# 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*

# The Portuguese Far Right

Between Late Authoritarianism and
Democracy (1945–2015)

**Riccardo Marchi**

# Contents

# Acknowledgements

# 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

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 droit 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 groupuscolarization 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).

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'etat) 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

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 antiliberal 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 *Weltanshauung* 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 (Karapin 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