

Portugal

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Portugal is considered democratic from 1919 to 1926. While Cheibub et al. do not provide regime type coding for the pre-1945 period, we code this as a presidential system based on the fact that Archigos codes Presidents as effective rulers during this time period. Portugal's first Republican government was established in 1911 (U.S. Library of Congress).

In 1919 João do Canto e Castro Silva Antunes, Mil, ruled as president. "A small-scale civil war erupted in northern Portugal as monarchists led by Henrique Paiva Couciero attempted to restore the monarchy (U.S. Library of Congress)." In October 1919, António José de Almeida of the Republican Evolutionist Party (PRE) became president. This is a SOLS change. In 1923 Manuel Teixeira Gomes of the Democratic Party (PD) became president. This is a SOLS change. In 1925 Bernardino Luís Machado Guimarães, PD, became president. This is not a SOLS change.

During the early 1920s, Portugal experienced increasing instability and violence. The public, especially the middle class, started to turn against the Republic and military officers set out to overturn the regime (U.S. Library of Congress). "On May 28, General Gomes da Costa symbolically entered Lisbon...and the First Republic was ended" (U.S. Library of Congress). António Óscar de Fragoso Carmona, Mil, became president. (His SOLS changes to UN, National Union in 1930 – Griffin & Griffin 2007: 50, Wheeler and Opello 2010: 274). According to the Library of Congress, Carmona set up a military dictatorship. However, we follow Geddes, who codes a personalist regime starting with Carmona's assumption of power and lasting through Salazar's dictatorship. We code a SOLS change when Carmona comes to power, but not when Salazar officially takes over in 1932.

Portugal is coded as a personalist authoritarian regime from 1945 until 1974. António de Oliveira Salazar of the União Republicana (UN) ruled as prime minister from 1932 until 1968. In 1968 Salazar had a stroke. The country's president Américo Tomás, "following the provisions of the Constitution, appointed as new premier Dr. Marcello Caetano" (Wheeler 1970, 769). This is not a SOLS change since Caetano had been the "political dauphin" of Salazar's authoritarian regime (Bacalhau 1990, 143). Geddes also codes the personalist regime as continuing under Caetano. Caetano claimed to be a reformer, but failed to live up to expectations. Unrest with his rule increased. The colonial wars in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique were "at the root of the worst tensions" (ibid). The wars were consuming the country's resources; under the Salazar-Caetano regime "over 40 percent of the annual budget went to national defense" (Wheeler 1970, 777). This military spending led to a swelling of the ranks and an increased role of the military over politics. The military establishment saw more clearly the impracticality of continued colonization in Africa by force. Eventually "a group of young, middle-ranking officers who became known as the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA)" (Bermeo 1987, 216) took matters into their own hands and orchestrated a coup April 25, 1974, also called the Carnation Revolution. Geddes is missing authoritarian regime type coding for the years 1974 and 1975, suggesting an interim period. Indeed, (Bacalhau 1990, 146) explains:

Following the military *putsch* of 25 April 1974, political power was, as had been planned in the MFA programme, handed to a Junta of National Salvation, which would, within three weeks, choose, from among its members, the President of the Republic. Upon taking office, the president would nominate a Provisional Civil Government, 'comprising representatives of political groups and movements and independent persons' which

would call elections for an Assembly entrusted with the preparation of a new constitution to outline the new political regime.

This provisional government was only expected to last until elections could be held in 1976. While this junta can be considered a provisional government, according to our coding rules we do not code it as such since it lasted longer than 18 months. Accordingly, we code a SOLS change when the first junta leader, António Sebastião Ribeiro de Spínola, Mil/MFA, was chosen by the MFA to be president (Bermeo 1987, 216). In September he was forced to resign. His second in command Francisco da Costa Gomes, Mil/MFA, replaced him. This is not a SOLS change. National elections were held in 1976. Starting in 1976 the country is considered a mixed presidential-parliamentary democracy. Archigos codes the president as the effective ruler. António dos Santos Ramalho Eanes of the Party of Democratic Renovation (PRD) became president in a newly democratic Portugal. This is a SOLS change since this leader is not anymore responsible to the group of military officers behind the coup. In 1986 Mário Alberto Nobre Lopes Soares of the Socialist Party (PS), became president. This is a SOLS change. In 1996 Jorge Fernando Branco de Sampaio, also PS, became president. This is not a SOLS change. In 2006, Aníbal António Cavaco Silva of the Social Democrat Party (PSD) became president. This is a SOLS change.

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