# Authoritarian Legacies, Transitional Justice and State Crisis in Portugal's Democratization

ANTÓNIO COSTA PINTO

The nature of the Portuguese transition to democracy and the consequent state crises created a 'window of opportunity' in which the 'reaction to the past' was much stronger in Portugal than in the other Southern European transitions. The transition's powerful dynamic in itself served to constitute a legacy for the consolidation of democracy. This article analyses how the nature of the transition affected the legacy of authoritarianism superseding and transmuting that regime's impact on the 'quality' of Portugal's democracy, and illustrating how the majority of 'authoritarian legacies' were more a result of the nature of the transition than they were of the authoritarian regime.

Key words:  legacies; retribution; transitional justice; authoritarianism; democratization; Portugal; Southern Europe

Democratic transitions challenge both the social elite and society as a whole to face up to the legacy of dictatorial regimes; however, the literature on regime change has paid little attention to the question of how the type of transition may determine the extent of the elimination or retention of authoritarian legacies.

In a pioneering effort to understand the links between authoritarian legacies and the 'quality' of consolidated democracy, Katherine Hite and Leonardo Morlino argue that the three key variables are the durability of the previous authoritarian regime; the institutional innovation of that regime; and the mode of transition. In other words, 'the more durable and institutionally innovative the authoritarian regime, the greater the potential influence of authoritarian legacies. The more privileged the authoritarian incumbents in the mode of transition from authoritarian rule, the greater the potential influence of authoritarian legacies'.[1] This article seeks to illustrate the hypothesis which states that the type of transition is the most important of these three variables in explaining whether and how authoritarian legacies endure or are overcome in two necessary domains: the elite and the institutions associated with the old regime.

Changes of regime oblige the new authorities to come to terms with the legacy of the past, and democratic transitions have been fertile ground for attitudes that are more or less radical in relation to the elimination of authoritarian legacies, and, in particular, the political punishment of the elites and dissolution of the institutions to which they are associated.[2] Huntington argues that the emergence, or non-emergence, of 'transitional justice' is less a moral question and more one relating to the

'distribution of power during and after the transition'.[3] In simple terms, 'only in those states where political authority radically collapsed and was replaced by an opposition did the possibility of prosecution present itself'.[4] In transitions by reform, in which the authoritarian elite is a powerful partner in the transitional process, the scope for the introduction of retributive measures is limited.

Huntington was writing in 1990, when the transitions in Central and Eastern Europe were only just beginning and in many cases the calls for punishment and reparations continued, even in the negotiated transitions that had already resulted in consolidated democracies, thereby appearing to offer counter-examples to his assumptions.[5]

However, when we take an overall view of the democratic transitions of the end of the twentieth century, if we differentiate between transitional and retroactive justice *tout court* we see that Huntington was correct, as we are dealing with the former and not the latter. That is to say, when 'proceedings begin shortly after the transition and come to end within, say, five years', we are referring to what Elster calls 'immediate transitional justice'.[6] We are dealing with a dimension of regime change: the processes of retribution as a dynamic element of democratic transition. Accountability is central to the very definition of democracy and new processes can be unleashed in any post-authoritarian democracy, even though the time dimension tends to attenuate the retributive pressures, particularly when there has already been a degree of retribution during the initial phase of democratization. On the other hand, the forces that can unleash retroactive justice processes after the transitions may already be part of a much larger set of factors, such as when they become a weapon of party conflict, as was the case in some Central European countries where there are examples of the successful democratic and electoral reconversion of former Communist parties.[7]

During their initial phase, almost all democratization processes create 'retributive emotions' that are independent of the type of transition.[8] In the case of right-wing authoritarian regimes, the criminalization of a section of the elite and the dissolution of the repressive institutions constitute part of the political programme of the clandestine opposition parties. Even in the Spanish case, which is a paradigmatic example of a 'consensual decision to ignore the past', these demands were present. In 'post-totalitarian' regimes (to use Linz's term),[9] the pressures for criminalization were present from the very earliest moments of the transtitions.[10] On the other hand, even when dealing with the majority of cases of elite-driven processes, where public opinion data exists, it tends to show that the elites were 'meeting a societal demand'.[11] Its successful implementation depends on the type of transition.

The type of dictatorial regime is vitally important for determining the extent of success of regime change and for the legacies for a successful democratic consolidation.[12] However, even over the long term, where there is a positive correlation between the degree of repressive violence and the persistence of 'retributive emotions', the conduct of the old regime does not explain the extent and degree of these emotions after its fall. Some authors suggest that those dictatorial regimes with the most 'limited pluralism' and which have a more discreet record of repression during their final years (examples are Portugal, Hungary, and Poland) would face little pressure for retribution; however, the examples of Southern Europe, Latin

America and Central Europe do not confirm this hypothesis, because such pressures were present even in these cases.[13] It can also be argued that the nature of the transition is superimposed on the nature of the authoritarian regime and the extent of its record of 'administrative massacres' in the appearance of a transitional justice.[14]

In this respect, the Portuguese transition is a particularly interesting case because of the authoritarian regime's longevity and the *ruptura* nature of its regime change, with the collapse of the New State on 25 April 1974. Moreover, because Portugal was the first of the so-called 'third-wave' of democratic transitions, there were few models available to inspire it and none to influence it directly. Portugal was, as Nancy Bermeo has claimed, an example of 'democracy after war',[15] in which the military played a decisive role in the downfall of the dictatorship, opening a swift and important state crisis during the initial phase of the transition.

The comparative literature on transitions has always incorporated the Portuguese case; however, some of its characteristics, particularly the role of the military, the crisis of the state and the dynamics of the social movements, constitute elements that are difficult to integrate into the comparative analysis of democratization.[16] As Linz and Stepan have noted, 'we all too often tend to see [Portugal] in the framework set by later transitions processes',[17] forgetting the greater degree of uncertainty and the 'extreme conflict path'[18] of a regime change that, according to some authors, 'was not a conscious transition to democracy'.[19] In fact, one of the limitations of some analyses of Portugal's transition is their assumption of finality, based on the subsequent consolidation. This assumption underestimates both the state crises and the 'revolutionary critical juncture' of the transition. The author of one of the best studies of political mobilization and collective action in Portugal during the 1970s notes the methodological difficulties involved in 'assimilating a priori the state crisis with the transition to democracy', but it is precisely this that represents the challenge for any analysis of Portuguese democratization.[20]

The nature of the Portuguese dictatorship tells us little about the nature of the country's transition to democracy. Salazarism was close to Linz's ideal-type of authoritarian regime:[21] it was a regime that survived the 'fascist era', and was not too dissimilar in nature from the final phase of neighbouring Spain's Franco regime, despite its single party being weaker and its 'limited pluralism' greater.[22] In 1968, Salazar was replaced by Marcelo Caetano, who initiated a limited and timid regime of 'liberalization' that was halted swiftly by the worsening colonial war. The inability of Salazar's successor to resolve some of the dilemmas caused by the war provoked the outbreak of a coup d'état in April 1974. This was a 'non-hierarchical' military coup which had a political programme that promoted democratization and decolonization.

Unlike Spain's *ruptura pactada*, Portugal underwent a transition without negotiations or pacts between the dictatorial elite and opposition forces. However, there is no direct causal link between this marked discontinuity and the subsequent process of radicalization: other transitions by rupture did not cause comparable crises of the state.[23] As will be shown below, the simultaneous character of the democratization and decolonization processes was one factor of the crisis, while the latter was the main reason for the conflict that broke out in the immediate wake of the

regime's collapse between some conservative generals and the Armed Forces' Movement (MFA – Movimento das Forças Armadas), which had planned and executed the coup. This conflict was at the root of the military's generalized intervention in political life following the dictatorship's overthrow. The rapid emergence of transgressive collective actions can be explained by this crisis although it was not these that provoked the state crisis.

The institutionalization of the MFA transformed it into the dominant force behind the provisional governments. The 'interweaving of the MFA in the state's structures' and its emergence as an authority for regulating conflicts, which substituted, dispersed and paralyzed the classic mechanisms of legitimate State repression, prevented 'the re-composition of the State apparatus'.[24] This was the main factor explaining why, in the Portuguese case, the movement for the dissolution of institutions and purges exceeded those of classic purges in transitions by rupture and, in many cases, came to be a component of the transgressing social movements.[25]

The following will argue that the nature of the Portuguese transition, and the consequent state crises, created a 'window of opportunity' in which the 'reaction to the past' was much stronger in Portugal than in the other Southern European transitions.[26] The transition's powerful dynamic (state crises and social movements) served to constitute a legacy for the consolidation of democracy, in itself.[27] In other words, the account shows how the nature of Portugal's transition affected the legacy of authoritarianism, superseding and transmuting its impact on Portugal's democracy.

## The Nature of Portugal's Transition to Democracy

The Portuguese military coup of 25 April 1974 was the beginning of democratic transitions in Southern Europe.[28] Unshackled by international pro-democratizing forces and occurring in the midst of the Cold War, the coup led to a severe crisis of the state that was aggravated by the simultaneous processes of transition to democracy and decolonization of what was the last European colonial empire.

The singularity of the collapse of the dictatorship resides in the nature of military intervention by the captains, a rare if not unique case in the twentieth century.[29] The war on three fronts that was being waged by the regime in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau from 1961 onwards made them protagonists in the country's political transformation.[30]

The prior existence of a semi-legal and clandestine opposition to Salazarism, although disconnected from the military officers who led the coup, was of crucial importance. It constituted a political option legitimated by the struggle against dictatorship. The replacement of Salazar by Marcello Caetano in 1968 due to health reasons gave rise to a two-year liberalization process, and although it was cut short it allowed for the consolidation of a 'liberal wing' of dissidents opposed to the dictatorship. The creation of the Sociedade para o Desenvolimento Económico e Social (SEDES) in 1970 further consolidated this dissident 'liberal wing'.[31] Thus, despite the surprising action of the military, there were alternative elites who had close connections with various sectors of civil society, and who were ready to play a leading political role in the democratization process.

The 'revolutionary period' of 1974–75 was the most complex phase of the transition if one considers the transition as the 'fluid and uncertain period in which democratic structures are emerging', but in which it is still unclear what kind of regime is to be established.[32] During these two years powerful tensions emerged within Portuguese society which began to subside in 1976, when a new constitution was approved and the first legislative and presidential elections were held.

The mobilization of diverse anti-dictatorial forces was crucial in the first days after the coup of 1974. It was especially important in the immediate dissolution of the most notorious institutions of the New State, as well as in the occupation of various unions, corporatist organizations and municipalities. Some of the military elite, the leaders of certain interest groups and a part of the first provisional government sought the rapid establishment of a presidentialist democratic regime immediately following the convocation of elections.

The disagreements concerning the nature of decolonization, which was the initial driving force behind the conflict between the captains who had led the coup and General Spínola and other conservative generals, led to the emergence of the MFA as a political force. This subsequently opened a space for social and political mobilization that exacerbated the crisis of the state, and which can perhaps explain why the moderate elites were incapable of directing, 'from above', the rapid institutionalization of democracy. Many analyses of the transition rightly emphasize the powerful 'revitalization of civil society' as a factor leading to the process of radicalization. As Schmitter notes, 'Portugal experienced one of the most intense and widespread mobilization experiences of any of the neo-democracies'.[33] It is important to note, however, that this mobilization developed in parallel with and in the presence of this protective cover: indeed, it is difficult to imagine this mobilization developing otherwise.

Initiatives of symbolic rupture with the past began to evolve soon after April 1974, culminating in the rapid and multidirectional purges (*saneamentos*). Following a quick decision to remove the more visible members of the dictatorial political elite and some conservative military officers, the purge movement began to affect the civil service and the private sector. It became increasingly radical, affecting the lower ranks of the regime bureaucracy, albeit unevenly. There were immediate calls for the agents of the political police and of other repressive bodies to be brought to justice.[34] Already in May 1974, the purge was the third demand of a group of 149 labour conflicts and it remained on the top of the list of demands made by workers and strikers throughout the following year.[35]

It was at this time that the parties that were to represent the right and centre-right, the Social Democratic Centre (CDS – Centro Democrático Social) and the Popular Democratic Party (PPD – Partido Popular Democrático) were formed.[36] The formation and legalization of political parties to represent the electorate of the centre-right and right, the PPD and the CDS, pointed in this direction. A great effort was made to exclude from these parties any people associated with the New State and find leaders with democratic credentials. Indeed, the CDS, which integrated sectors of Portuguese society that espoused conservative authoritarian values, was on the verge of being declared illegal until the first elections for the Constituent Assembly on 25 April 1975.

   The overthrow of General Spínola, along with the MFA's shift to the left and the implementation of agrarian reform and nationalization of large economic groups, were both symbols and motors of an ever-worsening state crisis that was sustaining powerful social movements. The MFA's decision to respect the electoral calendar was a significant factor in the founding legitimization of the democratic regime and the realization of these elections as scheduled greatly enhanced the position of the moderate political parties.

   It is too simplistic to consider the 'hot summer' of 1975 simply as an attempt by the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP – Partido Comunista Português) to impose a new dictatorship with the support of the Soviet Union. Naturally, the democratic political elite made much of this argument in its founding discourse, but this does not provide a full explanation of events. The situation was more complex: conflict was fed by the development of strong grass-roots political organizations such as the workers' commissions, the growing challenge posed by the extreme left during the crisis, and its influence within the military. At the same time extreme left-wing journalists 'occupied' the Catholic radio station, Rádio Renascença and the newspaper *República*, which until then had been the mouthpiece of the moderate left, and houses, shops and factories were occupied throughout Lisbon.[37] The importance of internal divisions within the armed forces in driving these events forward means that they cannot be explained as part of a 'programmed conspiracy'.

   Portuguese society began to polarize, with the emergence of an anti-revolutionary (and anti-communist) movement in the north of the country.[38] It was in this context of increasing mobilization, on 25 November 1975, that moderate MFA officers organized a successful counter-coup that toppled the radicals. The Socialist Party (PS – Partido Socialista) and the Social Democratic Party (PSD – Partido Social Democrática) backed the moderates, leading mobilizations in Lisbon and Oporto. In the provinces to the north of the River Tagus, the hierarchy of the Catholic church and local notables supported parish level mobilizations, with the local military authorities remaining neutral and/or with them being complicit in the activities. As elements of the extreme right and right, military officers and civilians alike began to mobilize, the anti-left offensive became violent. Attacks were made on the offices of the PCP, the extreme left and associated unions, and there emerged right-wing terrorist organizations, the Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (MDLP – Movimento Democrático para a Libertação de Portugal) and the Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP – Exército para a Libertação de Portugal).[39]

   In 1974–75 Portugal experienced significant foreign intervention not only in diplomatic terms, but also affecting the formation of political parties, unions and interest organizations, as well as shaping the anti-left strategy that evolved over the 'hot summer' of 1975. The Portuguese case was a divisive issue in international organizations, within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Economic Community (EEC), affecting relations between these two organizations and the socialist bloc countries led by the Soviet Union. All the evidence makes it clear that in 1974–75 Portugal was an issue of 'international relevance'.

   Caught by surprise with the coup, the international community, and the United States in particular, focused on supporting democratic political forces of the centre

left and right in the capital, as well as on intervening in the rapid process of de-colonization, particularly in Angola.[40] The same post-Second World War methods deployed to deal with Italy were used in the Portuguese case. The moderate political parties were financed by the US administration which, together with the international organizations of the European 'political families – these often mediating the US role – also supported the training of party cadres.[41] The impact of foreign aid, however, was limited. They were drowned out by the powerful political and social mobilization led by the left, an economy strongly marked by a large nationalized sector, as well as capital flight and the actual flight of members of the economic elite from the country. Although domestic political factors played a critical role in enabling both the triumph of moderate civilian forces and the final withdrawal of the military from the political arena, international support was more important than the early literature on the transition suggests.

The nature of the transition, and especially the state crisis that this unleashed, is essential for explaining some of its more radical characteristics, as well as some of the attitudes with respect to the country's authoritarian past during this period. Both flowed together into a double legacy for the consolidation of democracy.

## Settling Accounts with the Dictatorship: Portuguese 'Transitional Justice'

Only a few months after the coup, Portuguese transitional justice expressed all the contradictory faces of an attempt to punish the authoritarian elites and the agents of and collaborators in the dictatorship's repression. The second wave of score settling reached the economic and entrepreneurial elites. Most of the real and symbolically punitive measures against the more visible and better-known collaborators took place between 1974 and 1975, before establishment of the new legitimated democratic institutions. This was a period that was marked by the state crisis, powerful social movements and military intervention that shaped social attitudes regarding the punishment of those associated with the old regime and in which the judiciary played almost no role.

The non-hierarchical nature of the coup, with the almost immediate intervention of the democratic elite and popular mobilization, accentuated both the real and the symbolic break with the past. The brief resistance offered by those forces most associated with the dictatorship's repression, such as the political police and the anti-communist militia, the Portuguese Legion (LP – Legião Portuguesa), and the imprisonment of many of the former organization's members was a significant element driving the political movement for their criminalization.

The first measures implemented by General Spínola's National Salvation Junta (JSN – Junta da Salvação Nacional), which was in full accordance with the MFA Programme, provided for a minimal and swift purge of the Armed forces. Members of the former regime who wished to join Marcello Caetano were deported immediately to Madeira, from where they almost immediately continued on to exile in Brazil. In this way, the new government avoided the having to respond to the popular demands that the former leaders face criminal trials in Portugal. Both the political police and the anti-Communist LP, which had attempted to resist the April coup,

were disarmed immediately, with some of their leaders being placed in custody. The single party and the official youth organization were, along with many of the regime's institutions, closed down (see Table 1). The MFA proposed that 60 generals, most of whom had publicly declared their support for Marcello Caetano on the eve of his overthrow, should be placed on the reserve.

The main demand, which was nearly unanimous, was to ensure criminal trials of elements of the political police. These demands were made as a consequence of the military coup's own dynamics and the surrounding of the political police's headquarters in Lisbon, which resulted in the surrender and arrest of many of the agents who had been in the building. Some attempts made were to ensure the survival of the political police in the colonies, given the collaboration between them and the Armed forces; however, the organization was eventually abolished. Many former agents remained prisoners, while many others fled the country within days of the coup.[42]

It did not take long for the new authorities to create the Comissão de Extinção da PIDE–DGS, MP e LP (CEPML – Commission for the Abolition of the Political Police, Portuguese Legion and Portuguese Youth), which was led by military officers. This body immediately began arresting people who had acted as informants for the previous regime's political police. The life of this commission was agitated. There were frequent denunciations of political manipulation by extreme left-wing groups and the PCP. The role of the commission was to prepare criminal proceedings of the trial of former police agents and to cooperate with other purge institutions, given its monopolistic access to the about three million files kept on individual citizens. In July 1975, Constitutional Law 8/75 provided for the trial in a military tribunal of members of the political police and government officials directly responsible for repression on the basis of a 'revolutionary legitimacy' referred to in the preamble. The law also provided sentences of 2–12 years, and no statute of limitations was established for criminal proceedings.[43]

At the local level, the Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP – Movimento Democrático Português), which was a front organization linked to the PCP, took

TABLE 1
REPRESSIVE AND AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE ACTIONS TAKEN
AGAINST THEM DURING THE TRANSITION

| Organization | Action taken |
| --- | --- |
| President of the Republic | Exiled |
| Members of government | Exiled (the majority of government ministers, including the Prime Minister) |
| National Assembly | Abolished |
| Corporatist Chamber | Abolished |
| Popular National Action (single party) | Abolished |
| Portuguese Legion (LP) | Abolished |
| PIDE (political police) | Abolished |
| Shock police (riot police) | Abolished |
| Censorship Board | Abolished |
| Plenary Court (for trying political crimes) | Abolished |
| *Gremios* (corporatist interest organizations) | Abolished and/or reorganized |
| National unions (state-run unions) | Occupied and/or reorganized |

over local posts at the city council level and removed former regime leaders from their posts. Several of the authoritarian regime's union organizations (*sindicatos nacionais*) were taken over by the workers, who removed the former leaders from their positions.

The first public statements by left-wing political parties were generally quite cautious regarding the issue of purges. The PS and the PCP both issued moderate statements. The first purges were spontaneous, with strikers calling for purges within businesses. Some professors and bureaucrats in the universities of Lisbon and Coimbra who had collaborated with the former regime were almost immediately denied access to their faculties by student associations.

In response to these movements, the provisional government promulgated the first regulations on public administration purges. Two months after the fall of the old regime, the Inter-ministerial Purge and Reclassification Commission (CIMSR – Comissão Inter-Ministerial de Saneamento e Reclassificação) was created. It answered directly to the Council of Ministers and was charged with coordinating existing purge commissions or with creating new ones to cover all the ministries. Decree Law 277, dated 25 June 1974, charged it with the scrutiny of behaviour that 'contradicted the post-25 April 1974 established order'.[44] These commissions remained active until 1976 and the legislation governing them was revised several times in order to keep up with the radicalization of the political situation. Decree Law 123 of 11 March 1975 already referred to the former regime as a 'fascist regime' and subjected civil servants to purges for acts committed during the dictatorship.[45] That same month, when General Spínola fled the country, a generalized anticapitalist sentiment emerged, resulting in a renewed wave of purges.

In February 1975 official reports on the purge process stated that approximately 12,000 people had been either removed from their posts or suspended, either legally or illegally.[46] It is estimated that between March and November 1975 the number of removals and suspensions must have increased significantly (see Table 2).

Various organizations were involved in the purge process. Aside from the measures adopted by the JSN and the MFA immediately after the coup, the PCP and the small but influential parties of the extreme left were the main actors involved. Purge movements in the private sector and even in the state bureaucracy, however, often escaped political party control. The establishment of Comissões de Saneamento (Purge Commissions) within the public administration was approved by the first provisional governments, which included representatives of the PCP, PS and PSD. These Commissions sought to establish a legal framework for many of the dismissals that were taking place as a result of the purges.

TABLE 2
ELITES AND FORMS OF PUNISHMENT

| Elite | Political, military, administrative | Police (repressive) (PIDE–DGS) | Economic and entrepreneurial |
|---|---|---|---|
| Punishment | Administrative purges | Trial and administrative purges | Purges, workplace occupations, state intervention, nationalization |
| Formal agent | Governmental and official commissions | Military tribunal and official commissions | Workers' commissions and government commissions |

The Workers' Commissions (Comissões de Trabalhadores) often called for purges. These were established within businesses independently of the unions, and the PCP shared control of these bodies with the parties of the extreme left. These commissions implemented the great majority of 'wild' purges, which the PCP often did not control.

Generally speaking, the purge process was not governed by a clear strategy and revealed no coherent pattern, varying greatly from sector to sector. The concept of 'collaborator' also shifted during the pre-constitutional period. In 1974, the first purges were limited by a strict concept of collaborationist. By 1975, however, various types of authoritarian attitudes among the industrial and entrepreneurial elite were considered to be associated with the former regime.

## The Armed Forces

For obvious reasons, the first institution to undergo a purge process was the military. Immediately after the coup, the MFA handed General Spínola the names of the 60 generals who had pledged their allegiance to the authoritarian regime, and who were subsequently placed on the reserve by the JSN. The purge of the Armed forces was part of the political programme of the MFA and, against the wishes of General Spínola, the process widened to affect a greater number of officers. The first list was composed of people deemed to have given political support to Marcello Caetano during a political act in March 1974, the eve of the coup, against the clandestine MFA as well as generals Spínola and Costa Gomes.

In the months that followed the 1974 coup, special military commissions administered the purges demanded by the MFA. By October 1974 103 navy officers had been removed from active service and placed on the reserve.[47] By the end of the year, 300 officers of all ranks and from all three services had been removed from active duty. Incompetence became the official criterion for removal, as it became impossible to sustain political criteria such as 'collaboration with the old regime', given that the whole defence establishment had collaborated with the New State during the colonial war.[48]

When General Spínola went into exile after the attempted coup of March 1975 the purge movement was reinforced, and the majority of the officers working with him were removed from their posts. The purges also affected the National Republican Guard (GNR – Guarda Nacional Republicana), a militarized police body. The Council of the Revolution, the MFA's supreme body, issued Decree Law 147C of 21 March 1975, which stated that any officers who did not 'obey the principles espoused by the MFA' would be placed in the reserve.[49]

With the consolidation of democracy, and as a result of the profusion of military movements during the transitional period, more officers were removed from the active list or subjected to processes that removed them from the armed forces and forced them into exile. Following the victory of the moderates within the MFA those officers who had been associated with revolutionary left-wing movements or with the Communist Party were dismissed. Sympathizers of these parties within the armed forces were removed from their posts, while others went into exile in Angola and

Mozambique, by that time governed by socialist regimes. After the dissolution of the Council of the Revolution, some MFA leaders were also forced to leave the armed forces, although many were reintegrated only to be immediately placed on the reserve as a consequence of extremely drawn-out judicial processes that continued into the 1990s.

The military was the institution where a break with the past was clearest.[50] A new generation rose quickly to the top ranks of the force as the old elite associated with the New State had been forced to retire. The institutionalization of democracy in Portugal therefore entailed an important change in the life of military officers and it was here that the impact of the transition was felt most sharply.

## Purging the Civil Service

The first legislation stated that civil servants could be purged for three reasons: non-democratic behaviour in the course of duty after the coup, inability to adapt to the new democratic regime and incompetence. The minimum punishment was to be transferred to another post, while the maximum was dismissal.[51] Maximum penalties were applied according to priorities defined a little later by the government: membership of the dictatorship's governmental elite; political police collaborators; leading members of either the MP, the LP or the single party; and the heads of the dictatorship's censorship board.[52] The purge process was directed by the various commissions and presented to the CIMSR, which ratified the penalty to be applied, implemented in each case by the head of the relevant ministry. As a result of the protests of both the trade unions and commission members against the indecision and the slow pace and bureaucratic nature of the purges led to the adoption of new legislation in March 1975. This new law provided for purges based on individual political behaviour before the fall of the authoritarian regime.

It is difficult to determine how the purges affected the state bureaucracy on a quantitative level. The process evolved different from ministry to ministry, depending on the level of pressure from the trade unions and the limits imposed by the legislation. At the end of 1974, eight months after the coup, about 4,300 public servants had been subjected to a purge process.[53] According to the global analysis made by the commission that coordinated the process the action of the various ministerial commissions was very uneven, depending on the party to which the minister belonged and the degree of public opinion and trade union pressure.

One of the least affected was the Ministry of Justice, particularly magistrates and the political courts of the dictatorship, the 'plenary courts'. A good part of the moderate left elite associated with the PS was made up of lawyers that had participated in the political trials of the New State, either as the accused or as defence lawyers, particularly of communist activists. At the same time, the Salazarist elite had a large component of law professors, and the regime had always attempted obsessively to legitimate its acts in juridical terms.[54] Both these elements would lead one to believe that pressure to bring criminal charges against the legal elite could be high, but this is not the case. Institutional factors and the moderation of socialist leaders were important factors counteracting this impetus to purge the legal profession and ministry of justice.

Additional obstacles limited the purge of magistrates, such as the autonomy of the judiciary and the fact that the first ministers did not promote purges. In response to public criticism, the Secretary of the Purge Commission of the Ministry of Justice recognized that it was not 'necessary or viable to undertake deeper purges at this point'.[55]

Of a body of 500 magistrates, 42 judges were submitted to a purge process in 1974–75, most of them for participating in political courts or holding government posts or posts within censorship bodies.[56] Two years later, some of the most well-known judges that had been dismissed or forcibly retired were re-integrated by the Commission for the Assessment of Purge Appeals and Reclassifications (CARSR – Comissão de Análise de Recursos de Saneamentos e de Reclassificação). Two judges who went through this process were, despite protests from the moderate parliamentary left, appointed to the Supreme Court of Justice.[57]

The purges undertaken in the Ministry of Labour were more complex, far-reaching and radical. The new ministry succeeded the old Ministry of Corporations and Welfare, which had overseen the gigantic corporatist apparatus of the old regime. A large number of the 'wildcat' purges were 'legalized' by the inclusion in the purge law not only of people who had maintained a formal relationship with the PIDE–DGS but also all the people who had collaborated in one way or another with the political police. In addition, nationalization and the intervention of the state in various private enterprises meant that the majority of forced removals took place in this sector, which was also the most marked by the anti-capitalism of the social movements.

Purges in the Ministry of Education, and throughout the education system as a whole, were also high, particularly in the universities. Famous university professors and schoolteachers, as well as writers formed a part of the purge commission for this sector. The JSN removed all university deans and directors of faculties from their posts, and various high-ranking members of the Ministry were transferred. In the secondary schools the more radical actions by the student movement forced the military to intervene to protect the accused. It was in the universities, however, that both legal and 'wild' purges were most thorough, given the very strong pressure exerted by the student movement. Some members of the commissions quickly resigned in protest against the 'wild' purges, which were undertaken sometimes in the absence of any legal proceedings.

Students would simply deny some professors entry to the university following assembly votes, although only a small minority of those 'condemned' were ever submitted to legal purge proceedings by the purge commission of the Ministry of Education. The same applied to some schoolteachers suspected of collaborating with the political police. The most radical of the 'wildcat' purges took place in the Faculty of Law of the University of Lisbon, where an assembly dominated by a Maoist party decided, against the will of PCP students, to remove some professors who were also members of the Council of State and leaders of conservative parties.

The repression of the pro-democratic student movement in the final years of the dictatorship, as well as the authoritarian behaviour of many professors, explains some of these 'wild' purges. Legal purge proceedings against professors and

education workers were based more solidly on two criteria: holding high level posts under the dictatorship or collaboration with repression by the political police by denouncing students and opposition professors. As in the Ministry of Labour, the latter category was the most sought-after, and purges also affected people in the lower ranks who gave information to the PIDE–DGS.

Some professors affected by the purges went into other professional activities and others emigrated to Brazil. When the government introduced the *numerus clausus*, thereby conditioning access to the state university system, some of the professors that had been removed from their posts in 1974 became involved in the creation of private universities, although the large majority was later reintegrated into the state system.

Within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the purge process was limited to a few members of the diplomatic corps who had had government posts under the dictatorship. When he was nominated Minister of Foreign Affairs the Socialist Party leader, Mário Soares, merely transferred some ambassadors and the purge commission, although fully constituted, worked only in some consulates where collaboration with the political police had been most notable. This was the case in Brazil and France, for example, where the consulates had been involved in controlling the activities of political exiles in countries with large Portuguese immigrant communities.

In total, purges within the state apparatus were uneven and limited. Where strong trade union and worker commission pressure was exerted, as in the ministries of labour and education, forced removals were more frequent. Indeed, while reports indicate that most of the people purged belonged to the higher levels of the administration, in these cases lower ranking civil servants were also affected, particularly for collaboration with the political police. Long delays in purge proceedings, however, reduced the overall scope of the process and made it possible to undertake the rapid re-integration of various people a few years later. None the less, important changes did occur at the top levels of the state administration. While many were reintegrated between 1976 and 1980, the great majority never regained the strategic posts they had held previously.

## Rupture at the Local Level

It is much harder to assess the break at the local level. On 24 April 1974 there were thousands of people running the 304 municipalities and more than 4,000 parish councils. In the first months following the coup, the JSN and the Ministry of the Interior designated provisional administrative commissions. The nominations legitimated taking the power of local members of the main democratic opposition parties. The MDP was the main purge agent at the local level. This party had succeeded the Democratic Electoral Commission (CED – Comissão Democrática Eleitoral), which in 1969 had obtained a significant majority in opposition to the Electoral Coalition for Democratic Unity (CEUD – Coligação Eleitoral de Unidade Democrática), the electoral front linked to the PS and the republicans. The MDP was dominated by the PCP, but also had the support of independents, notables of the local democratic opposition.

During the 'hot summer' of 1975, anticommunist action led to the fall of various administrative commissions, which became increasingly isolated in the central and northern parts of the country. The parties of the centre right and the PS itself were poorly organized in 1974.[58] They lacked proper party structures and it was only later, during the pre-electoral period, that they began to call for positions at the local level.

Given the lack of data it is difficult to measure the levels of continuity and rupture within the local administration. Moreover, while constitutional legislation barred all leading local politicians associated with the dictatorship from standing as candidates for the first elections, it must have had a limited impact. [59]

## The Economic Elite

During the first two years of the transition the economic elite was hard-hit by the process of nationalization and state intervention, as well as by the flight of industrialists and entrepreneurs from the country. Despite attempts to reach an understanding between General Spínola and the leaders of the main economic groups, strike movements and a strong impetus towards state intervention led to the first wave of self-exiles. Some of the most important illegal purge processes were also initiated against members of the economic elite, visibly frightening them.

As noted already, demands for purges were among the most significant causes of industrial disputes during the weeks immediately following the coup (see Table 3). The 'symbols of rupture' signalled with the dismissal of most of the dictatorship's political elite as well as with the criminalization of the political police were important; however, purges of the administrations of both public and private companies, was transformed rapidly into a component of collective action that increasingly assumed radical traits. It is interesting to note that 73 per cent of the 102 industrial disputes that were associated with the purges assumed a radical form, often involving workplace occupation and worker self-management.[60]

It was only at the beginning of 1976, with Decree Law 52 of 21 January, that two purge commissions were given legal status and formal competence to deal with the banking and insurance sectors, which had been nationalized by then. These

TABLE 3
CASES OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES (MAY 1974–FEBRUARY 1975)

| Cause | Disputes | |
|---|---|---|
| | Total | Per cent |
| Log of claims | 268 | 46 |
| Purges | 102 | 18 |
| Non-compliance | 109 | 19 |
| Dismissals | 131 | 23 |
| Company closure | 20 | 3 |
| Threat of closure | 29 | 7 |

*Source*: Rafael Durán Muñoz, *Acciones Colectivas y Transiciones a la Democrácia: España y Portugal, 1974–77* (Madrid: Centro de Estúdios Avanzados em Ciências Sociais, 1997), p. 128.

commissions were subordinated to the commission governing purges in the public sector as a whole. Its main role at this point was to reintegrate those who had been subjected to the 'wildcat' purges without respect for the basic principles of due process.[61]

The exodus of important members of the economic elite became a common occurrence in 1975, as did the nomination of new managers for the businesses intervened by the state. The 'wild' purges were concentrated in the large enterprises in the industrial area around Lisbon and in the banking and insurance sectors. In the business community, the dynamic overtook any desire to punish any individual's collaboration with either the political repression or with New State institutions, and it became an integral part of a wave of increasingly anti-capitalist social movements that railed against the business and land-owning elite. In the north of the country there were fewer 'wild' purges due to the relative weakness of the unions and the workers commissions.[62]

The nationalization strategy aimed to dismantle the large economic groups and to give the state control over the main sectors of the Portuguese economy. Apart from direct nationalization, the state indirectly controlled various businesses for a fixed period. The 1976 Constitution confirmed the nationalization process but reduced the level of intervention. A study allows one to conclude that 19 per cent of industrialists abandoned their posts (2 per cent were purged), and that the purges essentially affected the industrial area in Lisbon and Setúbal, hardly affecting the northern textile sector.[63] Brazil was the preferred exile destination although many returned to Portugal between 1976 and 1980. When Mário Soares as Prime Minister of the first constitutional government visited Brazil in 1976, he called for the return of the members of the economic elite that had fled the country.

Thus, the wave of nationalization, purges and forced resignations of the pre-constitutional period profoundly affected the entrepreneurial sector. Most of its members were reintegrated between 1976 and 1980, but nationalization caused long-lasting changes in the Portuguese economic system, a key legacy of the transition to democracy.

### The Print and Broadcast Media

The relationship between the state, the economic elite and the media underwent a profound transformation during the transition period.[64] The administrative and management bodies of radio and television stations, as well as the main newspapers were removed from their posts. Only a few directors of privately owned newspapers, already in the hands of the opposition under the old regime, were able to hang on to their posts. While the first purges were driven by the military, the main purge agents in this sector were journalists and typographers linked to the PCP and other extreme-left organizations that maintained this position of dominance until 25 November 1975.

The censorship services were purged and dissolved. The official dictatorial press had had a limited circulation, circumscribed to members of the state bureaucracy for the most part. The newspaper of the single party, sustained artificially through an official subscription campaign, disappeared immediately after the occupation of its

headquarters. The most important proceedings took place against non-official newspapers, where journalists and typographers linked to the left-wing parties controlled the purges.

The media as a whole suffered profound changes during the transition process. The political battle for control over the media had a great impact. The occupation of the Catholic Church radio station, Radio Renascença, by its own journalists, and the self-management system instituted thereafter, polarized public opinion. This radio station became an instrument of the extreme left in 1975 until its powerful transmitters were destroyed on the instructions of the military, and the station returned to the Church.

The newspaper *República* met with a similar fate. Of all the daily publications, it was the only pro-democratic newspaper to continue publishing throughout the duration of New State. This paper supported the PS and became self-managed after its directors resigned in 1975, when it became a mouthpiece for the revolutionary left until its old directors were restored to their previous position in 1976. While the Communists were not responsible for any of these events, the moderate left associated with the PS made the '*República* Case' one of their most successful 'anti-totalitarian' campaigns. They succeeded in associating the *República* Case with the threat of a PCP take-over of power.

After the nationalization of the various economic groups that had controlled a substantial part of the print media, most of the press came under state control. Later, during the peak of the process of political radicalization, new newspapers emerged that were supported by the moderate left and the parties of the right, which re-employed some of the previously purged journalists. Many of these new newspapers relied, initially, on financial support from the western democracies.

## Voluntarism and Memory

In 1974–75 various civic and state mobilization initiatives were promoted to denounce the authoritarian legacy and to 'democratize' certain sections of Portuguese society. Such was the nature of the Cultural Action Campaigns (CDC – Campanhas de Dinamização Cultural) that were developed by the MFA in collaboration with left-wing civilians and parts of the Student Civic Service (SCE – Serviço Cívico Estudantil). The government also created the Black Book Commission on Fascism, which was responsible to the presidency of the Council of Ministers and which was composed of socialist and left-republican intellectuals and politicians. With access to all of the dictatorship's archives, this Commission published dozens of books containing primary documentation which, among other issues, denounced the regime's repression, the treatment of political prisoners, censorship and the collaboration between economic groups and the political police. When it was dissolved in 1991 it was supposed to lead to the creation of a 'museum of resistance', a project that has yet to be realized. Other initiatives that were more emblematic of the 1974–75 period, but which were associated with the political parties as well as civil society and popular organizations was, for example, the creation of the 'Humberto Delgado Popular Tribunal' (Tribunal Popular Humberto Delgado).

The CDCs were intended to 'democratize' the rural world. While established by the MFA, the campaigns were driven by left-wing intellectuals and communists who designed cultural initiatives that denounced the repression of the past and promoted civic participation. Believing that these campaigns were little more than an attempt by the military to create its own propaganda department, these movements were resisted immediately by the northern conservative elites and criticized by the moderate political parties. Consequently, the campaigns were interrupted in the central and northern districts before they were finally abolished following the events of 25 November 1975, and the dissolution of the PCP-dominated Fifth Division.

The SCE was a product of two interrelated factors: the university system's incapacity to accept all of the candidates for higher education that was a direct consequence of a rapidly expanding secondary school system, and an ideological climate that promoted contact between students and 'the people'. For one academic year before entering university, students were encouraged to work on literacy and other similar projects in the local communities. One of the projects in which they were involved was the collection of ethnographic material on popular memory. This material was intended to serve as the basis for a museum exhibiting oral and material memories of the popular resistance of the 'peasants and the labourers' to the New State.[65]

Both the SCE and the CDCs met with resistance (albeit for different reasons), particularly in the north of the country where conservative notables and priests were particularly suspicious of left-wing initiatives, and where the urban middle-classes feared the consequences of students escaping the control of the family. The CDCs were closed down in 1975, with the Education Ministry abolishing the SCE shortly thereafter.

The Humberto Delgado Popular Tribunal was established to examine the regime's most notorious crime when, in 1965, the PIDE assassinated the dissident general, Humberto Delgado, near the Spanish town of Badajoz. Delgado had stood against Salazar's candidate in the 1958 presidential elections, afterwards fleeing into exile. The dictatorship consistently denied any involvement in the general's murder, while the family's first lawyer was one of the regime's leading opponents, Mário Soares. Established after the transition, the tribunal sought to mobilize public opinion to call for the conviction of those former PIDE agents who had committed the crime and who had since fled justice. In the end, those responsible for the assassination were tried and convicted *in absentia*.

The Constituent Assembly discussed a large range of proposals that were to lead to the criminalization of both the authoritarian elite and the dictatorship's agents of repression. With the exception of the temporary measures introduced to ensure the prosecution of PIDE agents, in terms of punitive measures against the old regime, the only legal legacy of the transition was the introduction in the 1976 Constitution that prohibited parties with a 'fascist ideology'. This was retained after subsequent constitutional revisions and in the 1990s, despite criticisms regarding its usefulness, it was not only ratified by the parliament but was even used against a group of the extreme right.

TABLE 4
PHASES OF TRANSITION AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION AND THE PURGE
PROCESSES

| Fall of dictatorship<br>April 1974–March 1975 | Crises<br>March 1975–April 1976 | Democratic consolidation<br>April 1976–October 1982 |
|---|---|---|
| + Legal purges<br>− 'wild' purges | + Legal purges<br>+ 'wild' purges | Reduction of penalties<br>Reintegration |

As seen above, the military, political, administrative and economic elite were all affected deeply, albeit to different extents, by the measures introduced during the first two years of the transition to punish them for their collaboration with the previous regime.

As Table 4 shows, this form of 'immediate transitional justice'[66] happens very quickly during the two transitional phases and democratic consolidation which marked the beginning of the process of rehabilitation. Only the compensation awarded to the 'anti-fascists' will be discussed below, as the legacy of the colonial war and subsequent decolonization was to drag on for the next 30 years.

### The Dual Legacy and the Consolidation of Democracy

The moderate elite that dominated the period of consolidation inherited a complex situation in 1976. The military intervention of 25 November 1975 marked the beginning of the process of democratic institutionalization, although one that was under the tutelage of the Council of the Revolution until 1982. In the economic sphere a heavily nationalized sector and extensive state interventionism, along with the introduction of severe austerity measures following the first Portuguese agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), became symbols of recession and resulted in a drastic reduction in real salaries. In the social arena, the return of hundreds of thousands of colonial refugees as a result of the decolonization process brought problems. Some extreme-right wing terrorist actions continued briefly – a legacy of the 'hot summer' of 1975. This was soon to be joined by some extreme left-wing terrorist activity (Table 5).

The official discourse of the first two constitutional governments led by the socialist Prime Minister, Mário Soares, and by the first democratically elected President Ramalho Eanes, favoured 'reconciliation' and 'pacification'.

Under pressure from parties on the right and centre-right the purges were soon brought to an end and their role re-evaluated in light of the claim that they were an excess of the early transitional period. At the same time, a number of communists and left-wing civilians and military figures were removed from office. Many members of extreme-left parties and the PCP were dismissed from their positions within the civil service and state-owned companies. Soldiers associated with the former Prime Minister, Vasco Gonçalves, and the leader of the MFA's militant faction, Otelo Saraiva do Carvalho, were dismissed from the armed forces.

TABLE 5
LEGACIES OF THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

| Legacy | Timescale |
| --- | --- |
| Ideologically left-wing constitution | 1982–89 |
| Nationalized sector | 1982–89 |
| Agrarian reform | 1976–89 |
| Military prerogative – Council of the Revolution | 1982 |
| Economic elite in exile | 1976–80 |
| Partial paralysis of the police and judicial system | 1976 |

The extreme right-wing terrorism of the MDLP and ELP was carried out largely by military officers – both active and retired. The actions of these groups came to an end a few years later and they were soon to dissolve following General Spínola's return from exile. While some of their members were jailed, the majority of cases dragged on for years and resulted in vendettas, given their extensive links with moderate elements during the hot summer of 1975 and the promises made to them that their crimes would be 'forgotten'. The repression of the extreme left-wing terrorist group, the Popular Forces of 25 April (FP-25), which involved the 25 April coup's operational chief and leader of the revolutionary left, Otelo Saraiva do Carvalho, was a much more complex affair that dragged on until the turn of the century.

Despite this outburst of violence the climate of political reconciliation predominated in the last years of the 1970s, shaping the way in which the government dealt with the legacy of the dictatorship. This was particularly true with the trial of members of the former regime's political police, the PIDE–DGS. Following the so-called 'PIDE hunt', in which those who had not fled the country were tracked down, there followed a two-year period during which PIDE–DGS agents awaited their trial and punishment, either in protective custody or on conditional release. Their trials were conducted according to the new post-revolutionary political ethos and, as a result, those who had not taken advantage of their bail to flee the country received only light sentences from the military tribunals (normally they were sentenced to time already served). Those who had good military active service reports from the colonial war period received especially benevolent treatment. Although there were public demonstrations and criticism of the sentences meted out, they did serve as notice that judicial legality and the rule of law had been re-established following the 'excesses' of the turbulent years, 1974–75. The two years that had passed since then had seen a significant diminution of 1974's revolutionary 'emotions', and the ruling political elite made it clear that they favoured continuing with institutional demobilization.

### Reintegration

Between 1976 and the early 1980s, steps were taken to reintegrate those who had been victims of the purges.[67] New legislation was passed and measures were

adopted quickly to normalize the situation in the economic arena where the 'wild' purges had been most severe. Soon after the introduction of these new laws, the Council of the Revolution ordered 'all officials of the armed forces who had been assigned to the purge commissions in private enterprises' to return to their barracks.[68] The government followed this with a series of measures designed to facilitate the return of exiles and business administrators who had been forced out by the purges. Decree-law 471 of 14 June 1976 declared that the ideologically motivated purges realized by workers in the private and public sectors between 1974 and 1976, and 'which had not observed' the laws that were then in force, were legally null and void.[69]

Taking advantage of the new situation, the victims of the purges organized themselves into the Movement for the Reintegration of the Unfairly Dismissed (MPDJC – Movimento Pró-reintegração dos Despedidos sem Justa Causa), which could count on the new private newspapers to fight in their corner.[70] The trade union movement protested against the reintegration of those who had been purged by holding strikes and even some sporadic sit-ins. These actions, which affected mainly the recently nationalized state enterprises and the civil service, were largely unsuccessful.

The purge commissions in the ministries ceased to operate in 1976 and the Council of the Revolution, which took on the role of these commissions as well as the leadership of the CEPML, reinforced legal mechanisms to ensure a process of rehabilitation took place. A moderate member of the Council of the Revolution, Captain Sousa e Castro, was given responsibility for the entire process. The CARSR was then created under the auspices of the Council of the Revolution and continued in operation until the mid-1980s, rehabilitating the vast majority of appellants that came before it. This commission was composed of legally qualified military officials and civilians who had no links with the dictatorship. According to a report into its activities, the commission expressed the view that 'it is necessary to repair the damage that was done' during the 1974–75 period when many of the purges were 'merely arbitrary'.[71] Most of those who had been dismissed during the purges had their punishment altered to compulsory retirement. The remainder often received a payment in lieu of lost earnings and restoration of their seniority for the purpose of calculating retirement pension entitlements. In some cases in which trade union or student resistance to the reintegration was particularly vociferous, those who were to be reintegrated were simply transferred to other institutions or remained at home until emotions calmed down before returning to their posts. In some universities reintegration of those who had been purged did not begin until the early-1980s. One case, that of Veiga Simão, former Education Minister of Caetano, was decided by the Council of the Revolution itself; however, the great majority were left to Sousa e Castro and his CARSR.

Between 1976 and 1978 these commission reassessed 3,351 processes within the various government ministries and nationalized industries, most of which concerned officials of the previous regime's political police. In the case of PIDE–DGS agents, the CARSR followed the precedent established by the Military Tribunals. These tribunals had heard the cases against political police agents, and had decided that

'the fact that those being tried were former agents of the PIDE–DGS is irrelevant because it was not illegal in the past to be a member of the political police'. This principle restored their rights as public employees to them, but only if they had not 'taken part in illegal activities'.[72]

With the abolition of the Council of the Revolution many of the outstanding appeals were transferred to the administrative courts, while the CEPML became little more than a document archive that was responsible to parliament. Parliamentary debates concerning the future of the archive were often heated and passionate with some parties, particularly the CDS, calling for their destruction. Their incorporation into the national archive and consequent limited release to the public was a controversial victory for historians and left-wing parties.

## The Politics of Memory in Democratic Portugal

An official exhibition on the twentieth century in Portugal was inaugurated in November 1999, with the sponsorship of the Presidency and the government, to celebrate 25 years of Portuguese democracy. Directed at the public at large and students, the exhibition took thousands of Portuguese through the dark passages of Salazarism, through the torture chambers of the political police and corridors lined with photographs of political prisoners, while opposition figures and the pro-democratic press were celebrated. There was a threatening corridor dedicated to the colonial war, which ended in a well-lit area celebrating the fall of the dictatorship. Significantly, the exhibition ended where democracy began. The turbulent period of the first years of the transition were omitted, represented symbolically by thematic panels which portrayed the process of social and political change that had taken place in the 25 years since the fall of the Salazar regime.

It would have been very difficult for an official exhibition to deal with the transitional period, given the complex legacy of the first two years of the transition. According to the official discourse of the PS, led by Mário Soares, and the democratic parties of the centre-right, Portuguese democracy was shaped by a 'double legacy': the authoritarianism of the right under the New State, and the authoritarian threat of the extreme left of 1974–75.[73]

The impact of the return of right-wing exiles to Portugal, of press campaigns in favour of those who had been expropriated in 1974–75 and the search for some anticommunist 'military heroes' was hardly noticeable. By the end of the 1970s the situation no longer favoured the political re-conversion of the 'barons' of the dictatorship and of military figures with populist tendencies, who hoped to make political capital of involvement in anti-communist action in 1975. The process of de-colonization, aggravated by the inability to mobilize those returning from Africa, marked the end of an era for the Portuguese radical right.

The relatively peaceful process of reintegrating the returning colonists was not merely a consequence of the 'quiet habits' ascribed to the Portuguese, or of state support. It was also a product of the nature of the white community in Africa, such as its relatively recent settlement in the colonies and the concomitant maintenance of family ties in Portugal.[74] Emigration to other countries

such as South Africa also diminished the numbers returning and the shock of social absorption.

The abolition of punitive legislation affecting the dictatorial elite and the process of democratic consolidation encouraged some of the leading figures of the old regime to return to Portugal. The last president of the New State, Admiral Américo Tomás (who maintained a 'political silence' until his death), as well as some former ministers, eventually came back to Portugal. Marcello Caetano refused to return from Brazil, where he died in 1980. None of those who came back wanted to associate themselves with a possible rebirth of the radical right, and few of them joined the democratic parties. Some exceptions confirm the rule: Adriano Moreira, former minister for the colonies, developed a political career under the new democracy. He became a parliamentary deputy and the Secretary General of the CDS for a short period of time. Among the Caetano ministerial elite there were a few that became involved in politics again, but the number is insignificant. Veiga Simão, who designed the policy to modernize the school system shortly before the fall of the regime, offers one of the rare examples of a reactivated political career.

By 1985, on the eve of Portugal's accession to the EEC, the heritage of the double legacy was practically extinct. There was no party of the right of parliamentary or electoral significance that represented the old elite or acted as a carrier of authoritarian values inherited from Salazarism. The legacy of state socialism and military guardianship had also disappeared after the successive constitutional reforms.

The new democratic institutions associated themselves with the legacy of political opposition to the dictatorship. The semi-presidential nature of the political system and the fact that first General Ramalho Eanes and then two presidents who had been active in the anti-Salazar struggle (Mário Soares and Jorge Sampaio) have been important symbolically in reinforcing the anti-dictatorial nature of the new regime. During the first 30 years of democracy, successive Presidents of the Republic have rehabilitated posthumously many of the dictatorship's victims and awarded members of the anti-Salazar opposition awards, such as the Order of Freedom. The most emblematic of these awards was granted to General Humberto Delgado, whose military honours were restored posthumously. Streets and other public places were renamed after famous opposition figures – republicans, communists and socialists alike – while Salazar's name was removed from all public monuments, squares and the bridge over the Tagus, which was quickly renamed Ponte 25 de Abril (25 April Bridge).

Attempts to compensate those activists who had struggled against the dictatorship were made from the 1970s onwards, although some of the proposals did not receive parliamentary approval.[75] Members of the opposition to the Dictatorship had to wait until 1997, and the introduction of the Socialist Party government's legislation enabling them to seek compensation, in terms of social security and retirement pension entitlements, for the years they remained clandestine or in exile.[76] However, in order to qualify, the claimants must be able to provide evidence of their persecution in the records held in the PIDE archive, and this is not always easy.[77]

Another aspect of the attempt to delegitimize symbolically the authoritarian past was the alteration of national holidays. The date of the republican revolution, 5 October 1910 (the republic had never been abolished by the dictatorship) assumed greater significance, while the 28 May holiday, which celebrated the military coup of 1926, was replaced with a new holiday on 25 April, celebrating the foundation of the new democratic regime.

In Portugal the creation of museums about repression and the dictatorship are notably absent. All such projects presented in the first two years of the transition were abandoned due to a lack of interest within civil society, including political parties such as the PS or the PCP, or a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the state. A project to turn the Commission on the Black Book on the Fascist Regime into a Museum of the Resistance failed to garner the support of the centre-right government of Cavaco Silva in 1991. Some modest initiatives were undertaken by city councils run by PS–PCP coalitions, such as the Lisbon council in the 1990s. The so-called Museum of the Republic and Resistance is a case in point. It was only towards the end of the 1990s that private foundations were created with the explicit aim of consolidating the memory of resistance to Salazarism and the transition to democracy. Such is the case of the Mário Soares Foundation, established after the former president retired. With the passage of time the 25 April Association, which is organized by members of the MFA, has gradually developed both an annual commemoration and has kept the memory of those who were involved in the coup that brought down the authoritarian regime.

As in other transitions to democracy, the fate of the defeated regime's archives was a topic of heated debate. Given the nature of the fall of the regime, the military took possession of the PIDE–DGS archives and these survived almost intact; more importantly, perhaps, the archives of Salazar himself, which were kept in the headquarters of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers when the dictator died in 1970. This archive, which had been maintained meticulously by Salazar, gives a unique account of 40 years of Portuguese political life. Both the PIDE–DGS and the Salazar archives have been deposited in the national archive where, like all other New State documents, they are open to public inspection.

Important public debates about the archives began in the 1990s, when these were opened to the public. One such debate, provoked in 1996 by a former socialist minister who had been a victim of the PIDE–DGS, centred around the return of letters, photographs and other materials apprehended by the political police to their original owners or their heirs. Although some defended this course of action during the parliamentary debates that ensued, the negative reaction of the majority of historians ensured that the archives remained in the national archive.[78]

There are also occasional 'eruptions of memory' arising from unresolved cases or from new revelations by former regime members. For example, in 1998 the leader of the PIDE unit responsible for Humberto Delgado's assassination gave an interview to a Portuguese journalist in which he stated that he travelled regularly to Portugal although he had been condemned, *in absentia*, to eight years' imprisonment. He was soon found in Spain, where he had been living under a false name. A Spanish court prevented the Portuguese authorities from extraditing him, however, and the

court that had sentenced him originally was forced to admit that the statute of limitations applied, and that he was a free man.

## Authoritarianism and the Transition in the Portuguese Collective Memory

The motto 'no legacy lasts forever' does not seem to be applicable to political culture and many of the theses concerning apathy, lack of participation and weak support for democracy tend to be analysed as a legacy of authoritarianism. Hite and Morlino argue that, given the authoritarian regime's long duration and the extent of its 'innovation', 'the widespread legacy at mass level, concerning the beliefs and attitudes towards democratic institutions, is much more difficult to overcome'.[79] However, they also recognize the difficulties in making the legacy of the previous dictatorships operational as an independent variable in the analysis of attitudes concerning the new democratic regimes.[80]

An omniscient state, the culture of passivity, the weakness of civil society, the values of 'order', the culture of deference and the persistence of clientelism are certainly legacies affecting the 'quality' of Portuguese democracy; legacies that are also present in other Southern European democracies.[81] Forty years of dictatorship has certainly left its mark, but it is a legacy that is diffuse and difficult to interpret. Many of its aspects are confused with certain historical legacies that have seeped into the dictatorship's heritage.[82]

What follows is only a brief analysis of the development of Portuguese attitudes concerning the country's authoritarian past and the transition, and may serve as an indicator of the impact post-authoritarian Portuguese democracy has had in marking the transition as a positive break with the past and generating popular cultural 'myths of refounding'.[83]

From the late 1970s there have been a number of surveys seeking out the Portuguese attitude to both Salazar and his regime. As is only to be expected, a significant minority believes that the dictatorship governed the country better.[84] In 1985, 13 per cent of Portuguese retained a 'positive' opinion of the authoritarian regime.[85]

As part of the celebrations of the thirtieth anniversary of democracy, several opinion polls were commissioned that asked the Portuguese about the nature of the country's transition. Early findings suggest that 25 April is deeply rooted in Portuguese society as an important and positive date in Portugal's history. Of those questioned in one survey, 77 per cent stated that they were proud of the manner in which the transition took place. More importantly, the younger the respondent the more proud they were.

The majority of Portuguese (52 per cent) believe that the 25 April 1974 coup was the most important event in the country's history. When the responses are broken down by party support some disagreement is evident, with those on the political right more likely to believe that membership of the EU or achieving independence from Spain in the seventeenth century were more significant events (Table 6).

The New State is perceived negatively, while 25 April is viewed positively, with a minority of 17–14 per cent who believe that the dictatorship was a good thing and 25 April as negative. The authoritarian regime is perceived negatively by all age groups

TABLE 6
ATTITUDES ABOUT THE AUTHORITARIAN REGIME AND 25 APRIL 1974 (2004)

| Characterization | New State | 25 April 1974 |
|---|---|---|
| More positive than negative | 17 | 58 |
| As positive as negative | 26 | 23 |
| More negative than positive | 50 | 14 |
| Don't know/no reply | 7 | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

*Note*: Figures are percentages.
*Source*: Portuguese Catholic University Opinion Poll, Commission for the Commemoration of the Thirtieth Anniversary of 25 April 1974.

with the exception of those who were over 70 years old in 2004, who were generally neutral. Differences begin to appear when the respondents are analysed according to party sympathy. It is only to be expected that negative attitudes towards the author-itarian regime will decline as opinions move from left to right, with the supporters of the Popular Party (CDS–PP – Centro Democrático Social–Partido Popular) being the most inclined to viewing the previous regime in a more positive light. In total, 62 per cent of CDS–PP supporters characterized the New State as being just as posi-tive as it was negative. The division between authoritarianism and democracy is less clear here. What would be interesting to know is whether the greater neutrality evidenced by CDS–PP supporters represents those who 'lost out' in 1974–75, or whether it is a new and discontented electorate. Nevertheless, the large majority, which includes supporters of the PSD, rejected the authoritarian past. This should be emphasized 30 years after the fall of the New State. The fact that positive attitudes towards the New State are restricted largely to a small right-wing party is consistent with the responses received regarding the consequences of 25 April. While the great majority of the Portuguese people believe, irrespective of their age, that the conse-quences of the 'revolution' were more positive than they were negative, supporters of the CDS–PP are more inclined to disagree with this sentiment.

When questioned on the motivations leading the armed forces to the 1974 coup, the Portuguese public believes that democratization and the ending of the colonial war were the main driving forces. Here the young tend to believe that democratization was a more important factor, while the older respondents place more emphasis on the desire to bring the war to an end; however, the differences are very small. Thirty years later the main actors of the transition have changed their position on the past, and perhaps even part of their motivations.[86] The example that is provided by the military officers who led and participated in the 1974 coup is interesting. Most Por-tuguese believe that their motives were to end the colonial war and to install democ-racy. Of the officers involved in planning and executing the coup, almost 90 per cent now say, 30 years later, that their main intention was to establish a democratic regime, while 70 per cent say that their main intention was to end the war. The negative image that the process of decolonization holds and the swift adaptation to democracy can perhaps explain the alterations in the officers' declared motivations. Even more inter-esting is the fact that more young people also think like them today, that their

principal desire was to create a democratic government. The older generation, those who actually participated in and witnessed the events as they happened, believe that the desire to end the war was every bit as important to the MFA as the wish to see the establishment of democracy.

For the first time, one of the surveys included questions on 'transitional justice' and on the judgement of the exiled political leaders of the authoritarian regime before a Portuguese court. [87] As we have seen above, the defeated regime's main leaders fled into exile in order to avoid being held to account. In this case the age and ideological divisions are much more pronounced, with the youngest age groups believing that the New State's leaders ought to be tried in a court of law. Those who lived through the transition, however, adopt a more moderate position. Here the divisions are significant between respondents when they are grouped by their political sympathies. PCP supporters believe that the former leaders should be punished, while 57 per cent of CDS–PP supporters think that it was right to let them leave the country.

Are the cleavages of 1975 still present in Portuguese society after 30 years of democracy? With the partial exception of PCP supporters, the response is that they are not. If the 1976 Constitution is perceived to have reflected the left's overwhelming domination of the transitional process, the subsequent constitutional revisions have reflected the influence of the right. The end of the empire, democratic consolidation, membership of the European Union and the social change that has taken place during the past 30 years have served to seal many of the cleavages of transition.

Democracy appears to be the preferred regime type of 72 per cent of all Portuguese, independent of their age or political beliefs; 25 April is associated positively with improvements in the population's general standard of living. In total, 68 per cent of all Portuguese believe that Portugal is a better place because of the transition to democracy. Nevertheless, these same polls indicate that the Portuguese have a low opinion on the operation and 'quality' of their democracy. Comparative studies indicate that, in Europe, the Portuguese express one of the lowest levels of confidence in their regime, with 51 per cent believing that it is 'a democracy with many defects'. Other surveys have come to the same conclusion.

## Conclusion

The Portuguese case is an illustration of the absence of any correlation between the nature of the authoritarian regime and the extent of retributive pressure during the transition process. It is the nature (collapse) of the authoritarian regime's downfall and the character of the 'anti-authoritarian' coalition during the first provisional governments that provoked a symbolic break with the past.[89] Long before Huntington had written 'Guidelines for Democratizers 4', the new authorities felt that it was 'morally and politically desirable' to replace and to punish some members of the previous elite, and to dissolve the authoritarian institutions, especially because they had the political opportunity owing to the type of transition.[90]

Almost immediately, the Portuguese transition eliminated some of the institutional legacies and replaced some of the more important members of the elite

that the dictatorship could have left the new democracy. Not only were the regime's most important political institutions dissolved, but the 'authoritarian enclaves' that had survived many of the transitional processes of the 1970s and 1980s were also eliminated, or were subjected to complex processes that paralysed them. The dissolution of the more repressive institutions (such as the PIDE and the Portuguese Legion) was a fact, and some of them were subjected to processes that involved purging and criminalizing them.

The nature of the transition is certainly the main factor behind the rapid dissolution of the authoritarian institutions, the criminalization of the political police and the administrative justice. However, the state crises constituted an important 'window of opportunity' for the Portuguese type of transitional justice: simultaneously radical, diffuse, and with little recourse to the judicial system. In the Portuguese case, particularly in the public and private companies, the purges were transformed into a facet of the social movements' radicalization. In fact, the state crisis and the dynamics of the social movements in 1975 exceeded the political punishment of the authoritarian elite, provoking the greatest 'fear' of the twentieth century among the country's social and economic elite.

The strong correlation between the dynamic of the purges, the state crises and the 'opportunity structure' that this afforded is temporally visible: with the 25 November 1975 coup that gave victory to the moderate military, supported by the parties of the right and centre-left, both legal and illegal purges came to an almost immediate end. This happened a few months before the new democratic institutions came into being. As Palacios Cerezales points out: '25 November signalled the end of the State crisis and, with it, the final opportunity for many kinds of collective action', marking 'the passing of a critical to an integrated juncture'.[91]

Elster notes that one of the factors in the diminution of the severity of punishments after the first phase of the transition was the natural 'abatement of the desire for

TABLE 7
AUTHORITARIAN LEGACIES AS CONSTRAINTS ON THE 'QUALITY' OF DEMOCRACY

| Dimension | Legacy | Portugal |
|---|---|---|
| Regime, institutions and norms | Authoritarian laws | |
| | Weak rule of law | |
| | Judicial authority with little autonomy | |
| | Large public sector | X |
| Elite | Armed forces' prerogatives | X |
| | Inefficient police | |
| | Radical right-wing groups | |
| | Non-accountable party elite | |
| Culture and the masses | Statism | X |
| | Passivity | X |
| | Political alienation | X |
| | Non-democratic attitudes | X |

*Source*: Adapted from Katherine Hite and Leonardo Morlino, 'Problematizing the Links between Authoritarian Legacies and "Good" Democracy', in Katherine Hite and Paola Cesarini (eds), *Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe* (Notre Dame, ING: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), p. 70.

retribution once it had been satisfied by the punishment of some wrongdoers'.[92] With the consolidation of Portugal's democracy, the parties of the right made some attempts to criminalize the radical elites of 1975, but an 'informal agreement' to denounce both authoritarianism and the 'excesses' of 1975 marked the end of retroactive justice and the reintegration of a large part of those who had been condemned.

If we ignore the political culture dimension which we have discussed above, then in the Portuguese case the majority of 'authoritarian legacies' were more a result of the nature of the transition than a direct consequence of the of the authoritarian regime (see Table 7). This was particularly so in the case of the large public sector and in the military prerogatives, that lasted until the 1980s,[93] thereby leading scholars such as Linz and Stepan to talk of the 'simultaneous transition completion and democratic consolidation' in 1982 – something that resulted in the complete subordination of the military to democratic political authority. Democratic consolidation in Portugal faced, therefore, a double legacy.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

## NOTES

1. Katherine Hite and Leonardo Morlino, 'Problematizing the Links between Authoritarian Legacies and "Good" Democracy', in Katherine Hite and Paola Cesarini (eds), *Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), p. 25. I adopt their definition of authoritarian legacies 'as all behavioural patterns, rules, relationships, social and political situations, norms, procedures and institutions either introduced or patently strengthened by the immediately preceding authoritarian regime'. Ibid, p. 26.
2. There is a very large bibliography dealing with 'transitional justice' processes, the most recent of which is by Jon Elster, *Closing the Books: Transitional Justice in Historical Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Of interest in relation to a comparative analysis of the Portuguese case are, as a general introduction to the phenomenon, the pioneering works by John H. Herz (ed.), *From Dictatorship to Democracy: Coping with the Legacies of Authoritarianism* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1982); James McAdams (ed.), *Transitional Justice and the Rule of Law in New Democracies* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997); Alexandra Barahona de Brito, González-Enriquez Cruz and Paloma Aguilar (eds), *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratising Societies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
3. Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), p. 215.
4. John Borneman, *Settling Accounts. Violence, Justice and Accountability in Postsocialist Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 141.
5. Kieran Williams, Brigid Fowler and Aleks Szczerbiak, 'Explaining Lustration in Central Europe: A "Post-communist Politics" Approach', *Democratization*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2005), pp. 22–43.
6. Jon Elster (note 2), p. 75. To be more precise, we are dealing with 'the political decisions that were taken immediately following the transition and which were directed at individuals who were responsible for decisions made or implemented under the old regime'. See Jon Elster, 'Coming to Terms with the Past: A Framework for the Study of Justice in the Transition to Democracy', *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (1998), p. 14. Elster (note 2, p. 76) opposes this to what is called '"postponed transitional justice", when the first actions are undertaken (say) ten years or more after the transition'.

7. Helga A. Welsh, 'Dealing with the Communist Past: Central and Eastern European Experiences after 1990', *Europe–Asia Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (1996), pp. 419–28. For more on the reconversion of communist parties, see Anna M. Grzymala-Busse, *Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

8. Elster (note 2), p. 216.

9. Elster (note 2), p. 62; Paloma Aguilar, 'Justice, Politics and Memory in the Spanish Transition', in de Brito, Cruz and Aguilar (note 2), pp. 92–118.

10. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 38–54.

11. Williams, Fowler and Szczerbiak (note 5), p. 33.

12. See especially Linz and Stepan (note 10), pp. 38–65.

13. John P. Moran, 'The Communist Torturers of Eastern Europe: Prosecute and Punish or Forgive and Forget?', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (1994), pp. 95–101.

14. Marc Osiel defines administrative massacre as 'large scale violation of basic humans rights to life and liberty by the central state in a systematic and organized fashion, often against its own citizens, generally in a climate of war – civil or international, real or imagined'. Marc Osiel, *Mass Atrocity, Collective Memory and the Law* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transactions Publishers, 2000), p. 9.

15. Nancy Bermeo, 'Democracy after War: Portugal in Comparative Perspective', paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (Chicago 2004).

16. Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Lawrence Whitehead (eds), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press); Linz and Stepan (note 10), Geoffrey Pridham, *The Dynamics of Democratization: A Comparative Approach*, (London: Continuum, 2000).

17. Linz and Stepan (note 10), p. 117.

18. Gretchen Casper, 'The Benefits of Difficult Transitions', *Democratization*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (2000), pp. 46–62.

19. Hite and Morlino (note 1), p. 47.

20. Diego Palacios Cerezales, *O Poder Caiu na Rua: Crise de Estado e Acções Colectivas na Revolução Portuguesa, 1974–75* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2003).

21. Juan J. Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000).

22. Antonio Costa Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism* (New York: SSM-Columbia University Press, 1996).

23. Robert M. Fishman, 'Rethinking State and Regime: Southern Europe's Transition to Democracy', *World Politics*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (1990), pp. 422–440.

24. Palacios Cerezales (note 20), pp. 35–55.

25. For an excellent introduction to the comparative study of the role of social movements in the Portuguese and Spanish transitions see Rafael Durán Muñoz, *Acciones Colectivas y Transiciones a la Demócracia: España y Portugal, 1974–77* (Madrid: Centro de Estúdios Avanzados em Ciências Sociales, 1997).

26. Paloma Aguilar, 'Justice, Politics and Memory in the Spanish Transition', in de Brito, Cruz and Aguilar (note 2), Nicos C. Alivizatos and P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, 'Politics and the Judiciary in the Greek Transition to Democracy', in James McAdams (ed.), *Transitional Justice and the Rule of Law in New Democracies* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), pp. 27–60.

27. Robert M. Fishman, 'Legacies of Democratizing Reform and Revolution: Portugal and Spain Compared', paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (Chicago 2004).

28. Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds), *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

29. Philippe C. Schmitter, 'The Democratization of Portugal in its Comparative Perspective', in Fernando Rosas (ed.), *Portugal e a Transição para a Democracia* (Lisbon: Colibri, 1999).

30. Norrie MacQueen, *The Decolonization of Portuguese Africa: Metropolitan Revolution and the Dissolution of Empire* (London: Longman, 1997); António Costa Pinto, *O Fim do Império Português* (Lisbon: Horizonte, 2001).

31. Tiago Fernandes, *Nem Ditadura nem Revolução: A Ala Liberal no Marcelismo (1968–74)* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 2005).

32. Leonardo Morlino, *Democracy between Consolidation and Crisis: Parties, Groups and Citizens in Southern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 19.

33. Schmitter (note 29), p. 360.
34. António Costa Pinto, 'Dealing with the Legacy of Authoritarianism: Political Purges in Portugal's Transition to Democracy', in Stein U. Larsen *et al.* (eds), *Modern Europe After Fascism, 1945–1980s* (New York: SSM-Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 1679–717.
35. Fátima Patriarca, 'A Revolução e a Questão Social: Que Justiça Social?', in Rosas, *Portugal e a Transição*, p. 141.
36. Thomas C. Bruneu (ed.), *Political Parties and Democracy in Portugal: Organizations, Elections and Public Opinion* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997); Fernando Farelo Lopes and André Freire, *Partidos Políticos e Sistemas Eleitorais: Uma Introdução* (Lisbon: Celta, 2002).
37. John L. Hammond, *Building Popular Power: Workers' and Neighborhood Movements in the Portuguese Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1988); Charles Downs, *Revolution at the Grassroots: Community Organizations in the Portuguese Revolution* (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1989).
38. Palacios Cerezales (note 20).
39. From June 1975 to April 1976 there were between 100 and 120 attacks on mainly Communist Party and communist-controlled trade union offices. See António Costa Pinto, 'The Radical Right in Contemporary Portugal', in Luciano Cheles *et al.* (eds), *The Far Right in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Longman, 1995), pp. 108–28.
40. Kenneth Maxwell, *The Making of Portuguese Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
41. Walter C. Opello, 'Portugal: A Case Study of International Determinants of Regime Transition', in Geoffrey Pridham, *Encouraging Democracy: The International Context of Regime Transition in Southern Europe* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991), pp. 84–102, Nuno Severiano Teixeira, 'Between Africa and Europe: Portuguese Foreign Policy', in António Costa Pinto (ed.), *Contemporary Portugal* (New York: SSM–Columbia University Press, 2004); Rui Mateus, *Memórias de um PS desconconhecido* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 1997).
42. The political police in the colonies remained active for the few weeks following the coup as the military hoped that it could be integrated into a military intelligence police. However, not even the colonial political police could escape the abolition of their service.
43. Artur Costa, 'O Julgamento da PIDE–DGS e o Direito (Transitório) à Memória', in Iva Delgado, Manuel Loff, António Cluny, Carlos Pacheco and Ricardo Monteiro (eds), *De Pinochet a Timor Lorosae: Impunidade e Direito à Memória* (Lisbon: Cosmos, 2000), pp. 39–53.
44. *Diário do Governo*, Series 1, No. 46, p. 744.
45. *Diário do Governo*, Series 1, No. 59, p. 375.
46. *O Século*, 27 February 1975.
47. *O Século*, 1 October 1974. Dinis de Almeida, who was at that time an important figure on the extreme left of the MFA, divided the purges into four distinct periods. General Spínola and the MFA led the first series of purges. The second, which was based on the principal of 'incompetence', was much slower and more complex. The third, which took place during the spring and summer of 1975, and involved the removal of right-wing officers. The fourth and final series of purges took place after 25 November 1975, when left-wing officers were removed. See Dinis de Almeida, *Ascenção, Apogeu e Queda do MFA* (Lisbon: Edições Sociais, 1978), pp. 39–43.
48. António Costa Pinto, 'Settling Accounts with the Past in a Troubled Transition to Democracy: The Portuguese Case', in de Brito, Cruz and Aguilar (note 2), pp. 65–91.
49. *Diário do Governo*, Series 1, No. 62, pp. 430–4.
50. Kenneth Maxwell, 'The Emergence of Portuguese Democracy', in Herz (note 2), pp. 231–50.
51. There were four degrees of punishment: transfer to other duties at either the same or a lower grade; suspension for up to three years; compulsory retirement; and dismissal.
52. *Diário Popular*, 5 September 1974.
53. *O Século*, 27 February 1975.
54. António Costa Pinto, 'Salazar's ministerial elite', *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2004), pp. 103–13.
55. *A Capital*, 19 April 1975.
56. There were very few purges in bodies that were responsible to the Ministry of Justice: 22 Judicial Police officers, 16 registrars and notaries and four prison directors were removed from their positions. *A Capital*, 19 April 1975.
57. See the speech delivered by the Socialist Party deputy, Raul Rego. *A Luta*, 9 February 1977.
58. On the Socialist Party, see Vitalino Canas (ed.), *O Partido Socialista e a Democracia* (Oeiras: Celta, 2005).

59. *Constituição da República*, 1986, pp. 92–3.
60. Durán Muñoz (note 25), p. 128.
61. *Diário do Governo*, Series 1, No. 17, pp. 112–13.
62. Durán Muñoz (note 25), pp. 205–68.
63. Harry Makler, 'The Consequences of the Survival and Revival of the Industrial Bourgeoisie', in Lawrence Graham and Douglas L. Wheeler (eds), *In Search of Modern Portugal: The Revolution and its Consequences* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), pp. 251–83.
64. Kenneth Maxwell, *The Press and the Rebirth of Iberian Democracy* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1983).
65. Jorge Freitas Branco and Luísa Tiago de Oliveira, *Ao Encontro do Povo: 1-A Missão* (Oeiras: Celta, 1993), Luísa Tiago de Oliveira, *Estudantes e Povo na Revolução: O Serviço Cívico Estudantil* (Oeiras: Celta, 2004).
66. Elster (note 2), p. 75.
67. This section owes much to Maria Inácia Rezola who provided me with material concerning the Council of the Revolution and the purges. For more on this, see Maria Inácia Rezola, 'O Conselho da Revolução e a transição para a democracia em Portugal (1974–1976)', unpublished doctoral thesis, New University of Lisbon Faculty of Social and Human Sciences (2004).
68. Council of the Revolution, Minutes of a meeting, dated 11 December 1975, Annexes T and P, *Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo* (ANTT). Sousa e Castro had already been nominated to take control of the purges, but he only took office after the events of 25 November 1975. See Council of the Revolution, Minutes of a meeting, dated 31 October 1975, ANTT.
69. *Diário do Governo*, Series 1, No. 138, p. 1332.
70. From the *Jornal Novo* to the Socialist Party's own newspaper, *A Luta*.
71. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo/Conselho da Revolução, CARSP, *Relatório de Actividades*, 1976–1977–1978, p. 1.
72. Ibid.
73. To my knowledge, the only work dealing with the historical memory of 25 April and the transition within the most important political parties – the PS and the PSD – is Vasco Campilho, *Le Poing et la Fleche: Étude Comparative des Memoires Historiques de la Revolution des Oeillets au sein du Parti Socialiste et du Parti Social Democrate*, Mémoire de DEA (Paris: Institut D'Études Politiques de Paris, 2002).
74. Rui Pena Pires (ed.), *Os Retornados: Um Estudo Sociográfico*, (Lisbon: IED, 1984).
75. *Diário de Notícias*, 16 June 1976.
76. Law 20/97, 19 June 1997.
77. According to this law, the claimant must prove that their claim is related to time 'spent, either within the country or abroad, during which they were victims of political persecution that impeded their ability to engage in normal professional activities and prevented their social insertion into the community because of their membership of a political group, or their participation in political activities destined to promote democracy' at any time between 28 May 1926 and 25 April 1974.
78. If the person identified in the case is still alive, or has been dead for less than 50 years, their file may be consulted only with permission from the individual concerned or from their descendents. The majority of documents, expunged of names, are open for consultation.
79. Hite and Morlino (note 1), p. 49.
80. Ibid, p. 73.
81. Ibid, p. 49.
82. Edward Malefakis, 'The Political and Socio-economic Contours of Southern European History', in Gunther, Diamandouros and Puhle (note 28), pp. 33–76; Hite and Morlino (note 1), pp. 25–83.
83. Paola Cesarini 'Legacies of Injustice in Italy and Argentina', in Hite and Cesarini (note 1), p. 161.
84. Thomas C. Bruneau and Alex MacLeod, *Politics in Contemporary Portugal: Parties and the Consolidation of Democracy* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1986).
85. Leonardo Morlino and José Ramon Montero, 'Legitimacy and Democracy in Southern Europe', in Gunther, Diamandouros and Puhle (note 28), p. 236.
86. Data from the opinion poll carried out by the Portuguese Catholic University and *Público*, 25 April 2004.
87. See the Portuguese Catholic University opinion poll, Commission for the Commemoration of the Thirtieth Anniversary of 25 April 1974.
88. Bermeo (note 15).
89. For more on the first provisional governments during the Portuguese transition, see Thomas C. Bruneau, 'From Revolutions to Democracy in Portugal: The Roles and Stages of the Provisional

Governments', in Yossi Shain and Juan J. Linz (eds), *Between States: Interim Governments and Democratic Transitions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 144–59.
90. Huntington (note 3), p. 231.
91. Palacios Cerezales (note 20), p. 177.
92. Elster (note 2), p. 228.
93. Hite and Morlino (note 1), p. 70.

Address for correspondence: António Costa Pinto, Institute of Social Science, University of Lisbon, Av. Prof. Aníbal Bettencourt, 9, 1600-189 Lisbon, Portugal. E-mail: acpinto@ics.ul.pt