



DOSSIÊ: ARTE E REVOLUÇÃO: DE QUE COR SÃO OS CRAVOS VERMELHOS DE ABRIL?

Bringing the 1974 April Revolution to the Fore: Autobiographical Newspaper Columns Half a Century Later

Trazer para a frente a Revolução de Abril de 1974: Crônicas autobiográficas meio século depois

Llevar adelante la Revolución de abril de 1974: Crónicas autobiográficas medio siglo después

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Abstract: This article examines a corpus of autobiographical newspaper columns written by authors born after 1970, published in periodicals in 2024 on the fiftieth anniversary of the April Revolution, to analyze the current memory of the Revolution. Newspaper columns, through their brevity and interpretative stance, foreground everyday life while negotiating the tension between individual and collective memory of the Revolution. Most authors position themselves as heirs to the events of April 1974, mobilising autobiographical and collective memory frameworks to interpret current crises. This legacy was shaped by the memory policies of subsequent decades, which sought to cement the agreed consensus of a liberal democracy and erase the tense energy of the revolutionary period. A few columns examine the impact and effectiveness of memory transmission, a process that can be better understood in light of the concept of post-memory.

Keywords: Carnation Revolution; newspaper column; collective memory; autobiographical memory; postmemory.

Resumo: Este artigo examina um *corpus* de crônicas jornalísticas autobiográficas, escritas por autores nascidos após 1970 e publicadas na imprensa periódica em 2024, o ano do cinquentenário da Revolução de Abril, com o objetivo de analisar a memória atual da Revolução Portuguesa. As crônicas, pela sua brevidade e caráter interpretativo, destacam o cotidiano enquanto negociam a tensão entre a memória individual e coletiva daquele momento histórico. A maioria dos autores se posiciona como herdeira da Revolução, mobilizando quadros de memória autobiográfica e coletiva para interpretar as crises contemporâneas. Esse legado foi moldado pelas políticas de memória das décadas subsequentes que procuraram fixar o consenso pactuado de uma democracia liberal e apagar a energia tensa do período revolucionário. Poucas crônicas examinam o impacto e a eficácia da transmissão da memória, processo que pode ser mais bem compreendido à luz do conceito de pós-memória.

Palavras-chave: Revolução dos Cravos; crônica; memória coletiva; memória autobiográfica; pós-memória.

Resumen: Este artículo examina un corpus de columnas periodísticas autobiográficas escritas por autores nacidos después de 1970, publicadas en la prensa periódica en 2024, año del cincuentenario de la Revolución de abril, con el objetivo de analizar la memoria actual de la Revolución. Las columnas, por su brevedad y carácter interpretativo, destacan la vida cotidiana mientras negocian la tensión entre la memoria individual y colectiva de la Revolución Portuguesa. La mayoría de los autores se posiciona como heredera de los acontecimientos de abril de 1974, movilizandolos marcos de memoria autobiográfica y colectiva para interpretar las crisis contemporáneas. Este legado fue moldeado por las políticas de memoria de las décadas posteriores, que buscaban consolidar el consenso



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pactado de una democracia liberal y borrar la tensa energía del período revolucionario. Pocas crónicas examinan el impacto y la eficacia de la transmisión de la memoria, un proceso que puede entenderse mejor a la luz del concepto de posmemoria.

Palabras clave: Revolución de los claveles; crónica; memoria colectiva; memoria autobiográfica; posmemoria.

1 Introduction

This article examines literary opinion columns written by authors born after 1970, published in the Portuguese press to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the April Revolution, which marked the end of a forty-eight-year right-wing dictatorship (1926-1974) and thirteen years of colonial war (1961-1974). This research aims to identify the construction of individual and collective memory manifested in these texts, in which the columnists establish a relationship with themselves, others, and the memory of the past. The study is grounded in literary studies and builds on the concepts of collective memory, autobiographical memory, and post-memory, proceeding from three core assumptions. The first is that national anniversaries and celebrations serve as instruments for fostering social connection and a sense of collective belonging, even if illusory and provisional (Candau, 2005, p. 9)⁴. The second is that opinion columns are a privileged medium to access the diverse representations of a collective memory, as authors often engage in 'an almost anthropological attempt to organize a time [...] a period, a context [...] but also to organize [themselves] in time' (Roque, 2016, p. 34), thereby bringing the past into critical reflection within the present of the opinion piece. The third assumption holds that although memory is significant individually, it becomes even more critical collectively, as firsthand witnesses of the dictatorship disappear. With over half of the Portuguese population born after 25 April 1974 (Barreto, 2023), their memory of the regime will likely shift toward abstract interpretations of the revolutionary process.

Portuguese democracy emerged from a revolutionary rupture (Rosas, 2015) initially triggered

by a military coup led by mid-ranking officers in the Armed Forces (primarily captains), which evolved into a broad popular participation sustained by the belief that this was (as it proved to be) an opportunity to transform the country for the better. Due to the Colonial War and the country's socio-economic transformations since the 1960s (e.g. increased urbanization, emigration), the 25 April 1974 was a socialist revolution that culminated in the 1976 Constitution (Loff; Ferreira, 2020). It established civil liberties and rights, nationalizations and challenged the property regime via the Land Reform. Although unevenly and at varying paces, the Revolution overthrew conservative cultural and moral norms, fostering an anti-fascist mass political culture manifested in its annual celebrations. This culture is mainly responsible for delaying the rise of the far right in Portugal compared to the rest of Europe, at a time of deep crisis in the neoliberal capitalist system and unrestrained media partiality. While the traditionalist right wing downplays the harms of the dictatorship (Loff, 2019), it asserts itself in other areas, namely, in the treatment of immigrants, in opposition to gender politics, and in trivializing state security mechanisms.

Support for *Chega* (a far-right political party that accuses the democratic regime of systemic corruption while implicitly exonerating the authoritarian past) does not confront the long-standing entanglement between political power and private business interests. Instead, it aims to appropriate the left wing's discourse of contestation without challenging the foundations of the capitalist economic order, while integrating (and undermining) the democratic political system. In doing so, it mobilizes disillusioned sectors of the population frustrated by democracy's failure to fulfil its promises. Simultaneously, *Chega* reflects a broader trend in Portugal: a consensus that paves the way for a new authoritarian and neoliberal order, whether actively constructed or passively accepted. This trend is underpinned by structural racism and the persistent myth of a

⁴ The authors of this paper translated the texts into English.

'gentler' Portuguese colonialism, rooted in narratives of miscegenation, which serves to obscure the colonial violence and war (Rosas, 2024).

Following the Revolution, the foundations of a progressive constitution were combined with the political reconfiguration initiated by the events of 25 November 1975, which halted the revolutionary process and consolidated a representative democracy. It also accelerated a system of alternating governments between the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party (PSD), with or without coalition support from the conservative Popular Party (CDS). This dynamic was interrupted from 2015 to 2019, when left-wing parties supported a minority Socialist government, in a political arrangement popularly known as the *Gerigonça*.

This political rotation facilitated the consolidation of oligarchic liberalism and the erosion of national economic and foreign policy sovereignty. Joining the European project brought cohesion funds to the country, but increased external dependence and reduced productive capacity. The growth of the Portuguese economy is therefore based on low-value-added, labour-intensive, and low-wage sectors, such as tourism and real estate, which encourages immigration as a source of cheap labour (Mamede, 2025). Thus, after intense emigration during the Salazar dictatorship (more than one and a half million; see Pereira, 2014), Portugal in the 21st century is experiencing a new wave of emigration, with almost half of the emigrants being highly qualified youth (Pires *et al.*, 2022), which exacerbates the ongoing trend of an ageing population. In 2024, Portugal elected a centre-right government, and the far-right *Chega* became the third political force. In the 2025 legislative elections, *Chega* reached second place in a parliament that could consider a constitutional revision.

After this introduction, which briefly contextualizes the last fifty years in Portugal, this paper has four main sections: the literature review on the concept of literary opinion column, the conceptual framework of memory studies, the methodology, and the analyses and discussion of the *corpus*. The final section details the study's findings and

suggestions for future research.

2 The Literary Opinion Column: Intersecting current affairs and literary narration

Literary opinion columns are a hybrid textual genre – a 'floating territory' (Portella, 1959, p. 71) – situated at the intersection of journalistic discourse and literary production, strongly marked by a subjective outlook about everyday situations to provide an act of recreational and critical reading.

The Portuguese term for literary opinion column is *crónica*, which stems from the Greek *chronos*, meaning time. Its genesis derives from the chronological narration of facts and the notions of temporality and historiography (Andrade, 1978). In Portugal, the genealogy of the *crónica* traces back to the medieval and classical periods when the ruling classes commissioned these texts to preserve their memory (Krus, 1993).

From the mid-19th century, following the development of modern historiography, which opened the way to the journalistic account (Grafton, 2012), the opinion journalism genre gained momentum (Melo, 1987). In Portugal, despite 'illiteracy rates of over 75% (or even 80%)' (Mattoso; Monteiro, 2011, p. 339), the number of newspapers notably increased from around 200 newspapers in 1880 to 543 in 1910 (Ramos; Mattoso, 2001), as well as the number of columnists from political and literary spheres. At the time, the newspaper opinion pieces were referred to as *crónica-folhetim*. This expression can be translated into English as 'serialized chronicle' as they took the form of literary texts published in sequential instalments. In the press, writers often authored these texts, critically reflecting on everyday events, expressing their thoughts, values, and worldviews with a progressive aesthetic autonomy (Rodrigues, 1998, p. 76).

The fact that many opinion columns began to be authored by writers was decisive in boosting the aesthetic quality of these texts, which blended an intimate and public register and presented the reader with reflections on cultural, social and existential issues (often about a personal or

unusual everyday life episode) in an accessible prose suitable for the average reader. Hence, the opinion column gradually evolved into a 'poetic account of reality' (Pereira, 2004): a concise text with a permeable structure that allows the author significant thematic and formal freedom. In them, the writer emphasizes not only the 'what' and the 'why', but the 'how' and the 'what for', becoming '[...] not the camera that reproduces a landscape, [but] the painter who interprets nature through a distinctive subjective lens' (Vivaldi, 1973, p. 132-138, p. 123).

Thus, the literary opinion column is an intermediate textual territory (neither limited to the precepts of journalism nor literature) in which the author explores the aesthetic dimension of language, despite being anchored in empirical reality. As a result, the literary opinion column incorporates narrative, descriptive and reflective resources that not only increase the breadth of interpretation of these texts but also (sometimes) challenge reality and enter the realm of fiction (Letria; Goulão, 1982). These features do not dissociate the literary opinion columns from everyday life. On the contrary, their primary purpose is to reflect on the meaning of a given reality, and, in this respect, the author's subjectivity is not only perceived but valued, acting as a structuring element in the relationship between the text and the reader. For this reason, authors of literary opinion columns often write in the first-person singular, which not only constitutes a writer's autobiographical moment (or the illusion of it) but also brings columnists and readers closer.

Often associated with everyday themes, the literary opinion column can be ephemeral, losing its topicality. However, these texts do not lose their geographical context, as they always relate to a particular setting, and the reader can revisit them to access and assess that context. They act as gateways to the author's individual memory and function as vessels for the articulation of collective memory. Even in the current crisis of the printed press, which is part of a broader crisis of mediation institutions, the literary column persists and remains a writing laboratory for many writers.

3 Memory(ies)

Memory studies bridge the social sciences and humanities, employing a multidisciplinary approach to gain a deeper understanding of memory. Memory's prominence in modernity stems from two main factors: the secularization of society, which elevated the idea of the nation as a form of civil religion, and the decline of experiential transmission in traditional communities. However, its significance deepened in the contemporary West after the traumatic legacies of the Holocaust and European decolonization.

History and memory now reinforce each other rather than oppose. Memory revisits history to expose rigid global narratives and blind spots, while history's critical methods prevent memory's distortions by transforming it into a historical object (Traverso, 2012). Their interaction is vital because 'the stronger memory is — in both its public and institutional recognition — the more likely it is that the past it represents will be explored and historicized' (Traverso, 2012, p. 84).

Literary studies view texts as historically situated products that shape social structures and preserve individual and collective memory, encompassing forms such as correspondence, diaries, pamphlets, essays and literary newspaper columns. Literary texts interweave other discourses (scientific, legal, religious) while reconstructing the past through social practices and expressing it via narrative and rhetorical strategies. This makes memory writing of memory a central focus of literary studies.

Memory studies rely on extensive, multidisciplinary scholarship that has developed specific terminology and unravelled the diverse nature of memory. Memory can be individual or collective (social or public), historical, cultural, autobiographical, official or institutional, or related to family history. As this article explores the collective memory of the April Revolution through autobiographical newspaper columns, it is first necessary to examine the concepts of collective and individual memory in the Portuguese context.

Collective memory is the social representation of past events shared by members of a group.

However, the selection and reinterpretation of these events depend on the influences and cultural, political and ethical experiences of the present by the community, which comprises individuals from different social contexts and generations. Individuals can contextualize their recollections of past events within collective memory (Halbwachs, 1980). In this view, collective memory is 'a form of metamemory,' a representation, 'a statement produced by a group member regarding a memory that is allegedly shared by the other members of the group' (Candau, 2011, p. 11). As it depends on how each person voices or silences a common past as a group member, collective memory is malleable and plural, shaping a version of the past that is neither anachronistic nor unequivocal. For collective memory to function as an agent of social cohesion, different memories, whether personally experienced by group members or not, must be carefully selected to create a shared heritage capable of shaping identities.

The primary function of collective memory is to outline social identities as it 'inscribes itself in the historical continuum and thus makes sense, i.e. it has content and direction' (Traverso, 2012, p. 14). Individuals produce discourses and memories by foregrounding social identities and structures, such as social class, religion, and generation. Still, they are also the guardians of the meanings inscribed in history and culture (Lahire, 2013). The interdependency between historical and collective memory is crucial to understanding the politics of memory, as historical memory can validate, transform, or challenge the affective and symbolic content of collective memory. The porous nature of collective memory enables it to absorb marginalized or forgotten discourses by official history. In this regard, Traverso (2012) distinguishes between 'weak' and 'strong' memories: as they are recovered as part of a collective heritage, the former become the subject of historical memory and are thus legitimized as 'strong memories.' This interaction is crucial to analyzing the politics of memory, as it is heavily shaped by political forces that 'seek to celebrate achievements and build monuments to consecrate the foundations

of their respective regimes' (Bethencourt, 2021). Official memory is influenced by the politics of memory and tends to obscure conflicts within communities regarding the past and present of nation-making processes (Bethencourt, 2021). Collective memory can therefore sustain power relationships when events or protagonists of national history are used to redefine the political agenda in public spaces. It highlights different aspects at various times, aligning with the historical evolution of power relationships in society. This involves making choices about which symbolic and material aspects of the past are selected to establish a dialogue with the present: 'Under the more or less nostalgic evocation of the past, the retrieval of memory, and especially its public use, always impacts our understanding of the present, as well as our future projects' (Rosas, 2024, p. 14).

Autobiographical memory, in turn, lies at the intersection of individual and collective memory and is crucial to constructing personal identity. Its function is not limited to remembering past events; instead, it articulates their meaning within the Self, whose continuity is guaranteed through reconstructing experience within a narrative. In this sense, autobiographical memory differs from individual memory, which is intended as a repository of knowledge and remembrances, due to its selectivity, subjectivity, and identity-based orientation. As Malle *et al.* (2018) highlight, autobiographical memory relies on personal experiences, activating the impression of revival and phenomenological sensations as the experience is recalled. At the same time, autobiographical memory is influenced by collective representations that provide a framework for the act of remembering itself. Remembrance never occurs in isolation: 'It is the individual, as a group member, who remembers' (Halbwachs, 1980, p. 46). This means that even the most intimate memories originate in a social, domestic, and cultural context that shapes and conditions the content of memory. Family memories play a crucial role in this interplay between different forms of memory as they function as an affective and symbolic matrix for shared memory, acting as

a site of transition between different levels. As a privileged environment for intergenerational transfer, families often provide a space in which shared memory becomes a site for the interplay of the private and collective spheres. Intergenerational transmission is essential for constructing a collective memory that fosters a sense of belonging or exclusion.

As it mobilizes pre-existing knowledge from different systems (episodic, semantic and affective) and takes shape through social interactions, autobiographical memory mediates between experience and sharing. The interdependency between individual, autobiographical shared, cultural, collective and historical memory requires a dynamic, relational approach that can focus on how individuals remember within social frameworks and through daily communication practices that confirm or reshape meaning as part of a legacy. The verbal articulation of personal experience is therefore influenced by dominant collective memories, particularly when it differs from socially recognized or validated versions. As these levels interlace, autobiographical memory proves to be a particularly fertile field for literary studies, especially in the case of literary newspaper columns. In this genre, the writer conveys not only their own past, but also the collective imagination in which it is embedded. For this reason, investigating the ways in which the collective memory of the April Revolution is conveyed and inscribed in autobiographical columns is particularly relevant.

As Assmann and Czaplicka (1995) remind us, knowledge inscribed in cultural memory clearly distinguishes between those who belong and those who do not, not out of epistemological curiosity, but out of necessity to reinforce identity. Shared identity relies on the selective appropriation of the past, shaped by contextual factors including time, the usefulness of memory for the individual, and the symbolic value of the narrated experience. In this sense, the evolution of social forms of remembrance is neither homogeneous nor unidirectional. Hirst *et al.* (2018) propose two complementary approaches to understanding

this interaction: a 'top-down' approach, which considers institutional devices for preserving and/or obliterating collective memory, and a 'bottom-up' approach, which focuses on how memories circulate among individuals and across generations, affecting how each person situates themselves within a shared past. Contemporary autobiographical columns are situated precisely in this tension zone between the individual and the collective, between live remembrance and inherited memory. Conveying the past of the April Revolution from a distance and written by individuals who did not experience the Revolution, these texts serve as testimonies of mediated memory: inherited, filtered, and reconfigured. In these columns, memory provides a means by which the collective can be inscribed within the more intimate sphere. In them, the authors narrate not only their own experiences but also what preceded them, which provides a structure for their identity.

The notion of postmemory, which was developed to address the artistic responses of writers and visual artists to the traumatic memory of the Holocaust, is relevant in this context. Introduced by Marianne Hirsch in the 1990s within Holocaust Studies, the term has evolved into a more comprehensive concept referring to 'acts of memory by members of the second generation who did not experience events directly yet still consider themselves heirs to a shared memory with their ancestors' (Rodrigues, 2017, p. 2). The effectiveness of postmemory in structuring the inter- and intragenerational transmission of memory depends on the affective bonds between those who experienced an event, especially a traumatic one, and those who inherit it. This memory is transferred through a legacy of material objects, emotions, silences, actions, and non-verbal language. This web of traces and fragments reaches so deep that it has become real, with relevant consequences for the present of those who have inherited it. For second-generation members, the fascination with, and the absence of, what was not experienced can trigger a creative recovery of objects and cultural manifestations. In other

words, postmemory is a productive and operative notion that opens new spaces for dialogue and mutual recognition between witnesses and their successors, who are therefore temporally and spatially distant from the events in question (Hirsch, 2008).

4 Methodology

To examine the construction of individual and collective memory of the 1974 April Revolution on its fiftieth anniversary, this research analyses a corpus of thirteen literary opinion columns authored by columnists born after 1970 (second and third generations after the April Revolution).

The selection criteria for these texts are fourfold: the columnist's date of birth must be after 1970; the April 1974 Revolution must be the

subject of the literary opinion column; the texts must be published in the printed press (although all newspapers have a webpage); and the texts must be published in 2024. The identification of the writers' birthdates involved cross-referencing sources (online official biographies on library catalogues, publisher information and academic sources). Table 1 displays the corpus of the research in ascending chronological order. The first column details the columnists' names and birth dates, the second, the title of the text (with our English translation), the third, the name of the newspaper and the fourth, the link to the text (when available) or the page number. In the analysis and discussion section, we chose not to repeat the page numbers or the links as they are easily identifiable in this table.

TABLE 1 – The corpus of the research

Columnist/ date of birth	Title of the text (PT & ENG)	Newspaper	Publication date	Link to the text/page
Capicua (1982)	Uma preciosidade / A treasure	<i>Jornal de Notícias</i>	09.01.2024	https://www.jn.pt/1854798786/uma-preciosidade/
Patrícia Carvalho (1975)	Filhos da Liberdade / The children of freedom	<i>Público</i>	11.02.2024	https://www.publico.pt/2024/02/11/opiniao/cronica/filhos-liberdade-2079752
Ana Lua Caiano (1999)	Não há biombos na sala / There are no screens in this room	<i>Público</i>	03.03.2024	https://www.publico.pt/2024/03/03/p3/noticia/nao-ha-biombos-sala-2082099
Melissa Catarina Lopes (1989)	25 de Abril: a nostalgia de um bem perdido (nunca alcançado) / April 25th: Longing for a Lost Promise (never fulfilled)	<i>Público</i>	15.04.2024	https://www.publico.pt/2014/04/15/p3/cronica/25-de-abril-a-nostalgia-de-um-bem-perdido-nunca-alcancado-1819758
Cláudia Lucas Chéu (1978)	A liberdade vem de dentro / Freedom comes from within	<i>JL-Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias</i>	17-30.04.2024	page 11
Valter Hugo Mãe (1971)	Revolução todos os dias / Revolution every day	<i>JL-Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias</i>	17-30.04.2024	https://visao.pt/jornaldeletras/letras/2024-04-17-revolucao-todos-os-dias/
Frederico Pedreira (1983)	Biografia em Abril / Biography in April	<i>JL-Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias</i>	17-30.04.2024	page 12

Columnist/ date of birth	Title of the text (PT & ENG)	Newspaper	Publication date	Link to the text/page
Gonçalo M. Tavares (1970)	Sobre as ideias da Revolução /On the ideas of the Revo- lution	<i>Expresso</i>	18.04.2024	https://expresso.pt/opiniao/2024-04-18-sobre-as-ideias-de-revolucao-5965bc74
Gonçalo M. Tavares (1970)	A revolução, aos 50 anos: Não, Sim! / The revolution at 50: No, Yes!	<i>Expresso</i>	24.04.2024	https://expresso.pt/opiniao/2024-04-24-a-revolucao-aos-50-anos-nao-sim-470163bb
Ricardo Araújo Pereira (1974)	Desculpem lá isto da liberdade. Pode ser que não dure muito mais / Sorry about this whole freedom thing. It might not last much longer	<i>Expresso</i>	24.04.2024	https://expresso.pt/opiniao/2024-04-24-desculpem-la-isto-da-liberdade-pode-ser-que-nao-dure-muito-mais-d6df5fao
Daniela Sal- gueiro Maia (2003)	Mostrem-nos que não se esqueceram de Abril/Prove to us that you haven't forgotten April	<i>Público</i>	25.04.2024	https://www.publico.pt/2024/04/25/p3/cronica/mostremnos-nao-esqueceram-abril-2088264
Miguel Gue- des (1972)	Abril como nunca/ April like never before	<i>Jornal de No- tícias</i>	26.04.2024	https://www.jn.pt/6768669996/abril-co-mo-nunca/
Margarida Davim (1979)	Olhar o passado nos olhos /Look the past in the eye	<i>Visão</i>	29.11.2024	https://visao.pt/opiniao/2024-11-29-olhar-o-passado-nos-olhos-mesmo-que-doa/

Source: the authors.

Method: this research employs discourse analysis, which understands discourse as the way of perceiving and being in the world, materialized in texts, inevitably influenced by social, political, cultural, historical and situational contexts. These contexts influence linguistic choices and, in turn, the way language is used contributes to the emergence and transformation of social, cultural and historical realities (Foucault, 1972). This study adopts this integrated concept of discourse to interpret literary opinion columns written in the first person (individual discourses) published in a space that promotes a public discourse (the printed press), whose consumers are Portuguese speakers, namely those living in Portugal, as the corpus was selected from the national press outlets.

The publications: since the 1990s, Portugal and most European countries have witnessed several changes in the scope of printed media. The concentration of media ownership in a context of financialization, the insufficient regulatory and transparency bodies and the crisis of the media business, caused by the social media rising competition, have drastically reduced the ideological diversity of information in Portugal, and undermined the independence, leading to a weakening of democracy's foundations (Silva, 2024). Consequently, the media's political-ideological differences are minimal, particularly in the Portuguese generalist periodicals, which are broadly centrist in orientation, tempered by elements of right-wing (e.g., *Expresso*) or left-wing influences (e.g., *Público*). However, *JL-Jornal*

de Letras, Artes e Ideias remains a testament to a centre-left ideological stance. Although the study presented in this paper does not aim to analyze the texts according to their publication outlet, this reflection on the political and cultural positioning of the columnists is justified because the discursive construction of their texts projects ideological frameworks that reveal their memories and worldview.

The columnists: twelve authors wrote the thirteen opinion pieces analyzed in this study (the literary writer Gonçalo M. Tavares authored two texts). Because they were born in or after 1970 (seven in the 1970s, three in the 1980s, one in the 1990s, and one in the 2000s), they are members of the second and third generations to have come of age in the post-revolutionary period. Of the twelve columnists, four are literary authors, three musicians, three journalists, one comedian, and one political science student – occupations that often facilitate political engagement and social reflection. Half are regular contributors, and most were invited by the press to write these columns for the fiftieth anniversary of the Portuguese Revolution.

As stated previously, via discourse analysis, we have identified the constituent elements of the discourse that contribute to the construction of April's individual and collective memory. The results of this analysis are presented, commented on and illustrated in the following section.

5 Analysis and discussion

5.1 The cultural transmission of memory of the 25 April Revolution

The literary opinion columns hold varying reflective density on the theme of the 25 April Revolution, with the authors' historical present being apparent. Few bear an essayistic consistency and an explicit remembrance of the Revolution, although most authors claim to be heirs of those who participated or witnessed it firsthand as adults.

Several columnists foreground this legacy at the outset of their texts, with diverse degrees of

personal connection. Some invoke direct family transmission, such as Daniela Salgueiro Maia (the granddaughter of Salgueiro Maia, the most visible face of the military operation in the Revolution). Similarly, Margarida Davim reflects on her family history, recalling her grandfather was a declared Salazarist, while Frederico Pedreira refers to his parents as 'educators, observant of the red voice that imposed on them a captive place in history.' The notion of generational affiliation also emerges when the authors highlight the temporal proximity between their births and the Revolution. Patrícia Carvalho, for instance, entitles her piece 'The children of freedom' and asserts, 'I am a daughter of that first moment of freedom and democracy.' Likewise, Cláudia Lucas Chéu introduces her text with a personal temporal marker: 'I was born after 25 April 1974, in January 1978.' Younger columnists reinforce their legitimacy as heirs by narrating their experiences in the rituals of the collective memory of April. Melissa Catarina Lopes, born in 1989, begins by explaining that 'The laws that govern chance dictated that, in the last three months, I have been in close contact with the military at the 25 de Abril Association'. Despite their differences, their voice is that of the Revolution heirs and, as such, their discourses can be grouped in a collective meaning flow.

Regarding these authors' relationship with the present, they all acknowledge it as threatening times for democracy, due to the vertiginous ascent of the far-right expressed in the 10 March 2024 legislative elections and confirmed in the recent 18 May 2025 elections. In 'The children of freedom', the author bluntly states: 'Democracy came 50 years ago, and now, in countless ways, it stands at risk.' Valter Hugo Mãe also confesses that 'the shame of living this celebration with the ubiquitous fascists' inhuman noise is only compensated by the increasingly obvious evidence that we must shield the Revolution and Democracy daily.' Ironically, Ricardo Araújo Pereira refers to the current 'small number of freedom lovers' who long for the pre-1974 political order. His bitterly ironic tone deconstructs the standard argument, often made by those Salazar nostal-

gic, that confuses freedom with libertinism, and questions the actual representativeness of those claiming to uphold the value of the freedom won half a century ago: 'There are so few of us [who appreciate freedom] that sometimes it seems as if we are abusively imposing our will on others.'

These literary opinion pieces also recall that April brought rights to women and other social advancement policies that must be secured for the future. In this scope, Valter Hugo Mãe declares: 'there's no going back from Democracy, and there's no going back from imprisoning customs about one's identity'. In line with this urgency, Ana Lua Caiano, who acknowledges her 'privilege of having two voices, one that sings and another that writes', states she is indebted to the struggle of those who freed women from their subordinate and oppressed social position. Her text begins with a reference to a popular revolutionary song by Zeca Afonso, which includes the well-known line: 'Women in democracy are not screens in a room' and that the columnist chose to echo in the title of her text: 'There are no screens in this room'. Likewise, Daniela Salgueiro Maia highlights the memorial power of Zeca Afonso's songs, imperative for those fighting for democracy while remembering who participated in the revolutionary process. The fear of social oblivion permeates this combative opinion piece:

The tears of the elderly hold stories that words cannot tell, cries of bitterness and discontent. Every stanza of Zeca Afonso carries immense emotion: the pain of those who were denied the freedom to choose, speak, and be. It is for them that we must take to the streets. Their names must be remembered; the names of the exiled, the tortured, the silenced, the soldiers, and the returned colony settlers. These names must be passed down, word by word, story by story, to my generation and those that follow. Who will safeguard the future if they do not know the past? I don't think they can.

Cláudia Lucas Chéu states: 'I'm perplexed by the number of Palaeolithic creatures who want to stifle the world we've conquered.' There is bewilderment and even impotence in these words that seek to rationalize reasons for the transformation in the Portuguese political landscape: the exhaustion of liberal democracy's

representation capacity, the failure to comply with the constitutional rights and guarantees, the overlay of perceptions on the points of fact, the disinforming role of the media, and not just of social media. The columnist implies that the younger generations should build memories of their own, namely through music. As such, Cláudia Lucas Chéu closes her text with a mobilizing reference to the song 'Wake up' by Fernando Lopes-Graça (1960), which people sang clandestinely during the dictatorship, including in prisons, in the revolutionary process and recalled in the protests against Troika's policies from 2011 to 2014.

I urge that we wake up. And remember that freedom, like children, is born from within. This month, marking the 50th anniversary of 25 April, we cannot let sadness lull us to sleep. We cannot let last March [when legislative elections occurred] silence the April of today — or the Aprils yet to come. Indignation, revolt, and above all, courage. Not sadness. Not inertia. Now, more than ever, let us wake up.

In 'The revolution at 50: No, Yes!', Gonçalo M. Tavares assesses the Revolution's breakthrough milestones, of which Sérgio Godinho's song 'Freedom' is the symbol. From an abstract point of view to follow the trail of revolutionary tradition, whose matrix is the French Revolution (its pace, achievements, hitches and ends), the columnist recognizes that, despite his praise of April, the temporal distance diminishes its mobilizing force:

A revolution at 50 years old is now losing momentum. Time itself is a powerful friction, an invisible force that slows and paralyzes.

So, how do we ensure that what was set in motion half a century ago stays on its beautiful course?

We push.

We persist.

Of course, we do.

His other text, published on the eve of 25 April 2024, is more explicit about the need to reiterate the value of the 1974 rupture. However, he is aware of the danger of 'losing the memory of the great «No»' (no to whitewashing the Salazar regime and no to the rise of neo-fascism) and the challenging need to renew in the present by taking on the

transformative «Yes», that will thrill and excite'.

As mentioned, some columnists regard music as the most representative art of revolutionary heritage, while others highlight arts such as photography and cinema, and even places, as threads entwining autobiographical and collective memories. These elements form a tapestry of testimonies that some columnists view as part of their heritage and as a means of transmitting memory to future generations.

In 'A treasure', Capicua highlights a pile of old newspapers published after the Revolution, which her grandparents kept in their home. These photographs shift her memory from the personal to the collective, placing her amid the crowd on those historical days: 'The most beautiful [photograph] was published on the 2 May and it shows the *Avenida dos Aliados* filled with people; a powerful confirmation that we were finally free to occupy the streets, to celebrate democracy, and to fight for our rights.'

Frederico Pedreira, in 'Biography in April', also refers to the places where the Revolution was staged. He says that to get closer to the emotions of that day, he observes film footage: 'these days my footsteps lead me to the places of the popular captions, of the faces I didn't meet in Largo do Carmo [a critical location on 25 April 1974]'. However, he states his inability to access the context immortalized by Alfredo Cunha, the photojournalist who took the most iconic photos of the Revolution Day: 'I didn't get to know Alfredo Cunha's 25 April, but my senses recognize the 1980s atmosphere captured by Daniel Blaufuks.' In 2021, Blaufuks published a photobook (*Lisboa Cliché*) with photos of Lisbon in the late 1980s and early 1990s, unveiling the stereotypes of memory in the representation of a city imprinted on its inhabitants' affectivity rather than on the streets' objective reality. Although Frederico Pedreira acknowledges that Alfredo Cunha's photos foster memory and serve as a vessel to transcend personal interpretation and understand collective history, the reference to Blaufuks' affective and stereotypical gaze in *Lisboa Cliché* reveals the tension between individual and social memory

and explores the potential of the autobiographical column as a site of friction. Through Cunha's photographic work, Frederico Pedreira identifies the Revolution and its ideology as a composite metamemory of traces of historical events, narratives inherited from his parents, and instruments of memory politics. This inscribes the author's distance from the event's time and place, as well as the absences and silences inherent in historical narratives. As such, he refuses to utter clichés without an echo in his present, in the implicit absence of a new transformation dream of his own. Frederico Pedreira turns his text into a place of postmemory of the Revolution.

5.2 The values of April

Daniela Salgueiro Maia associates 'freedom, dignity and respect' with the Revolution. However, overall, it is the 'universal guarantee of fundamental rights' (mentioned by Valter Hugo Mãe) that drives these columnists, in a remembrance act, to address the most significant event in contemporary history that they did not live firsthand.

Unsurprisingly, Valter Hugo Mãe attributes an 'Enlightenment vocation' to the Revolution, 'with its intention of Freedom and Equality'. Although the writer's enunciation is brief and lacks a theoretical foundation, it conveys faith in the emancipatory promise of the Enlightenment, a promise now challenged by conservative, reactionary, and neo-fascist currents in national and global contexts.

At this point, it is helpful to draw upon the essay *New Radical Enlightenment* by the philosopher Marina Garcés (2023), who claims that self-criticism is the best strategy to overcome voluntary and cynical 'overinformed credulousness' (p. 57): an enlightened illiteracy that results in a will to believe whatever best serves one's purposes. Society has accepted that the Earth's catastrophe is irreversible and that life in the community is sterile (p.14). This is why Garcés describes our time as a 'posthumous condition' (p. 22); a time that weakens alternatives, unlike the boundless present of postmodernity or the optimistic globalization once promised by the West. This posthumous condi-

tion rejects the emancipatory role of knowledge, lacking both the value of a dignified life and hope for social transformation. It has replaced the 'how long?' with the Enlightenment 'how far?' (Garcés, 2023, p. 20) that drove the revolutionary tradition inherited from the French Revolution.

At this stage, we recall that since the 1930s, Enlightenment ideals of human emancipation have underpinned the resistance to the Portuguese dictatorship, continuing until after 25 April. In contrast, the last three decades have eroded this legacy, fostering a present-focused regime of historicity that diminishes collective notions of human agency and pathologizes the idea of revolution.

5.3 Consensus and politics of memory

The politics of memory are shaped by differences in understanding April's legacy. On the one hand, there is a democratic consensus on the non-impunity of the dictatorship, the symbolic values of the Revolution, and the defence of the memory of the resistance to fascism. On the other hand, the understanding of the Revolutionary Period (1974-1976) creates a rift that unites the centre-left with right-wing culture in interpreting this period as a slide towards totalitarianism on the road to socialism. This interpretation frames the growing importance of 25 November 1975 as a counter-revolution to the deviations of April and an alleged establishment of political and social order. Among the consequences of the condemning politics of the Revolution, the following arguments have been widely consolidated, with lasting effectiveness in the collective memory: the central role of political parties and figures to the detriment of popular mobilization, the public conquest of action by minority groups, the narrative that Portuguese colonialism ended with African independence and that the decolonization process was the disastrous effect of the Revolution.

Most literary opinion columns project a positive and consensual view of 25 April 1974. In doing so, they define the Revolution primarily through positive symbolic values, often silencing more

complex aspects of the revolutionary process. The majority remain within the bounds of mainstream memory and do not acknowledge that their discourse, shaped by and embedded in collective memory, is the product of a historical and ideological struggle between competing forces. Collective memory is a contested territory shaped by those in power who influence its ongoing construction and evolution. In this sense, memory constructs meanings that affect society's definition in its present and how it shifts towards the future. The politics of memory, far from being neutral, result from existing power relations and the tangible symbolic interests of those who shape them, deliberately remembering or forgetting certain acts. Thus, they are paramount in defining collective memory and legitimizing dominant power structures (Rosas, 2018).

The historiographical work of Manuel Loff and Miguel Cardina (2024) on the history of the memory of 25 April provides information to understand why the corpus examined in this paper mirrors how the Revolution, its protagonists and events have been remembered, celebrated, contested and forgotten. Therefore, the following paragraphs outline Loff and Cardina's research.

The revolutionary period, which ended in 1976 with the approval of the Constitution, emphasized anti-fascist and anti-colonial memory. It was a collective and aggregating event that impacted collective memory also in other European countries, where the Portuguese Revolution resized their catalogue of similar experiences. The 1980s were troubled by the arrival of around 600,000 people, including exiles (anti-fascists and dictatorship supporters), immigrants, the population of the former African territories, and by the impact of the war trauma that affected the military and their families. Contradictory individual memories and hopes were homogenized by the political power aimed at creating a new European territory suitable for the European Economic Community on 1 January 1986.

Coinciding with the tenure of Prime Minister Cavaco Silva (1985-1995), this period ushered

in a wave of historical revisionism⁵, framing the Revolution not as a process of progressive transformation, but as something to be neutralized. In reaction, two decades after the Revolution (in the mid-1990s), left-wing political cultures began to reassert anti-fascist memory by rejecting efforts to sanitize the dictatorship, defending the memory of resistance, and reaffirming the Revolution as a liberating moment anchored in the symbolic values of freedom, democracy, peace, and prosperity. In the 2000s, particularly around the 30th anniversary of the Revolution, a deliberate attempt emerged to move beyond uncomfortable pasts. This was manifested by the slogan *April is Evolution*, which aimed to erase the revolutionary rupture of the 1974–1976 transition by reframing it as a smooth process of reform. Finally, between 2010 and 2020, the erosion of the welfare state and labour rights, combined with new technologies of social control, especially via social media and mainstream media, gradually reshaped the Portuguese political landscape. These forces promoted a manufactured common ground that enabled new forms of political and social regression. This period witnessed a growing disenchantment with democracy, a resurgence of political and moral conservatism, the rise of the far right, and an increasingly open nostalgia for Portugal's fascist and colonial past. It also marked the return of 'more or less embarrassed manifestations of nostalgia for the fascist and colonial past and a «settling of accounts» with the Revolution' (Loff, 2024, p. 21).

In the analyzed corpus, there is no trace of 'settling of accounts', which, in contrast, is increasingly present in the public and media opinion. Instead, these columnists express unequivocal recognition of the Revolution, speaking as members of generations that benefited from it. Their memory is largely consensual and omits the more controversial dimensions. Notably, two opinion columns move in the opposite direction of the notion of disputed memory, favouring instead the

consensus that sustains the democratic regime. Daniela Salgueiro Maia, for instance, stresses the importance of transmitting memory to resist forgetfulness of those who paved the way to April, and to establish the Revolution as a shared and consensual legacy:

To all the history teachers, parents, and grandparents: teach us. Show us that April must not be forgotten. The revolution was not affiliated with a political party, but with the people's voice. Let April unite us, not divide us. It belongs to everyone. To young people: please do not take the easy path. Celebrate April with compassion, tolerance, and love. Never forget: we are all fighting for people's freedom and unity.

The second example is 'April like never before' by Miguel Guedes, who writes about the large demonstration in Porto, to mark the 50th anniversary of the Revolution. The author calls it the illustration of a 'gregarious impulse', revealing the kinship between struggle and celebration, enhanced by a common enemy 'that has taken shape'. He sees it as advantageous 'to multiply convergences and balances to make happen, in the force of the vote that brings about transformation, the force of the street'. To explain democracy's alarm at the threat of the far right, he points to 'a love-trauma-of-the-revolution from other eras that the Left must definitively overcome', in a veiled reference to revolutionary radicalism, symbolized by the guillotine. The columnist calls for a broad consensus that transcends the traditional left-right divide: 'May democracy keep the democratic Right in the celebration of April for many years to come. It would be dogmatic to believe that the Revolution is only celebrated by the Left, when the democratic Right also takes to the streets and claims its legacy of freedom.' The idea of a shared democratic platform is far from absurd, namely after the May 2025 legislative elections, when the new parliamentary configuration could open the door to constitutional revision, supported by the right and far-right. However, this effort risks erasing the memory

⁵ Historical revisionism is the 'disregard and/or manipulation of historical contexts according to ethical-political perspectives of the present that become the axis for analysing the past' (Soutelo, 2015, p. 46). In Portugal, revisionist narratives have, until recently, focused primarily on sanitising the dictatorship, portraying it as a mere conservative regime, and reducing the Revolution to a moment of chaos and irresponsibility, allegedly restored by the events of 25 November 1975.

of a significant portion of the right that has long resisted the deeper meaning of the April Revolution, reducing it, as Cavaco Silva reportedly once said, to a 'country of madmen' (Loff, 2024, p. 23).

Except for Margarida Davim, the voice of these columnists converges in the consensual memory fostered in schools. A study of the representation of the 25 April in primary and secondary school history textbooks (Marie; Réquio, 2020) confirmed the 'subalternisation of the revolutionary event' (Cruzeiro, 2011, p. 131) in favour of a hegemonic narrative of the Revolution replete with silences and absences. Frederico Pedreira also questions the consensual representation of 25 April in schoolbooks: '[...] the school manual, whose cover was lined by the joined parental hands, frames the Revolution in a strange outline and promises only celebration. For as long as I can remember, it has been time to celebrate, never to conspire, scorn, exorcise and scheme.'. The texts, comprising the corpus, also never identify a personality, fact or social movement that made the Revolution tense and transformative. Overall, they replicate the school discourse, and now, more than ever, they are under the coercive effect of the anti-democratic threat and the lack of a revolutionary horizon for the future.

Frederico Pedreira identifies April's imposed and exclusive celebratory legacy as a factor that hinders him, as an heir, from 'doing something for the revolution.'. The archival footage, 'the expectant joy of the streets, the amorphous weight of the tanks, child soldiers with rifles', and the songs of Zeca Afonso, Chico Buarque and José Mário Branco, evoke an effective memory that makes the columnist wish he 'could have been the one to leave a penknife blow on that tame tree: the April Revolution.'. His perception that the politics of memory have paralyzed the revolution's transformative and enduring potential, replacing it with a conciliatory narrative conveyed by school, excludes the columnist from belonging to a forward-looking community (Gil, 2012) and makes him feel that he grew up '[...] in a body that does not understand revolutions.'. In his text, Frederico Pedreira does not focus on the politics of mem-

ory, but on its long-term effects, which have also shaped most columnists' discourse. Rather than denouncing the hegemonic representation that silenced the revolution's tensions, the columnist laments the aridity that the celebratory tone had imposed on collective memory: 'Today, after all these years, I am wearing my heart on my sleeve, I am finally losing my shyness and I knock on the door of the 25 April textbooks: a thick and sullen voice answers, saying that it is closed for maintenance.'

The exception to this mythologized depiction is Margarida Davim's column. Her childhood memories transport the reader to the setting of family meals marked by an avowed Salazarist patriarch who expressed deep hostility toward the Revolution and its legacy:

I grew up hearing about corporativism. Every Christmas, the conversation ended with the story of my grandfather's political persecution because of the Revolution, the fears of the Land Reform, the horrors of the Revolutionary Period. I heard more about the 28 May than 25 April, a cursed date in that house, which had almost thrown us over the cliff. But I knew that was only part of History, even if I could only intuit it as a child and had to grow up to find other accounts, other witnesses, other prisms.

The journalist's life is presented as a personal learning experience about the beneficial legacy of the Revolution, despite the influence of her family's ideology. Davim does not forget the tenacious and painful anti-fascist struggle, the end of dictatorial oppression and repression, the end of the colonial war, the popular participation in the Revolution, and the social conquests of the democratic regime enshrined in the Constitution. To summarise this legacy, Davim echoes Sérgio Godinho's song 'Freedom' in her text (1974): 'Not all of them [children like herself] understood how hard the conquest of freedom was and how April was a gateway to peace, bread, health, education and housing.'. Davim understands how her personal history enables her to recognize her family's privileged position that shaped (and partially explained) her grandfather's convictions and the anxiety rooted in the fear of losing an exclusive birthright.

Davim further addresses the topic of colonial violence and the Colonial War, still largely absent from public debate due to the enduring influence of Lusotropicalist narratives and the denial of structural racism. By confronting her familial memory and national omissions, the columnist breaks with April's hegemonic and celebratory script and insists on a more complex interpretation of Portugal's past. The journalist concludes that collective memory (adjoined to individual memories) is a disputed, dominant and silencing place:

Consensus is manufactured, artificial, and constructed upon what remains unsaid. Democracy is something else entirely. It is a regime built not on silence, but on the principle that majorities must respect minorities. Democracy requires equality (not only formal, but also material) to breathe. What is now eroding nearly half a century of democratic progress is the systematic withdrawal of rights and the increasing inequalities.

Davim knows and states that the democracy conquered in 1974 is not eternal, that there is an urgent need to communicate the memory of oppression and resistance that serves as an indicator of the quality of a democracy, its vitality or constraints. In her column, Davim reflects on the present regarding the far-right expansion, following a slow process of building a neo-conservative cultural hegemony, revising and subverting the foundational representations of democratic Portugal. Hence, the closing lines of her text in which the journalist stresses the need to choose and take one's place in the struggle for collective memory:

We must look the past in the eye. Remember what some want to be forgotten, even if it hurts. And realize that history is constantly being rewritten according to the victorious. Knowing where we want to go matters, without forgetting the lessons of those who suffered greatly to bring us here. I will not keep quiet about what I know.

Davim's text goes beyond celebrating the Revolution or detecting threats to democracy. She investigates the threats' underlying causes and subtly responds to an event in November 2024. The event was the unprecedented evocation of

25 November in the parliament with the support of the right-wing alliance (PSD and CDS), the parties to their right (Liberal Initiative and Chega), and the consent of the Socialist Party and the President of the Republic. This event, held in the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution, was a symbolic revenge aimed at consecrating an alternative date to 25 April, signalling a return to order or even the origin of democracy, after the alleged revolutionary excess, when, in fact, the Portuguese Constitution was only approved on 2 April 1976.

Once again, this is evidence that the interpretation of the past is always a matter of the present, as the radicalization of the political spectrum has led to a weakening of the left's parliamentary representation, while the far-right agenda expands.

Concluding remarks

The analysis of the *corpus* reveals the vitality of the literary opinion piece as a space for reinscribing the collective memory of the April Revolution. Despite the temporal and generational distance that separates the authors from the historical event, their writings express a strong affective and symbolic connection to the collective legacy of the Revolution. Many columnists foreground their position as heirs at the outset of their texts, affirming this affiliation through family ties or identifying themselves as 'children of the revolution.' Artistic expressions that have come to define the shared imaginary of the Revolution (protest songs, photographs, slogans) are often cited, reflecting their continued resonance. This intergenerational transmission, whether familial or collective, is acknowledged as a form of inheritance to be passed on. In these literary opinion columns, memory functions as an evocation of a past and a discursive tool through which the authors interrogate and reflect upon the present.

This study also points to an almost unanimous alignment with the founding values of 25 April: freedom, democracy, participation, and equality. These values are mobilized in unison and counterpoint to the contemporary rise of anti-democratic political forces. In most texts, the political

present is framed as a threat to the conquests of April, catalyzing autobiographical reflection. Overall, the texts affirm a celebratory vision of the Revolution, often without interrogating the processes through which memory has been hegemonized or institutionalized. Nevertheless, writing and publishing these columns in 2024 signals an effort to resist forgetting and memory's instrumentalization. Some voices, such as Frederico Pedreira's, articulate a sense of disillusionment with the symbolic and political dilution of the revolutionary legacy, a consequence of its institutionalization and ritualized trivialization. In contrast, Margarida Davim's text addresses the risks of historical revisionism and conservative subversion. Her contribution underscores the necessity for memory politics to acknowledge dissent, heterogeneity, and the plurality of lived experiences.

Overall, these columnists reflect a school education where moderation of memory prevails, with isolated stories of the anti-fascist struggle, the Colonial War and the regime's most repressive features. There are no informed references to the tensions of the revolutionary period and the decolonization process, nor are their consequences considered effective historical factors for interpreting the present.

The hypothesis that the opinion column, conceived as a space open to divergent and independent perspectives, might reflect a trend to depart from the newspapers' mainstream celebratory stance on 25 April was not confirmed. Most columnists do not question the political normalization of collective memory in their autobiographical narratives, and their identification as heirs of the Revolution does not involve critical distancing from direct testimonies of the period. In these texts, the imprint of collective memory remains porous, and while references to the outcomes of the Revolution enable some authors to highlight urgent and marginalized contemporary issues, such as women's rights, housing, or education, others, notably labour rights, remain absent.

Faced with the political climate at the time of writing, most authors refrain from explicit engage-

ment, and in doing so, they reflect the broader dynamics of social memory surrounding the Portuguese Revolution, both in what is articulated and what is left unsaid. Nevertheless, the analysis suggests that constructing a democratic collective memory demands an informed engagement with the narratives of the past, serving the development of critical citizenship and acting as a bulwark against anti-democratic and xenophobic tendencies. Because they were born after 1970, they are members of the second and third generations to have come of age in the post-revolutionary period. They are not the intellectuals who participated in the political and cultural resistance to the dictatorship. They are not members of that 'community striving for future development [with] a utopian dream purportedly attainable in the post-Salazar period' (Gil, 2012, p. 155). From this philosopher's perspective, the current intellectuals have lost that pre-25 April utopian project and do not focus on the future. Instead, they are paralyzed and complacent with the present.

The prevailing sense of hopelessness regarding the present and the future coexists with a desire to preserve the transformative utopia of the Revolution, an aspiration that has had tangible effects on generations born after this event. The resulting memorial and commemorative obsession can be interpreted as 'compensatory therapy' (Rosas, 2018). Within these literary opinion columns, the memory of the Revolution's ideals and its most emblematic artistic manifestations contributes to forming a genuine culture of memory (Soutelo, 2015): a palliative available to the second and third generations as they grapple with the perceived historical stagnation of their own time.

Our research could be expanded through comparative analysis with other testimonial records addressing the same topic. Considering that the heirs of the 1974 Revolution have also contributed to interview television programmes reflecting on the significance of the revolutionary legacy and its impact on their historical present, we can extend this research by conducting an intra-genre

comparison between the *corpus* and the televised interviews in *The Children of Dawn*, the TV programme by Anabela Mota Ribeiro. Future research avenues could examine opinion columns written by heirs to African independence movements, or those published following the legislative elections of 18 May 2025, which marked a further consolidation of the far right in the Portuguese parliament. These research avenues would enrich the understanding of how generational memory and testimonial discourse respond to shifting political landscapes.

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