romanian reader did not know they were due to António de Oliveira Salazar, Finance Minister with dictatorial powers in the sector. *Universul* newspaper on its edition of June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1932, announced the resignation of the Portuguese government. On July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1932 the same newspaper informed Romanian readers about the death of the former King Manuel II, and on July 7<sup>th</sup> it published the telegram sent from Lisbon by Rador Agency, which read as follows: “The Salazar Government is definitively formed. The prime minister took also the Finance Ministry. Mr. Pinto Reis was named Minister of Interior and Mr. Mendes Minister of Foreign Affairs”<sup>32</sup>.

Shortly after his appointment as head of the Council of Ministers, Salazar announced the return of Portugal to a parliamentary regime. The news was made known to the Romanians by *Universul* newspaper on November 26<sup>th</sup>, 1932, that published the telegram sent from Lisbon by Rador agency, stating: “The President of the Portuguese Council declared that the government intends to amend the Constitution because it wants Portugal to return to a parliamentary and democratic regime. This reform, she added, can be done after the complete annihilation of the monarchist movement in Portugal”<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Idem, 1931, no. 8733, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> *Gazeta de Vest* (Oradea), 1931, no. 499, p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> *Dimineața*, 1931, no. 8733, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> *Universul* (Bucharest), 1932, no. 174, p. 13; no. 184, p. 11.

<sup>33</sup> Idem, 1932, no. 326, p. 11.

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