



*Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right*

# **THE PORTUGUESE FAR RIGHT**

## **BETWEEN LATE AUTHORITARIANISM AND DEMOCRACY (1945–2015)**

Riccardo Marchi



# The Portuguese Far Right

The book discusses the far right in the contemporary Portugal (1945–2015) within three different periods: the end of the authoritarian regime of António de Oliveira Salazar (1945–1974), the transition to democracy after the coup d'état of 25 April (1974–1982) and the democratic regime until the present (1982–2015). The analysis focuses on political groups and parties, social movements, ideologies, intellectuals and publications acting at the extreme right of the political spectrum of the Portuguese authoritarian regime and of the democratic regime, both on a national and international level. The book also contextualizes the Portuguese far right within the political thought and the organizational models of the wider European extreme right.

A qualitative in-depth case study and the outcome of 10 years of research, this book offers analysis of historical and contemporary primary sources, previously unexplored archives and in-depth interviews. Assessing the extent to which the behaviour of the far right is altered in different political environments and situations, this book makes an innovative and unique contribution to scholarship on the extreme right within southern Europe and will be of interest to students and scholars researching extreme-right politics, as well as European history and politics more generally.

**Riccardo Marchi** is Senior Research Fellow at the Center for International Studies at the University of Lisbon, Portugal.

## **Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right**

Series editors: Nigel Copsey,

*Teesside University*, and

Graham Macklin,

*Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo.*

This new book series focuses upon fascist, far right and right-wing politics primarily within a historical context but also drawing on insights from other disciplinary perspectives. Its scope also includes radical-right populism, cultural manifestations of the far right and points of convergence and exchange with the mainstream and traditional right.

Titles include:

### **Searching for Lord Haw-Haw**

The Political Lives of William Joyce

*Colin Holmes*

### **France and Fascism**

February 1934 and the Dynamics of Political Crisis

*Brian Jenkins and Chris Millington*

### **Cultures of Post-War British Fascism**

*Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (eds.)*

### **Tomorrow Belongs to Us**

The UK Far Right since 1967

*Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds.)*

### **The Portuguese Far Right**

Between Late Authoritarianism and Democracy (1945–2015)

*Riccardo Marchi*

### **Never Again**

Rock Against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League 1976–1982

*David Renton*

For a full list of titles in this series, please visit [www.routledge.com](http://www.routledge.com)

# **The Portuguese Far Right**

Between Late Authoritarianism and  
Democracy (1945–2015)

**Riccardo Marchi**

First published 2019  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2019 Riccardo Marchi

The right of Riccardo Marchi to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-138-21898-7 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-40993-1 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman  
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

# Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<b>Introduction</b>	1
<i>Historical periodization and book structure</i>	4
<i>The object and the objectives of the research</i>	8
<i>The conceptual question</i>	9
<i>Methodology</i>	10
<b>PART I</b>	
<b>The far right at the end of the authoritarian regime (1945–1974)</b>	17
1 The far right intellectual milieu at the end of the Second World War (1945–1960)	19
2 The far right at the outbreak of the war in Africa (1961–1968)	35
3 The right-wing opposition to the Marcello Caetano government (1968–1974)	55
<b>PART II</b>	
<b>The far right during the transition to democracy (1974–1982)</b>	69
4 The far right resistance during the revolution (1974–1975)	71
5 The far right resurgence in the “democratic normalization” (1976–1982)	101
6 The metapolitics as the new strategy to modernize the far right (1982–1985)	121

**PART III**

**The far right during the consolidated democracy (1982–2015) 131**

7 A new cycle in democracy: the groupuscular and subcultural far right (1985–1999) 133

8 The new party strategy at the dawn of the new millennium (1999–2015) 155

9 The identitarian movement in Portugal 165

**Conclusions 181**

*At the end of the New State 182*

*Transition to democracy 185*

*Consolidated democracy and new millennium 189*

*Index 193*

# Acknowledgements

The post-doctoral fellowship was granted by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT) – SFRH/BPD/103212/2014 and UID/CPO/03122/2013.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# Introduction

Considering the extensive literature on the extreme right in Western democracies, Portugal is often one of the most overlooked countries due to this political phenomenon's irrelevance (Davis 1998; Ignazi 2003a: 144, 154; Backes 2011). In particular, the explicative factors for the extreme-right's marginality are common to Western democracies like Portugal, Spain, and Greece: late persistence of authoritarian right-wing regimes followed by transitions to democracy and the consequent electorate mistrust, paving the way for a nostalgic recollection of the past (Ignazi 2003b: 1; Norris 2005: 65–66). In the Portuguese case, these factors were worsened due to the way the transition to democracy fell apart, making the extreme right's reorganization all the more difficult after the fall of authoritarianism (Linz 1998: 40).

Although the radical right wing did not have a stronghold in any of these three southern European countries, they deserved more attention from the national and international scientific community. Studies on the European right wing focusing on Spain in particular mushroomed in the last part of the 20th century, thanks to work from national historians such as Xavier Casals y Meseguer, José Luis Jiménez Rodríguez, Ferran Gallego, Pedro Carlos González Cuevas, and foreigners like Paul Preston and Sheelagh Ellwood. More recently, Spanish radicalism has garnered new interest from political scientists and historians due to the window of opportunity offered by the international economic crisis to the anti-system parties. Comparative studies on the recent populist outbreak have registered the greatest success of left-wing populism in comparison with the right-wing variant. Within this latter political spectrum, they confirmed the absolute marginality of the traditional, Francoist, and anti-democratic extreme right (Alonso and Kaltwasser 2015: 3–6).

In much the same way, the recent collapse of the Greek political-economic system modified the scenario of the marginalization felt by the Hellenic extreme right since the downfall of the regime in 1974 (Kapetanyannis 1995: 135), thereby renewing the scientific community's interest in the subject. With LAOS part of the national government in 2007, and especially Golden Dawn entering parliament in 2012, an increasing number of analyses were made as an attempt to explain a phenomenon that had been considered as a non-issue for so long. With a rise in immigration and unemployment, certain attitudes deemed as xenophobic and

## 2 Introduction

nationalistic in the public eye were provided as possible answers, alongside the disappearance of competitors on the right of the political spectrum in the general context of the crisis of the party system which favoured the return of the old far right in Greece (Ellinas 2013: 556–559).

Differing from Spain and Greece, Portugal has remained on the fringe of European extreme right-wing studies. As a general rule, radical Portuguese, be they on the left or right, were unable to capitalize on the economic crisis facing the country since 2011, which has kept scientific interest low regarding populism in the country. Portugal did not even appear on the radar as a paradigmatic example on the lack of populism in favourable contexts. This aspect is part of a large-scale disinterest for right-wing radicalism since the end of the Second World War.

The existing scientific literature on contemporary Portuguese radicalism within the confines of the right wing is uneven to say the least, without even marking a chronological *continuum* (Ramos 2012: 18–29). The extreme right-wing was mainly analyzed in very specific cases: the relevance of the supporters of absolutism (the Miguelists) in the liberal wars of the 1820s and 1830s, the nationalist intellectuals' opposition during the First Republic (1910–1926), and their support or criticism in the case of National-Syndicalism to Salazar's New State since 1933. On the contrary, the academic community paid little heed to the extreme right in the authoritarian regime after 1945 and to the democracy in 1974. Little literature has been written on these subjects in English, having been relegated to scientific articles and chapters in books. These texts offer a macro analysis of the topic, particularly at the end of the regime and the transition to democracy. The research monographs have been up to now only available in Portuguese, presenting a diachronic analysis of the Portuguese right wing (Pinto 1996) or focusing on radicalism at the end of the New State regime and in the transition to democracy (Marchi 2009, 2017). In the context of the transition, the underground work done by the extreme right in 1975–1976 is what attracted the most interest among academics (Cervelló 1994; Tíscar 2014) and journalists (Wallraff 1976; Dâmaso 1999; Carvalho 2017).

The first studies on this subject aimed at an international audience were less concerned with descriptive exhaustiveness but more on explaining the marginality of the Portuguese extreme right wing. In his leading work on radicalism at the end of the New State, António Costa Pinto (1989: 70) attributed the inherent weakness of the extreme right to some flaws within the authoritarian model of the regime itself. One of these factors included the feeble power of the political party it had (National Union – União Nacional) in contrast to the State itself. Another was weak political mobilization of the masses, in addition to limited participation in paramilitary organizations (Portuguese Legion – Legião Portuguesa and Portuguese Youth – Mocidade Portuguesa), and the de-politicization policy after 1945. The same occurred again following the outbreak of the African War in 1961. In this broader context, the literature relays two central characteristics of the extreme right in the New State. The first of these is the mobilization of the few nationalistic groups in occasion of the African War, with the intent to impose a revolutionary tinge to the regime, without putting at risk the figure of Salazar (Gallagher 1983, 1992: 235). The other was the switch to radical opposition methods against Marcelo

Caetano – Salazar’s successor following 1968 – whose attempt to liberalize the regime put the crumbling Empire’s stability in danger (Pinto 1995: 111, 113).

As regarding the transition to democracy, the fall of the New State brought on by the military coup d’état on 25 April 1974 was largely the root of the Portuguese extreme right’s ideological marginalization (Pinto 1995: 114). In the aftermath of the coup d’état, however, the transition did not hinder the extreme right from being some of the first to create political parties (Gallagher 1992: 235). These extreme-right organizations’ promoters managed to avoid the first wave of arrests against the notables of the former regime, but they were particularly vulnerable to political purges and the repression brought on by the revolutionary forces over the course of the transition (Pinto 1995: 115; 1998: 1708–1710). The extreme right, did, however, gain back some support after the summer of 1975, taking full advantage of the mass reaction against the advance of the Portuguese Communist Party (Partido Comunista Português PCP) and the left-wing forces part of the revolutionary Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas MFA). The literature also points out how, at this stage, the far right underground and armed organizations played an important role, but subject to the broadest anti-communist resistance, animated primarily by the Catholic Church and by moderate parties (Cerezales 2007: 164; 2017: 689, 698).

The circumstantial character of this renewed activism is proven due to the failure of the extreme right wing’s initiatives during the phase of Portuguese democracy being normalized and institutionalized. During it, the extreme right was unable to take advantage of the unrest felt by large portions of the population regarding the political and economic climate in the revolutionary period, losing all of its electoral potential to the mainstream anti-communist parties (Gallagher 1992: 238–239; Pinto 2006: 69; Marchi 2017: 453). Further evidence for their failure can be found in sociological factors in the young Portuguese democracy. Philippe Schmitter (1986: 7–8) pointed out how society favoured the forces in the centre-right during the transition to the detriment of the hard-liners of the former regime. António Costa Pinto (2005: 41–42) underlined the effect of Portugal joining the EEC in 1985. Thomas C. Davis and Piero Ignazi further highlighted the large public support for a liberal democracy, the welfare state to be developed, and the country’s modernization due to globalization processes (Zúquete 2007: 180).

When compared with the transitional period, the phase of consolidated democracy put in place with the constitutional reform of 1982, led to a further waning interest in extreme-right factions. Studies have proven two dynamics within the extreme right, one of which was Portuguese far right’s rigid stance when faced with more innovative intellectual youth, influenced by the French *nouvelle droite* and the new Anglo-Saxon right wing at the start of the 1980s (Marchi 2016: 242, 251). The other – in the conceptual framework of the groupuscularization of the extreme right (Griffin 2003: 30) – dealt rather with the rise of a new activist generation. It was characterized by ethno-nationalism that broke from the tradition of Portuguese nationalism through subcultural expressions that saw eye-to-eye with youth extremism as seen at the end of the 20th century (Marchi 2010: 64–66; Marchi and Zúquete 2016: 48).

#### 4 *Introduction*

The formation of the National Renewal Party (Partido Nacional Renovar PNR) at the start of the 21st century attracted more interest among scholars. The party was analyzed on the basis of three elements: first, its origin and historical path in light of the internal conflict among its many political lines that undermined its stability up to at least 2007. Next, its electoral performance was poor, even in light of the political and economic crises the country's elites faced. Finally, its programmatic proposals were characterized by an ethno-cultural and identitarian nationalism in the context of the Lusophony (Zúquete 2007, 2013; Marchi 2010, 2012; Costa 2011).

### **Historical periodization and book structure**

Although few in number, these works allow a reconstruction of the political history of the Portuguese extreme right since the end of the Second World War up to modern times. As such, a comparison between the players that followed in its wake also allows one to trace the relevant historical events with respect to the object of this investigation over the course of its 70 years in two different regimes.

Put another way, the history of this political family can be divided into three over-arching periods. The last three decades of the New State was the first, characterized by the struggles Salazar faced until 1968 and those by Marcelo Caetano until 1974, with the African War as a continual theme. This was followed by the years of democratic transition from 1974 up to the start of the 1980s, the brunt of which here is focused on the 19 months' from the revolution up to November 1975, and later democratic institutionalization in the second half of the 1970s. Finally, the three decades of consolidated democracy, from the end of the 20th century to the start of the 21st century represent the third period.

The book follows these events chronologically, and as such, divided into their respective three parts, each one dedicated to the aforementioned over-arching period, with three chapters per period, focusing on specific moments in time, politically significant for the evolution of the extreme right.

In the first part which pertains to the end of the New State from 1945 to 1974, the first chapter is dedicated to the period from 1945 to the start of the 1960s. This chapter presents a generation of intellectual youths from the extreme right in the immediate post-war period who formed politically under the doctrinarian influence of Alfredo Pimenta, a vital figure for the monarchical extreme right, a veteran of Portuguese nationalism, and unavoidable figure of the pro-Axis faction within the regime during the war. This book then analyzes the editorial initiatives of the radical intellectuals and the debates that took place within them, in particular regarding the political climate after fascism had been defeated in 1945. The book will also analyze the survival strategies these factions and groups undertook to preserve the authoritarian regime and whatever alternatives could be found to avoid democracy from taking root.

The second chapter of the first part approaches the second generation of staunch nationalist activists from the moment the Portuguese African War began in 1961 to Salazar's step down from power in 1968. Without forgetting the influence still

felt by the generation that came before, the focus is rather to what extent these youth factions were radicalized as a result of the African War. In addition to this, their methods to mobilize through student organizations in contrast with the anti-Salazar opposition that was on the rise, and the criticism the New State faced due to its immobility are also analyzed. Each group is characterized by their own ideology, their connections with the regime, and their international relations with other European extreme-right forces. All these subjects are looked at in the bigger picture of the Europe extreme-right forces opposing de-colonization attempts in Africa.

The third chapter presents the oppositionist strategy by the extreme right during Caetano's period in power, from September 1968 until April 1974. In this regard, the radical political milieu is analyzed in its different factions within the regime that would later converge into a general right-wing opposition to the liberalization policies championed by Caetano. Here, a third generation of radical activists that emerged from the University of Coimbra is presented on the basis of two main subjects: defending the pluri-continental Empire threatened by Caetano's liberalization efforts and putting up resistance against left-wing radicalization. Furthermore, the comparison between radical right-wing members between Lisbon and Coimbra also highlight ideological and organizational innovations within the Portuguese extreme right with the onset of European neo-fascism, which marked the generation of the late 1960s and 1970s.

As for the second part of the book, the years between 1974 and 1982 are divided into three chapters, with the first specifically dealing with 1974 and 1975 and the extreme-right resistance to the revolutionary process after the military coup d'état on 25 April 1974. This brief period can be defined by two critical moments in the transition: first, by trying to organize and consolidate right-wing parties in the immediate aftermath of the coup d'état, and the second by the armed underground fight during the Ongoing Revolutionary Process (Processo Revolucionário Em Curso – PREC) until November 1975. The chapter takes a deeper look into the strategies used during these two moments by the extreme right with the goal to contrast the efforts made by the PCP and the extreme left, the MFA (Armed Forces Movement, the author of the coup d'état) to lead the transition process. The extreme right is looked at here through its subjection to General António de Spínola's failed strategies (political on 28 September 1974 and military on 11 March 1975) and armed resistance in PREC, including the far right connections with international extreme-right forces during their exile in Franco-led Spain.

The second chapter is dedicated to the events between 1976 and 1982, looking at how the extreme right attempted to become part of Portuguese democracy's institutionalization process. This phase opens with the military loss of the extreme left and the political defeat of PCP at the hands of a moderate faction in the MFA during the armed conflict on 25 November 1975. This event marked the end of PREC and allowed the extreme right to give up underground activities and pave new paths towards institutionalization. In this sense, the chapter takes a deeper look at the extreme right's projects in two distinct areas. The first was a return to propaganda and spreading the word through editorial initiatives and forming

## 6 *Introduction*

political parties, think tanks, and youth groups, with the specific aim to gather enough strength to oppose the hegemony of the centre-right party Social Democratic Centre (Centro Democrático Social CDS). This analysis provides evidence of the strategy and political contribution of the extreme-right pressure groups and parties at the time of the legislative elections in 1976, 1979, and 1980, as well as the presidential elections of 1976 and 1980. Particular attention is given to the relations between the extreme-right and the centre-right parties (PSD and CDS) at the start of the moderate coalition Democratic Alliance (Aliança Democrática AD, composed by PSD, CDS and People's Monarchist Party PPM), whose success would silence the desires of the radicals. Finally, the chapter approaches the process of co-optation of several important figures of the extreme right who came from the New State and the period of democratic transition on behalf of the centre-right parties – this de-radicalization would come to have relevant consequences for the future of the Portuguese far right.

The third chapter deals with the meta-political strategy initiated to modernize the extreme right at the end of democratic transition. This period reached its highest point in the first half of the 1980s, led by intellectual youth who came from the authoritarian regime, influenced by the European and North American new right and the innovations led by European neo-fascism. The chapter presents how the extreme right's new editorial projects aimed to spread its renewed message and ideologies through the anti-Marxist audience in Portugal at the end of the 1970s. The analysis indicates how closed off the national right wing was to these innovations, highlighting the divergences that already existed at the heart of the extreme right with the onset of the liberal-conservative “new right”, inspired by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan and the anti-liberal “new right” inspired by Alain de Benoist.

In the final section of the book, dedicated to the period of Portuguese consolidated democracy (1982–2015), the first chapter goes into greater detail on the subject of both the groupuscular and subcultural right wing that arose in Portugal in the mid-1980s and the end of the 20th century. This chapter also deals with the greatest cultural and generational change in the history of the Portuguese extreme right: the replacement of the extreme right from the authoritarian regime with a new generation of radical activists who grew up in the 1980s. From a sociological perspective, the flux of African immigrants from the former overseas provinces after decolonization and their concentration in metropolitan areas in both Lisbon and Porto provoked an outbreak of xenophobic tendencies, particularly among the youth who, in the suburbs, ended up integrating into the skinhead subculture. This nationalist attitude ended up being developed by youth in lower classes, in stark contrast to the bourgeoisie youth that fuelled the nationalist organizations in the New State. The consequence from a cultural point of view was that the myth of Portugal as multiethnic and multi-cultural came crumbling down, with the ethnocentric idea that Portugal is European and white being adopted instead. The chapter puts this socio-cultural change in context with the rest of Europe, comparing the two most important extreme-right youth movements that, in the 1980s, embodied the two different souls of Portuguese nationalism.

Finally, the second chapter presents the new strategy undertaken by the Portuguese extreme right at the dawn of the 21st century (1999–2015). From this perspective, when analyzing the National Renewal Party (PNR), one can witness the varying components that made up the Portuguese radical milieu from the old Salazarists to the skinhead youth. The tension between these two factions is paid particular attention to in terms of political culture, identity, and strategies. In this way, the chapter depicts the evolution of the party's strategy to take advantage of the right-wing wave in Europe at the start of the century.

Finally, with regards to the third and final chapter, the object of the analysis is the Portuguese identitarian movement that developed in the last decade alongside the PNR, which was in line with homologous currents within the European extreme right. The growing ethno-nationalist and identitarian tendencies of the younger militants in Portugal are depicted in two aspects: the first is the ostracism they suffered by veterans of radical nationalism who were still hostile to racialist viewpoints. The other focused on foreign influences imported by Portuguese identitarians and the network of international contacts forged by the Portuguese organizations. In parallel, the rivalries that existed in the ethno-nationalist camp and the relations between its movements and the PNR are highlighted, putting them in the context of the identitarian European milieu.

Even though the time frame analyzed in this book comprises a period of 70 years, it is possible to identify some general features of the Portuguese extreme right between late authoritarianism and democracy. Concerning mobilization, the extreme right was never a mass phenomenon, but rather an elite one. From a sociographic viewpoint, these elites originated predominantly from the bourgeoisie (low, medium, and high). From a geographic perspective, the main source of radical militancy were the bourgeois families from the country's two major urban centres (Lisbon and Porto). The children of the provincial bourgeoisie that joined the Lisbon, Porto, and Coimbra universities merged with the latter. The student milieu of bourgeois extraction constantly provides new generations of nationalist militants and feeds the restricted nucleus of radical intellectuals. Both will reproduce, throughout the extreme right's historical trajectory, the classical topics of Portuguese nationalism and import the ideological references of the European extreme right.

In fact, the younger generation represents the main actor in the translation of the extreme right's political culture into mobilization and militant action. In terms of political culture, their worldview is mainly rooted in counter-revolutionary anti-liberal monarchism, in traditionalist Catholicism, in imperial nationalism based on the discoveries' identity myth, in Portugal's civilizing mission as well as its multi-racial and pluri-continental destiny. This latter aspect, central to the extreme right's mobilization, is characterized by the alleged specificity of Portuguese expansionism grounded by Christian universalism that opposes the other European powers' colonialism, based on mere material exploitation, and the imperialism of the Soviet and North American superpowers. Although with democratization the multi-racial perspective is progressively replaced by ethno-nationalism, the issue of identity constantly remains central in the extreme right's political agenda, to the

detriment of monarchical doctrinal and counter-revolutionary postulates that were marginalized throughout the years.

This general, sociological, and ideological identity persists through the decades, despite registering some notable exceptions. Thus, the bourgeois origin of the extreme right does not preclude the presence of lower class elements stemming from the Lisbon and Porto metropolitan areas. In the late authoritarianism, these minorities within the ultranationalist minority are ideologically formed into the regime's paramilitary organizations (Portuguese Youth/*Mocidade Portuguesa* and Portuguese Legion/*Legião Portuguesa*). After 1945, the official structures lose strength but continue to represent a reservoir of radicalization and a move to political action during the crises of the New State (war in Africa, student protests, overthrow of the regime). During the transition, the young people coming from the anti-communist bourgeoisie and from the strongly Catholic countryside demonstrated the strongest reaction to the left-wing radicalization of the revolutionary process. In the consolidated democracy, the children of the urban peripheries and of the urban petty bourgeoisie, oftentimes composed of families of returnees from Africa, are the most attracted to radical political imported subcultures. Consequently, there is a general dynamic of proletarianization of the Portuguese extreme right throughout the analyzed 70-year period, with a certain impoverishment of the ideological elaboration that is not compensated by a substantial qualitative and quantitative improvement of the mobilization.

### **The object and the objectives of the research**

The work at hand here reconstructs the political history of the Portuguese extreme right from the end of the Second World War up to the present. The historical context is represented by the late authoritarianism (1945–1974), the transition to democracy (1974–1982), and consolidated democracy (1982–2015). The relevance of this study lies in the fact that the Portuguese extreme right is presented for the first time in a diachronic perspective over the last 70 years. This depiction of events has never been delineated in a continual format, not even in the literature available in Portuguese. Furthermore, this study presents other data which has not yet been published in Portuguese literature.

The aim is to identify all subjects that occupied the political space of the right wing from the authoritarian to the democratic regime. These subjects are described in their organizational form, ideological identity, and repertoire of actions in their relations with each other and with the regimes (or their internal components) in which they played a role. The focus was on political-historical factors that would shape how these subjects came about, how they developed over time, if they succeeded or failed, and the legacy they had or which they passed down to their successors. The descriptive side of this provided a consistent set of data that proved useful for the comparative analyses between Western radical right-wing parties in the context of both late authoritarianism and democratic transition.

The explanatory dimension also provides relevant elements for future comparative studies. In particular, the diachronic description of the Portuguese extreme

right provides insight into the causes of radicalization in context of political crisis (be it colonial war, coup d'états, revolutionary processes, decolonization processes, or third wave of democratization processes). It also shows the substance of radicalism within an authoritarian regime and a democratic one, as well as how those coped and worked with them and other institutions of the regime. One can also see the progression of radicalism shaped by the move from authoritarianism to democracy, through a sudden rupture and revolutionary process as well.

Considering the minor role of the Portuguese extreme right already highlighted by the existing scientific literature, this work seeks to strengthen the endogenous and exogenous factors of the extreme right that would determine why it remained inconsequential in the national political panorama's long term. Although failure is a point at which all actors meet at in this political spectrum in the long run, the study also has the objective to characterize the different subjects who filled this spectrum, to explain the reasons that shaped their self-identification, or to the contrary, their forced placement in the extreme-right category.

### **The conceptual question**

Since the final decade of the 20th century, scientific literature has been much more prolific on the conceptual debate over the right wing. The attempt to define rather widely spanning categories through concepts like "extreme right" or "radical right wing" or "neo-fascism" produced an inarguable aspect of analytic fine-tuning, but it did not achieve a definitive consensus in the scientific community (Gregor 2006: IX). The lack of consensus has gotten worse in the last years due to the renewed fame of the term "populism", following the electoral success of relatively new parties in the European parliamentary systems. The dispute lies mainly in the classification of all subjects belonging to the extreme right of the political spectrum as new faces of fascism, of its *Weltanschauung* and its objectives. Some authors have analyzed the most recent phenomenon of the extreme right as a sign of the "eternal return" of fascism (Mammone 2009: 175–177). Others, since the 1990s, have deemed it important to draw a boundary between neo-fascism and the radical or extreme right, for whom nationalism does not implicate anti-democratic viewpoints, territorial expansion, or refusal of the market economy (Karapın 1998: 218). For instance, Piero Ignazi (2003: 146) proposed to differentiate between the "old extreme right" (or the traditional extreme right) and the "new extreme right" (the post-industrial extreme right) depending on the claiming or the rejection of the fascist legacy by the subject being analyzed. An ulterior specification may derive from the refusal or acceptance of the rules to the democratic game in the opposition to the ruling regime: in the first case, one would speak of the "extreme right", and in the second, rather the "radical right" (Mudde 2000: 12).

Without wishing to intervene in any substantial way on this conceptual debate, this study uses the terms "extreme right", "radical right", or "right-wing radicalism" to refer to its objects of analysis. The term "nationalist" is also used for two reasons: first, it is a way to qualify the persons in this study as they most frequently defined themselves over the course of history; second, it is a very frequent

expression in the Portuguese political vocabulary to indicate the extreme right. On the contrary, the decision was made to avoid using the term “neo-fascism” as this refers to a very specific part of European radicalism after the Second World War. António Costa Pinto (1989: 67) recognized that the definition of “neo-fascism”, regarding Portugal, would interest specific groups and some intellectuals from the 1960s, marginal within the New State itself. Over the course of the book, certain elements of the Portuguese extreme right that adhered to the political culture of European neo-fascism will be pointed out.

In the specific Portuguese context, the definition of “extreme right” or “radical right” is questionable as a concept that covers all persons relevant in this study. As will be seen, they were widely different one from the other, whether ideologically or how they got on with the regimes of which they were part. The contingencies of Portuguese political history allowed that they could all fit in the right wing of their respective political spectrum, whether they approved of it or not. During the New State, two factors determined the placement of these actors on the far right: from 1961, the uncompromising defence of the Portuguese empire in the African war, with continual streams of criticism aimed at the regime for the lack of revolutionary and nationalistic mobilization connected to this cause. From 1969, they could be further defined with their opposition to the reformist policies that Caetano pushed, mainly regarding the African territories. During the democracy, the criteria to identify the extreme right were the resistance against the process of decolonization in the democratic transition, and the non-acceptance of the so-called “arc of governance” (PS, PSD, CDS) as a pillar of the consolidated democracy. For these reasons, the term “extreme right” better explains the geographic placement on the left/right axis in both authoritarianism and democracy, than strict adherence to doctrine or *modus operandi*. This study will highlight which forces were inserted in this space due just to historical contingencies and which more as a result of identity and collective action.

However, it is worth noting that all relevant figures of the Portuguese radical right after the Second World War were, ideologically speaking, part of the traditional extreme right, or at least an extreme right wing with its historic-ideological roots in the national revolutions in the inter-war period. At the very least it denied anti-fascism as an inherent part of its identity. The few political forces that did not adhere to this definition do not fit in any case the category of new extreme right. Even up to current times, no one political figure has come from Portugal that can be compared with the new extreme right that popped up in the rest of Europe (no matter how large or small) since the 1970s. This study identifies as such the most recent attempts as well on behalf of the traditional extreme right to take on the agenda and political discourse of the new extreme right and imitating their success.

## **Methodology**

The study at hand is sketched as a political history, based on data analysis over the course of 12 years of scientific investigation. In particular, the research was carried out over two periods, the first of which began in 2005 and ended in 2008,

entailing the course of my PhD in Modern and Contemporary History at the Lisbon University Institute (ISCTE-IUL) on the extreme right at the end of the New State (1945–1974). The second phase began with a post-doctoral research fellowship on the extreme right during the period of Portuguese democracy, with both being supervised by Professor António Costa Pinto. Finally, I dedicated 2016–2017 to gaining further insight on the extreme right in the transition to democracy, which I did as a researcher for the research fellowship of the Center for International Studies of the Lisbon University Institute (CEI-IUL). There, I was able to carry out my research on the years of 1976–1980 in particular, as those are key to understanding the failure of the extreme right in Portuguese democracy.

The investigation followed a qualitative methodology with data collection from different sources for each of the respective periods detailed here. For the time spanning the end of the authoritarian regime, investigation began with some exploratory interviews of former extreme-right militants from the 1960s. These interviews paved the way to understand better the most relevant personalities and active nationalist groups from 1945 up to New State's fall in 1974. They also shed light on three generations of militants, one after the other, over the course of three decades in the regime. The first of these consisted of young disciples of Alfredo Pimenta in the 1940s and 1950s, whereas the second was comprised of radicalized individuals who relentlessly defended the Empire at the time of the African War's outbreak in 1961. The third, at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, also defended the empire, but with an extra focus on opposing Marcelo Caetano. With this clearer image of the extreme right over the course of three generations, the primary sources were collected in two different ways. To reconstruct the historical dynamic of these movements, data was collected at the National Archives of Torre do Tombo (ANTT), particularly in the Oliveira Salazar Archive, the Marcelo Caetano Archive, the Ministry of Internal Administration's Archive, the PIDE/DGS Archive (the political police of the New State), and the Portuguese Legion Archive (the paramilitary organization of the New State).

The PIDE/DGS archive proved to be the most fruitful. The political police of the regime did not consider the extreme right to be a danger to the New State, but it did however keep a close eye on the groups whose inception was not directly inspired by the regime. In reports produced by the PIDE/DGS it is possible to understand which extreme-right factions were extensions of the New State and which had formed apart from the regime, although the latter were pressured to be a part in their policy of counter-subversion. Even more meaningful were documents produced by the political police on the opposition forces, particularly students and intellectuals. The watch over anti-regime groups frequently went hand-in-hand with reports on subjects who could potentially be used as counter-subversive instruments, in particular those from the radical right wing. Additionally, these reports allow not just greater insight on the history of the extreme-right organizations at the end of the New State, but also on their relations with the regime itself.

Seen from this angle, the Portuguese Legion Archive was particularly useful to prove how the New State used its paramilitary structures to co-opt members of the extreme right or finance entire organizations at certain moments in time.

As for the Salazar and Marcelo Caetano archives, the most interesting documentation for the research at hand had more to do with interventions that were carried out by internal factions of the regime, or by its institutions (such as the Censorship) in order to curb the activities of the extreme right when this became detrimental to the system. There were fewer documents that proved direct relations between extreme-right individuals or groups and the two leaders of the regime. However, the large amount of letters sent between Pimenta and Salazar, within the documentation that does exist, is useful in order to understand the political ideas of the extreme right in the time and place.

The archives also allowed access to publications that the extreme right did not hand over for the prior authorization of the Censorship and that the PIDE/DGS intercepted. The official publications, on the contrary, were consulted in the Lisbon's Periodical Library (Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa) and the National Library of Portugal. The analysis of all extreme right publications between 1945 and 1974 allowed for their ideology and political agenda to be outlined, along with improved knowledge of the national and international relations of this political family.

Interviews with extreme-right militants from each of the three generations identified complemented this collection and analysis of data from archival sources. During the PhD's investigation process, the network of witnesses was enlarged through the snowball method. This allowed for greater depth on sensitive subjects (like relations between the nationalist groups and the regime), particularly through informal conversations. The enlargement of the direct witness number also allowed access to the private archives. These archives thereby are also a testament to how hard it is to come by these sources, as the former militants did not take good care of their documents, with much of the material destroyed during the transition to democracy. These private archives also allow the material that was part of daily militant propaganda to be studied in greater detail, much of which failed to be controlled by the PIDE/DGS. As such, this grants access to more thorough knowledge on events that occurred in addition to understanding the extreme right's ideology.

The archival source changed radically later, however, during the transition period from 1974 to the start of the 1980s. The documents released by the revolutionary institutions – mainly for surveillance and repression against the extreme right – were not handed over to public institutions, and are therefore inaccessible. Furthermore, as a result of continual repression against the far right and having to carry out their operations underground, this led many of those in the extreme right to destroy personal records and material produced after 25 April 1974.

The most useful sources on the transitional period are the newspapers that closely followed the radical right's movements, both in an attempt to stop possible counter-coup d'états and to understand the strategy that the former supporters of the regime would implement in a new political situation. In the printing press world, publications that were connoted with the extreme right allowed their political agendas to be understood more clearly in 25 April's aftermath, but proved less useful in mapping out their connections with each other, also on an international

level. The fear of repression and need to appear as new actors on the political scene limited their freedom of speech in these sources.

The situation changed with the democratization process becoming increasingly more normalized after 25 November 1975. The proliferation of right-wing newspapers and the attention given to any sign of reorganization within its confines contributed towards making the liberal, conservative, and even nationalist printing press a rich source of data and information.

Regarding the data on the transition, the research material was enhanced through semi-structured interviews with key extreme-right militants who played an active part in both public militancy and underground work. This highlighted, however, the greatest issue when tackling the Portuguese extreme right. Those who were part of the armed resistance were reluctant to tell, in detail, how the underground groups carried out their operations. Neither did they share how they received their financial and logistic help, nor what their connections were with the three largest anti-communist parties in the parliament: the Socialist Party (Partido Socialista PS), the Social Democrat Party (Partido Social Democrático PSD), and the Social Democrat Center Party (Centro Democrático Social CDS). These parties have also always been unwilling to approach their connections with the extreme right during the so-called Ongoing Revolutionary Process (Processo Revolucionário Em Curso – PREC).

Finally, regarding the consolidated democracy period, the investigation was based on the significant amount of documentation on the extreme right which was present in the judicial archives. Its subcultural and groupuscular character, with some expression in social marginality and criminality ensured that the extreme right was, in the last two decades of the 20th century, the subject of police investigations and judicial processes (the most relevant of which coming in 1989, 1995, and 2007). As such, material from the militants was apprehended, and the judicial archives (in particular from the Constitutional Court for the 1980s) are a key source on the study of this time in history. These important archives were complemented further by interviews with extreme right-wing militants from the 1990s and the start of the 21st century, namely skinheads, some of whom allowed access to their personal archives.

In the last years, the José Pacheco Pereira Library and Archive Ephemera have become important in the field of archival sources. This archive is notable for making its content available online. The documents collected by José Pacheco Pereira are personally offered by political actors or by their heirs. The material on the extreme right has attracted increasing relevance for scientific investigations, not just for the period during the transition to democracy but also during Portugal's consolidated democracy.

At the end of the 1990s and the start of the 21st century, archival research lost much of its central role, seeing as how the latest expressions of right-wing Portuguese radicalism (in line with its like-minded Western peers) ended up on the Internet. Sites, blogs, and more recently, social networks, became the greatest source of data on this political area. These sources have great potential as well due to the possibility of being able to monitor them online daily and their internal dynamic changes.

Due to the variety of archival data consulted here, as well as references, it was decided that the most important documents for this work were identified through secondary sources (bibliographic references) where the reader may find a more detailed analysis on the original archives. For quotations taken from the printing press, on the contrary, primary sources were preferred.

## Bibliography

- Alonso, Sonia and Kaltwasser, Cristóbal Rovira (2015). “Spain: No Country for the populist radical right?” in *South European Society and Politics*, 20(1): 21–45.
- Backes, Uwe (2011). “The unsuccessful parties: Ideologies, strategies and conditions of the failures”, in Uwe Backes and Patrick Moreau eds., *The Extreme Right in Europe: Current Trends and Perspectives* (Göttingen: Vendenhoeck & Ruprecht), 149–170.
- Carvalho, Miguel (2017). *Quando Portugal Ardeu: Histórias e segredos da violência política no pós-25 de Abril* (Lisboa: Oficina do Livro).
- Cerezales, Diego Palacios (2007). “Fascist lackeys? Dealing with the police’s past during Portugal’s transition to democracy (1974–1980)”, in *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, 6(3): 155–169.
- Cerezales, Diego Palacios (2017). “Civil resistance and democracy in the Portuguese revolution”, in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 52(3): 688–709.
- Cervelló, Joseph Sanchez (1994). *Cronologia das organizações de direita* (Coimbra: Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril).
- Costa, José Mourão da (2011). “A nova extrema-direita na democracia portuguesa”, in *Análise Social*, XLVI(201): 765–787.
- Dâmaso, Eduardo (1999). *A Invasão Spinoquista* (Lisboa: Fenda).
- Davis, Thomas C. (1998). “The Iberian Peninsula and Greece: Retreat from the radical right?” in Hans-Georg Betz and Stefan Immerfall eds., *The New Politics of the Right: Neopopulist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies* (Nova Iorque: St. Martin’s Press), 157–172.
- Ellinas, Antonis A. (2013). “The rise of golden dawn: The new face of the far right in Greece”, in *South European Society and Politics*, 18(4): 543–565.
- Gallagher, Tom (1983). “From hegemony to opposition: The ultra-right before and after 1974”, in Lawrence S. Graham and Douglas L. Wheeler eds., *In Search of Modern Portugal – The Revolution and Its Consequences* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 81–104.
- Gallagher, Tom (1992). “Portugal: The marginalization of the extreme right”, in Paul Hainsworth ed., *The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA* (London: Pinter Publishers), 233–245.
- Gregor, Anthony James (2006). *The Search for Neofascism: The Use and Abuse of Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Griffin, Roger (2003). “From slime mould to Rhizome: An introduction to the groupuscular right”, in *Patterns of Prejudice*, 37(1): 27–50.
- Ignazi, Piero (2003a), “The development of the extreme-right at the end of the century”, in Peter H. Merkel and Leonard Weinberg, eds., *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Frank Cass), 143–158.
- Ignazi, Piero (2003b). *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

- Kapetanyannis, Vassilis (1995). “Neo-fascism in modern Greece”, in Luciano Cheles, Ronnie Ferguson and Michalina Vaughan eds., *The Extreme Right in Western and Eastern Europe* (London, New York: Longman), 129–144.
- Karapın, Roger (1998). “Radical-right and neo-fascist political parties in Western Europe”, in *Comparative Politics*, 30(2): 213–234.
- Linz, Juan (1998). “Fascism is dead: What legacy did it leave?” in Stein Ugelvik Larsen ed., *Modern Europe After Fascism 1943–1980s* (New York: Columbia University Press), 19–51.
- Mammone, Andrea (2009). “The eternal return? Faux populism and contemporarization of neo-fascism across Britain, France and Italy”, in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 17(2): 171–192.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2009). *Império Nação Revolução: As Direitas Radicais no Fim do Estado Novo 1959–1974* (Alfragide: Leya/Texto).
- Marchi, Riccardo (2010). “At the roots of the new right-wing extremism in Portugal: The national action movement (1985–1991)”, in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 11(1): 47–66.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2012). “The Portuguese radical right in the democratic period”, in Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins eds., *Mapping the Extreme Right in Contemporary Europe: From Local to Transnational* (London: Routledge), 95–108.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2016). “The Nouvelle Droite in Portugal: A new strategy for the radical right in the transition from authoritarianism to democracy”, in *Patterns of Prejudice*, 50(3): 232–252.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2017). *A Direita Nunca Existiu: As Direitas Extraparlamentares na Institucionalização da Democracia Portuguesa 1976–1980* (Lisboa: ICS).
- Marchi, Riccardo and Zúquete, José Pedro (2016). “The other side of protest music: The extreme-right and skinhead culture in democratic Portugal (1974–2015)”, in *JOMEC Journal*, 9: 49–70.
- Mudde, Cas (2000). *The Ideology of the Extreme Right* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Norris, Pippa (2005). *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Pinto, António Costa (1989). “A direita radical em Portugal, uma introdução”, *Risco*, 12: 67–85.
- Pinto, António Costa (1995). “The radical right in contemporary Portugal”, in Luciano Cheles, Ronnie Ferguson and Michalina Vaughan eds., *The Far Right in Western and Eastern Europe* (London, New York: Longman), 108–128.
- Pinto, António Costa (1998). “Dealing with the legacy of authoritarianism: Political purges in Portugal’s transition to democracy”, in Stein Ugelvik Larsen ed., *Modern Europe After Fascism 1943–1980s* (New York: Columbia University Press), 1679–1717.
- Pinto, António Costa e Teixeira, Nuno Severiano (2005). “Portugal e a integração europeia, 1945–1986”, in António Costa Pinto e Nuno Severiano Teixeira ed., *A Europa do Sul e a construção da União Europeia, 1945–2000* (Lisboa: ICS), 17–44.
- Pinto, António Costa (2006). “Portugal’s transition to democracy in the 1970s: The double legacy”, in Marietta Minotos ed., *The Transition to Democracy in Spain, Portugal and Greece Thirty Years After* (Athens: Patakis), 49–73.
- Pinto, Jaime Nogueira (1996). *A Direita e As Direitas* (Lisboa: Difel).

## 16 Introduction

- Ramos, Rui (2012). “Órfãs da História? As Direitas e a Historiografia em Portugal”, in Ricardo Marchi coord., *Ideias e Percursos das Direitas Portuguesas: As Raízes profundas não gelam?* (Alfragide: Texto), 13–78.
- Schmitter Philippe C. (1986). “An introduction to Southern European transition from authoritarian rule: Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain and Turkey”, in Philippe C. Schmitter and Guillermo O’Donnell eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule – Southern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins), 3–10.
- Tíscar, Maria José (2014). *A Contra-Revolução no 25 de Abril* (Lisboa: Colibri).
- Wallraff, Günter (1976). *A descoberta de uma conspiração: a acção Spínola* (Amadora: Bertrand).
- Zúquete, J. P. (2013). “Between land and sea: Portugal’s two nationalisms in the twenty-first century”, in Paul Christopher Manuel, Alynna Lyon and Clyde Wilcox eds., *Religion and Politics in a Global Society: Comparative Perspectives from the Portuguese-Speaking World* (New York: Lexington Books), 205–226.
- Zúquete, J. P. (2007). “Portugal: A new look at the extreme-right”, *Representation*, 43(3): 179–198.

## Introduction

- Alonso, Sonia and Kaltwasser, Cristbal Rovira (2015). Spain: No Country for the populist radical right? in *South European Society and Politics*, 20(1): 2145.
- Backes, Uwe (2011). The unsuccessful parties: Ideologies, strategies and conditions of the failures, in Uwe Backes and Patrick Moreau eds., *The Extreme Right in Europe: Current Trends and Perspectives* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 149170.
- Carvalho, Miguel (2017). Quando Portugal Ardeu: Histórias e segredos da violência política no ps-25 de Abril (Lisboa: Oficina do Livro).
- Cerezales, Diego Palacios (2007). Fascist lackeys? Dealing with the political past during Portugal's transition to democracy (1974-1980), in *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, 6(3): 155169.
- Cerezales, Diego Palacios (2017). Civil resistance and democracy in the Portuguese revolution, in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 52(3): 688709.
- Cervell, Joseph Sanchez (1994). Cronologia das organizações de direita (Coimbra: Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril).
- Costa, Jos Mouro da (2011). A nova extrema-direita na democracia portuguesa, in *Análise Social*, XLVI(201): 765787.
- Dmaso, Eduardo (1999). A Invasão Spínolista (Lisboa: Fenda).
- Davis, Thomas C. (1998). The Iberian Peninsula and Greece: Retreat from the radical right? in Hans-Georg Betz and Stefan Immerfall eds., *The New Politics of the Right: Neopopulist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies* (Nova Iorque: St. Martins Press), 157172.
- Ellinas, Antonis A. (2013). The rise of golden dawn: The new face of the far right in Greece, in *South European Society and Politics*, 18(4): 543565.
- Gallagher, Tom (1983). From hegemony to opposition: The ultra-right before and after 1974, in Lawrence S. Graham and Douglas L. Wheeler eds., *In Search of Modern Portugal: The Revolution and Its Consequences* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 81104.
- Gallagher, Tom (1992). Portugal: The marginalization of the extreme right, in Paul Hainsworth ed., *The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA* (London: Pinter Publishers), 233245.
- Gregor, Anthony James (2006). *The Search for Neofascism: The Use and Abuse of Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Griffin, Roger (2003). From slime mould to Rhizome: An introduction to the groupuscular right, in *Patterns of Prejudice*, 37(1): 2750.
- Ignazi, Piero (2003a). The development of the extreme-right at the end of the century, in Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg, eds., *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Frank Cass), 143158.
- Ignazi, Piero (2003b). *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Kapetanyannis, Vassilis (1995). Neo-fascism in modern Greece, in Luciano Cheles, Ronnie Ferguson and Michalina Vaughan eds., *The Extreme Right in Western and Eastern Europe* (London, New York: Longman), 129144.
- Karapın, Roger (1998). Radical-right and neo-fascist political parties in Western Europe, in *Comparative Politics*, 30(2): 213234.
- Linz, Juan (1998). Fascism is dead: What legacy did it leave? in Stein Ugelvik Larsen ed., *Modern Europe After Fascism 1943-1980s* (New York: Columbia University Press), 1951.
- Mammone, Andrea (2009). The eternal return? Faux populism and contemporization of neo-fascism across Britain, France and Italy, in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 17(2): 171192.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2009). *Império Não Revoluo: As Direitas Radicais no Fim do Estado Novo 1959-1974* (Alfragide: Leya/Texto).
- Marchi, Riccardo (2010). At the roots of the new right-wing extremism in Portugal: The national action movement (1985-1991), in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 11(1): 4766.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2012). The Portuguese radical right in the democratic period, in Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins eds., *Mapping the Extreme Right in Contemporary Europe: From Local to Transnational* (London: Routledge), 95108.
- 15 Marchi, Riccardo (2016). The Nouvelle Droite in Portugal: A new strategy for the radical right in the transition from authoritarianism to democracy, in *Patterns of Prejudice*, 50(3): 232252.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2017). A Direita Nunca Existiu: As Direitas Extraparlamentares na Institucionalização da Democracia Portuguesa 1976-1980 (Lisboa: ICS).
- Marchi, Riccardo and Zquete, Jos Pedro (2016). The other side of protest music: The extreme-right and skinhead culture in democratic Portugal (1974-2015), in *JOMEC Journal*, 9: 4970.
- Mudde, Cas (2000). *The Ideology of the Extreme Right* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

- Norris, Pippa (2005). *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Pinto, Antnio Costa (1989). A direita radical em Portugal, uma introduo, *Risco*, 12: 6785.
- Pinto, Antnio Costa (1995). The radical right in contemporary Portugal, in Luciano Cheles , Ronnie Ferguson and Michalina Vaughan eds., *The Far Right in Western and Eastern Europe* (London, New York: Longman), 108128.
- Pinto, Antnio Costa (1998). Dealing with the legacy of authoritarianism: Political purges in Portugals. transition to democracy, in Stein Ugelvik Larsen ed., *Modern Europe After Fascism 19431980s* (New York: Columbia University Press), 16791717.
- Pinto, Antnio Costa e Teixeira, Nuno Severiano (2005). Portugal e a integrao europeia, 19451986, in Antnio Costa Pinto e Nuno Severiano Teixeira ed., *A Europa do Sul e a construo da Unio Europeia, 19452000* (Lisboa: ICS), 1744.
- Pinto, Antnio Costa (2006). Portugals transition to democracy in the 1970s: The double legacy, in Marietta Minotos ed., *The Transition to Democracy in Spain, Portugal and Greece Thirty Years After* (Athens: Patakis), 4973.
- Pinto, Jaime Nogueira (1996). *A Direita e As Direitas* (Lisboa: Difel).
- 16 Ramos, Rui (2012). rfs da Hstria? As Direitas e a Historiografia em Portugal, in Riccardo Marchi coord ., *Ideias e Percursos das Direitas Portuguesas: As Razes profundas no gelam?* (Alfragide: Texto), 1378.
- Schmitter Philippe, C. (1986). An introduction to Southern European transition from authoritarian rule: Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain and Turkey, in Philippe C. Schmitter and Guillermo ODonnell eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule Southern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins), 310.
- Tscar, Maria Jos (2014). *A Contra-Revoluo no 25 de Abril* (Lisboa: Colibr).
- Wallraff, Gnter (1976). A descoberta de uma conspirao: a aco Spnola (Amadora: Bertrand).
- Zquete, J. P. (2013). Between land and sea: Portugals two nationalisms in the twenty-first century, in Paul Christopher Manuel , Alynna Lyon and Clyde Wilcox eds., *Religion and Politics in a Global Society: Comparative Perspectives from the Portuguese-Speaking World* (New York: Lexington Books), 205226.
- Zquete, J. P. (2007). Portugal: A new look at the extreme-right, *Representation*, 43(3): 179198.

## **The far right intellectual milieu at the end of the Second World War (19451960)**

- Adinolfi, Goffredo and Pinto, Antnio Costa (2014). Salazars new state: The paradoxes of hybridization in the fascist era, in Antnio Costa Pinto and Aristotle Kallis eds., *Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorship in Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 154175.
- Leal, Ernesto Castro (1999). *Nao e Nacionalismos: A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Ivaes Pereira e as origens do Estado Novo 19181938* (Lisboa: Cosmos).
- Leal, Ernesto Castro (2014). Aco realista Portuguesa: An organization of the anti-liberal right, 192326, in *Portuguese Studies*, 30(1): 4766.
- Leal, Ernesto Castro (2015). Nacionalismo e antiliberalismo em Portugal: Uma viso historico-politica (18201940), *Historia Critica*, 56: 113135.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2009a). *Folhas Ultras: As ideias da direita radical portuguesa 19391950* (Lisbon: ICS).
- 34 Marchi, Riccardo (2009b). *Imprio Nao Revolu: As direitas radicais portuguesas no fim do Estado Novo 19591974* (Alfragide: Texto).
- Marchi, Riccardo (2016). A reaco intelectual anti-republicana como bero da extrema-direita estudantil do segundo ps-guerra, in Diogo Gaspar dir., *Outras Vozes na Repblica 19101926: Atas do Congresso Nacional de Hstria e Cincia Poltica* (Lisbon: Cadernos do Museu da Presidencia da Repblica), 744754.
- Marcos, Daniel (2014). Between the Atlantic and the Empire: NATO as a framework for Portuguese American relations in early Cold War (19491957), in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 12(3): 324341.
- Meneses, Filipe Ribeiro de (2004). *Portugal 19141926. From the First World War to Military Dictatorship* (Bristol: HiPlam).
- Meneses, Filipe Ribeiro de (2016). *Salazar: A Political Biography* (New York: Enigma Books).
- Pinto, Antnio Costa (2000). *The Blue Shirts: Portuguese Fascists and the New State* (New York: SSM).

Pinto, Antnio Costa (2003). Twentieth-century Portugal: An introduction, in Antnio Costa Pinto ed., *Contemporary Portugal: Politics, Society and Culture* (New York: SSM), 146.

Pinto, Antnio Costa (2007). Chaos and order: Preto, Salazar and Charismatic appeal in interwar Portugal, in Antnio Costa Pinto, Roger Eatwell and Stein Ugelvik Larsen, eds., *Charisma and Fascism in Interwar Europe* (London, New York: Routledge), 6576.

Pinto, Antnio Costa and Rezola, Maria Incia (2008). Political Catholicism, crisis of democracy and Salazars new state in Portugal, in Matthew Feldman, Marius Turda and Tudor Georgescu eds., *Clerical Fascism in Interwar Europe* (London, New York: Routledge), 141156.

Quintas, Jos Manuel (2004). *Filhos de Ramires: As origens do Integralismo Lusitano* (Lisbon: Editorial Nova tica).

Raby, D. L. (1988). *Fascism & Resistance in Portugal: Communists, Liberals and Military Dissidents in the Opposition to Salazar, 194174* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Raimundo, Filipa, Ferreira, Nuno Estvo and Carvalho, Rita Almeida de (2009), Political decision-making in the Portuguese New State (193339): The dictator, the council of ministers and the inner-circle, in *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, 8(1): 85101.

Rodrigues, Luis Nuno (1997). The creation of the Portuguese legion in 1936, in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 34(2): 91107.

Teixeira, Nuno Severiano (2003). Between Africa and Europe: Portuguese foreign policy, 18902000, in Antnio Costa Pinto ed., *Contemporary Portugal. Politics, Society and Culture* (New York: SSM), 85118.

Telo, Antnio Jos (1990). *Propaganda e Guerra Secreta em Portugal 193945* (Lisbon: Perspectivas & Realidades).

Torgal, Lus Reis (2009). Salazar and the Portuguese New State: Images and interpretations, in *Annual of Social History*, 2: 718.

## **The far right at the outbreak of the war in Africa (19611968)**

Albanese, Matteo and del Hierro Pablo (2016). *Transnational Fascism in the Twentieth Century. Apain, Italy and the Global Neo-Fascist Network* (London, New York: Bloomsbury).

Accornero, Guya (2016). *The Revolution Before the Revolution: Late Authoritarianism and Student Protest in Portugal* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn).

Marchi, Riccardo (2009). *Imprio Nao Revoluo: As direitas radicais portuguesas no fim do Estado Novo 19591974* (Alfragide: Texto).

Marchi, Riccardo (2013). *Les rfugis franais dextreme-droite au Portugal de Salazar (19451974)*, in Olivier Dard and Victor Pereira eds., *Vrits et lgendes dune OAS internationale* (Paris: Riveneuve), 143165.

Schneidman, Witney W. (2004). *Engaging Africa: Washington and the Fall of Portugals Colonial Empire* (Oxford: UPA).

## **The right-wing opposition to the Marcello Caetano government (19681974)**

Accornero, Guya (2016). *The Revolution Before the Revolution: Late Authoritarianism and Student Protest in Portugal* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn).

Cunha, Carlos A. (1992). *The Portuguese Communist Partys Strategy for Power* (New York, London: Garland).

Fernandes, Tiago (2007). Authoritarian regimes and pro-democracy semi-oppositions: The end of the Portuguese dictatorship (19681974), in *Comparative Perspective*, in *Democratization*, 14(4): 686705.

Jdice, Jos Miguel (2000). Oposio de direita a Marcelo Caetano, in Antnio Barreto and Maria Filomena Mnica eds., *Dicionrio de Histria de Portugal* (Porto: Figueirinhas), Vol. 8, suplemento F/O, 643644.

Lopes, Rui (2016). Accommodating and confronting the Portuguese dictatorship within NATO, 19704, in *The International History Review*, 38(3): 505526.

Marchi, Riccardo (2009). *Imprio Nao Revoluo: As direitas radicais portuguesas no fim do Estado Novo 19591974* (Alfragide: Texto).

Marchi, Riccardo (2010). A oposio de direita poltica ultramarina de Marcello Caetano, in Lusada Histria, 7: 519542.

Pimenta, Fernando Tavares (2016). Decolonisation postponed: The failure of the colonial politics of Marcelo Caetano (19681974), in *Social Dynamics*, 42(1): 1230.

Pinto, Jaime Nogueira (1995). Portugal, os anos do fim: O fim do Estado Novo e as origens do 25 de Abril (Miraflores: Difel).

Raby, D. L. (1988). *Fascism & Resistance in Portugal: Communists, Liberals and Military Dissidents in the Opposition to Salazar, 194174* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

## **The far right resistance during the revolution (19741975)**

AAVV . (1977). *Dossier Terrorismo* (Lisbon: Avante!).

Abreu, Waldemar Paradela de (1983). Do 25 de abril ao 25 de novembro: Memria do tempo perdido (Lisboa: Intervenjo).

Albanese, Matteo and del Hierro Pablo (2016). *Transnational Fascism in the Twentieth Century. Apain, Italy and the Global Neo-Fascist Network* (London, New York: Bloomsbury).

98 Almeida Arajo, Jos (2012). *A Vida aos Pedaos* (Lisboa: Almedina).

Amaral, Diogo Freitas do (1995). *O Antigo Regime e a Revoluo: Memrias polticas 19411975* (Lisboa: Bertrand).

Amorim, Fernando Pacheco de (1976). *Manifesto contra a Traio* (Coimbra: authors own edition).

Amorim, Fernando Pacheco de (1996). *25 de Abril Episodio do Projeto Global* (Porto: ed do autor).

Bacalhau, Mrio (1994). *Atitudes, opinies e comportamentos polticos dos portugueses: 19731993* (Lisboa: Mtd).

Calvo, Guilherme Alpoim (1976). *De Conakry ao MDLP* (Lisboa: Intervenjo).

Cerezales, Diego Palacios (2003). Um caso de violncia poltica: o vero quente de 1975, in *Anlise social*, vol. XXXVII: 11431146.

Cerezales, Diego Palcios (2007). Fascist lackeys? Dealing with the polices past during Portugals transition to democracy (19741980), in *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, 6(3): 155169.

Cerezales, Diego Palcios (2017). Civil resistance and democracy in the Portuguese revolution, in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 52(3): 688709.

Cervell, Josep Sanchez (1995). *A contrarrevoluo no PREC (19741975)*, in Joo Medina dir., *Histria de Portugal*, vol. XIV (Alfragide: Clube Internacional do Livro).

Costa, Eduardo Freitas da (1979). *Spnola. O anti-general* (Lisboa: Edies FP).

Cruz, Manuel Braga da and Ramos, Rui , eds. (2012). *Marcelo Caetano Tempos de Transio* (Porto: Porto Editora).

Jalali, Carlos (2007). *Partidos e Democracia em Portugal, 19742005: da Revoluo ao Bipartidarismo* (Lisboa: ICS).

Jdice, Jos Miguel (2012). *O Nacionalismo Revolucionrio*, in Manuel Braga da Cruz and Rui Ramos , eds., *Marcelo Caetano Tempos de Transio* (Porto: Porto Editora), 433443.

Lucas Pires, Francisco (1976). *A bordo da revoluo* (Lisboa: Selecta).

Marchi, Riccardo (2010). *A oposio de direita poltica ultramarina de Marcello Caetano*, in Lusada Histria, 7: 519542.

Marchi, Riccardo (2012). *As Direitas Radicais na Transio Democrtica Portuguesa (19741976)*, in *Ler Histria*, 63: 7591.

Marchi, Riccardo (2017). *A Direita Nunca Existiu. As direitas extraparlamentares na Institucionalizao da Democracia Portuguesa 19761980* (Lisboa: ICS).

Moreira de S, Tiago (2004). *Os Americanos na Revoluo Portuguesa 19741976* (Lisboa: Edies Colibr).

Moreira de S, Tiago (2011). *Os Estados Unidos e a Descolonizao de Angola* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote).

Osrio, Jos Sanches (1976). *O MFA no banco dos rus* (Lisboa: Infinito).

Pimenta, Fernando Tavares (2016). Decolonisation postponed: The failure of the colonial politics of Marcelo Caetano (19681974), in *Social Dynamics*, 42(1): 1230.

Pinto, Antnio Costa (1998). *Dealing with the legacy of authoritarianism: Political purges in Portugals transition to democracy*, in Stein U. Larsen , ed., *Modern Europe After Fascism, 19451980s* (New York: SSM-Columbia University Press), 16791717.

- Pinto, Antnio Costa (2008a). Political purges and state crisis in Portugals transition to democracy, 197576, in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 43(2): 305332.
- Pinto, Antnio Costa (2008b). The legacy of the authoritarian past in Portugals democratisation, 19746, in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 9(23): 265291.
- Pinto, Jaime Nogueira (1996). *A Direita e as Direitas* (Carnaxide: Difel).
- 99 Prata, Rafael (1974). *Portugal novo: movimentos e partidos polticos* (Lisboa: O Emigrante, Voz de Portugal).
- Rodrigues, Lus Nuno (2010). *Spnola* (Lisboa: Esfera dos Livros).
- Rodrigues, Lus Nuno (2013). Antonio de Spnola and the international context of Portuguese decolonization, in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 50(2): 93117.
- Schmitter, Philip C. (1999). *Portugal: Do autoritarismo democracia* (Lisbon: ICS).

## **The far right resurgence in the democratic normalization (19761982)**

- Carvalho, Miguel (2017). *Quando Portugal Ardeu: Histrias e segredos da violncia poltica no ps-25 de Abril* (Lisboa: Oficina do Livro).
- Marchi, Riccardo (2017). *A Direita Nunca Existiu: As direitas extraparlamentares na Institucionalizao da Democracia Portuguesa 19761980* (Lisboa: ICS).
- Pinto, Jaime Nogueira (1996). *A Direita e as Direitas* (Carnaxide: Difel).

## **The metapolitics as the new strategy to modernize the far right (19821985)**

- Antn-Melln, Joan (2013). The ides-force of the European new right, in Andrea Mammone , Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins eds., *Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism in Europe* (New York: Routledge), 5368.
- Bar-On, Tamir (2016). *Where Have All the Fascists Gone?* (New York: Routledge).
- Bermeo, Nancy (1997). Myths of moderation: Confrontation and conflict during democratic transitions, in *Comparative Politics*, 29(3): 305322.
- Bessa, Antnio Marques (1978). *Ensaio sobre o Fim da Nossa Idade* (Lisbon: Templo).
- de Benoist, Alain (1981). *Nova direita, nova cultura: Antologia critica das ideias contemporaneas* (Lisbon: Afrodite).
- Fishman, Robert M. (2011). Democratic practice after the revolution: The case of Portugal and beyond, in *Politics & Society*, 39(2): 233267.
- Griffin, Roger (2000). Plus a change! The fascist pedigree of the Nouvelle Droite, in Edward J. Arnold ed., *The Development of the Radical Right in France: From Boulanger to Le Pen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 217252.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2013). *La presse dextrme droite au Portugal: avances et reculs pour une nouvelle culture du radicalism lusitanien*, in Olivier Dard (org.), *Internationalisation des droites radicales: Europe Amriques. Supports et vecteurs* (Bern: Peter Lang), 111138.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2016). *The Nouvelle Droite in Portugal: A new strategy for the Portuguese radical right between the authoritarian regime and the transition to democracy*, in *Patterns of Prejudice*, 50(3): 232252.
- 129 McCulloch, Tom (2006). *The Nouvelle Droite in the 1980s and 1990s: Ideology and entryism, the relationship with the front national*, in *French Politics*, 4: 158178.
- Robinson, Richard A. H. (1996). *Do CDS ao CDS-PP: o Partido do Centro Democrtico Social e o seu papel na poltica portuguesa*, in *Anlise Social*, xxxi(138): 951973.
- Santos, Lus Aguiar (1998). *Um teste aos conceitos de nomocracia e teleocracia: o jornal Poltica perante a primavera marcelista (19691970)*, in *Anlise Social*, 33(149): 10931115.

## **A new cycle in democracy**

- Almeida, Fbio Chang de (2014). A direita radical no Portugal democrtico: os rumos aps a revoluo dos cravos (19742012), PhD Thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Instituto de Filosofia e Cincias Humanas, Programa de Ps-Graduao em Histria.
- Bale, Jeffery (2002). National revolutionary groupuscules and the resurgence of left-wing fascism: The case of Frances Nouvelle Rsistance, in *Patterns of Prejudice*, 36(3): 2449.
- Bale, Jeffery (2006). Fascism and neo-fascism: Ideology and groupuscularity, in Roger Griffin , Werner Loh , Andreas Umland , eds., *Fascism Past and Present, West and East An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right* (Studgard: Verlag), 7886.
- Costa, Jos Mouro da (2011). O Partido Nacional Renovador: A nova extrema-direita na democracia portuguesa, in *Anlise Social*, 46(201): 765787.
- Davies, Peter and Lynch, Derek (2005). *The Routledge Companion to Fascism and the Far Right* (London, New York: Routledge).
- Griffin, Roger (2003). From slime mould to rhizome: An introduction to the groupuscular right, in *Patterns of Prejudice*, 37(1): 2750.
- Ignazi, Piero (2003). *Extreme Right Party in Western Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Kaplan, Jeffrey and Weinberg, Leonard (1998). *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press).
- Kriesi, Hanspeter (1999). Movements of the left, movements of the right: Putting the mobilization of two new types of social movements into political context, in Herbert Kitschelt , Peter Lange , Gary Marks and John D. Stephens , eds., *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 398423.
- Magone, Jos (2000). The transformation of the Portuguese political system: European regional policy and democratization in a small EU member state, in *South European Society and Politics*, 5(2): 119140.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2010). At the roots of the new right-wing extremism in Portugal: The national action movement (19851991), in *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions*, 11(1): 4766.
- Marchi, Riccardo (2015). A identidade de Portugal no discurso da direita radical: do multirracionalismo ao etnonacionalismo, in *Estudos Ibero-Americanos*, 41(2): 425445.
- Marchi, Riccardo and Zquete, Jos Pedro (2016). The other side of protest music: The extreme-right and skinhead culture in democratic Portugal (19742015), in *JOMEC Journal*, 9: 4769.
- Merkel Peter H. and Weinberg Leonard (2013). *The Revival of Right Wing Extremism in the Nineties* (London, New York: Routledge).
- Mudde, Cas (2000). *The Ideology of the Extreme Right* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- 154 Pinto, Antnio Costa (1995). The radical right in contemporary Portugal, in Luciano Cheles , Ronnie Ferguson and Michalina Vaughan , eds., *The Far Right in Western and Eastern Europe* (New York: Longman).
- Pinto, Antnio Costa (2008). The legacy of the authoritarian past in Portugals democratisation, 19746, in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 9(23): 265291.
- Pinto, Jaime Nogueira (2000). *Visto da Direita. 20 anos de Futuro Presente* (Lisbon: Huguin).
- Pinto, Jaime Nogueira (1996). *A Direita e as Direitas* (Carnaxide: Difel).
- Zquete, Jos Pedro (2011). The flight of the eagle: The charismatic leadership of S Carneiro in Portugals transition to democracy, in *The Leadership Quarterly*, 22(2): 295306.

## **The new party strategy at the dawn of the new millennium (19992015)**

- Almeida, Fbio Chang de (2012). The New extreme right: The factional nature of neofascist organizations in Portugal and Argentina, in *Locus: Revista de Historia*, 18(1): 187208.
- Betz, Hans-Georg (2003). The growing threat of the radical right, in Peter H. Merkel , Leonard Weinberg , eds., *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge), 7493.
- Costa, Jos Mouro da (2011). O Partido Nacional Renovador: a nova extrema-direita na democracia portuguesa, *Anlise Social*, XLVI (201): 765787.
- 164 Ignazi, Piero (2003). *Extreme Right Party in Western Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1995). *The Radical Right in Western Europe* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press).

Zquete, Jos Pedro (2007). Portugal: A new look at the extreme right, in *Representation*, 43(3): 179198.

Zquete, Jos Pedro (2015). The new frontlines of right-wing nationalism, in *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 20(1): 6985.

## **The identitarian movement in Portugal**

Braouezec, Kevin (2016). Identifying common patterns of discourse and strategy among the new extremist movements in Europe: The case of the English defence league and the bloc identitaire, in *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37(6): 637648.

Brito, Antnio Jos de (2003). Nacionalismo ontem e hoje, in AA.VV. ed., *Rumo ao futuro* (Lisbon: Nova Arrancada), 2750.

Caiani, Manuela and Parenti, Linda (2016). *European and American Extreme Right Groups and Internet* (London, New York: Routledge).

Froio, Caterina and Gattinara, Pietro Castelli (2015). Neo-fascist mobilization in contemporary Italy: Ideology and repertoire of action of CasaPound Italia, in *Journal for Deradicalization*, 2: 86118.

Jardim, Miguel (2003). O nacionalismo do sculo XXI: rumos e solues, in AA.VV. ed., *Rumo ao futuro* (Lisbon: Nova Arrancada): 117120.

Marchi, Riccardo (2013). La presse dextreme droite au Portugal: avances et reculs pour une nouvelle culture du radicalism lusitanien, in Olivier Dard , ed., *Supports et vecteurs des droites radicales au XXe Sicle Europe-Amrique* (Berne: Peter Lang), 122132.

Marchi, Riccardo (2017). *A Direita Nunca Existiu: As direitas extraparlamentares na institucionalizao da democracia portuguesa 19761980* (Lisbon: ICS).

Simpson, Patricia Anne and Druxes, Helga eds. (2015). *Digital Media Strategies of the Far Right in Europe and the United States* (London: Lexington Books).

Virchow, Fabian (2017). Post-fascist right-wing social movements, in Stefan Berger and Holger Nehring , eds., *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective. Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), 619646.

Zquete, Jos Pedro (2018). *The Identitarians: The Movement against Globalism and Islam in Europe* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press).