

to re-launch the celebrated *Annales* journal which he had founded with Marc Bloch. His problem was that Bloch was an assimilated Jew: if the journal were to be re-opened, then Bloch needed to be persuaded to renounce his connection with it. Febvre's argument was that this was Bloch's patriotic duty. Bloch eventually conceded the point. He then participated in Resistance activities, and was later killed by the Gestapo. In 1945 Febvre had a different problem. All publications which had taken place under the Occupation were now viewed with suspicion by the Liberation authorities. Febvre justified the publication of the *Annales* during the Occupation with reference to Bloch's contribution!

There are a few minor problems with the translation. One is Lloyd's frequent and irritating mis-translation of Burrin's 'Angleterre' as 'England'. Burrin has followed many French writers in using the term 'Angleterre' in preference to either 'Royaume-Uni' or 'Grande Bretagne'. This is a minor error in a French language work, but it becomes absurd in an English language work. 'Angleterre a entraîné la France dans la guerre' clearly should not be translated as 'England had dragged France into the war' (8). However, the bulk of Lloyd's prose is clear, and in general the work is a pleasure to read.

Burrin has produced an excellent work: the first sections provide a detailed, but clear, introduction to the historical issues he faces, while the later sections present a wealth of telling detail. Perhaps the work is a little over-reliant on Abetz's records, and perhaps it is marked by a tendency to stress the non-collaborationist elements in French culture, but as a whole it provides a telling guide to the strange France that developed in the shadow of defeat.

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Kenneth Maxwell, *The Making of Portuguese Democracy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995; ISBN 0-521-46077-8; xiii + 250 pp.; £30

'Nations prefer to live prosaically rather than to disappear in glory.' Looking back on the Portuguese revolution of April 1974 and what followed for over a year and a half, General Spínola's words seem truer than when published in 1974. For an event that captured the world's attention and held it for over a year, the revolution of the carnations has steadily faded in interest: the triumph of the moderate forces who led Portugal away from romantic and dangerous extremes is to blame. Kenneth Maxwell's *The Making of Portuguese*

Democracy is therefore ideally placed to become the standard English language text on the period covering 1974–6: well argued, elegantly written, and focusing on events throughout Portugal and its then colonies, it attempts to transform the 1974 revolution into the beginning of a wave of democratization that was to spread through Europe and South America. However, this very elegance in writing and the confidence with which the book has been assembled have led the author to make some puzzling choices over which events and trends to focus on, leaving what are ultimately essential questions unanswered.

The strength of the book is to be found in its core chapters, which deal with the heady period between Spínola's defeat in September 1974 and the November 1975 military intervention that effectively drew the revolutionary period to a close. Maxwell's description of the country's apparent lurch to the left, which appalled NATO allies and fired the imagination of revolutionaries everywhere, but which was the result of the delay before moderate and conservative forces began to organize themselves throughout the country, is masterfully written. His teasing out of the different strands within the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) is extremely helpful. The difficulties facing the communist party (PCP), emerging from a long clandestine life to a situation full of possibilities, but outflanked on the left by revolutionary forces which rendered useless the careful planning and analysis favoured by the PCP, are also well highlighted. Finally, Maxwell does not neglect the African dimension of the crisis, with Spínola's position and subsequent negotiations in Portugal undermined both by the Portuguese army's refusal to fight on under any pretexts and by the international race for control of resources and strategic harbours in the former colonies. More might have been said about the ultimate plight of the *retornados*, the hundreds of thousands of embittered Portuguese who returned from the ex-colonies, and of the decolonization process in East Timor, relegated to a footnote.

Maxwell writes of the actual military movement that overthrew Marcello Caetano, 'it takes two, however, to make a bloodless revolution, and on April 25, 1974, the will to resist a coup did not exist'. This swiftness of the collapse of a 48-year regime is astounding, and in Maxwell's account comes down to tank crews refusing to fire on rebel armoured cars in the city's main square. Only a month earlier a coup attempt centred on units in Caldas da Rainha had failed, because other army units had blocked the rebels; now the men — not the officers — of tank units, who were not serving in Africa and would probably not do so, refused to fire on the revolutionaries. Had they done so, events might have followed a very different

course, for, as Maxwell points out, a coup by the extreme right was in the offing as well. Maxwell's analysis, centred exclusively on the MFA and its programme, is therefore unable to provide an explanation for events during the coup itself, and for the failure of the security services to halt the coup. Most of the planning was carried out by officers in Africa; the army and the PIDE/DGS, the regime's secret police, co-operated closely in the fighting in Africa: how could such a large and elaborate conspiracy not have been detected and neutralized? Maxwell's account of events should at least acknowledge that there are questions to which worthwhile answers have not yet been formulated.

A similar decision over what material to focus on leaves the reader with many unanswered questions about the military move which put paid to the revolutionary era: the '25th of November', when moderate and disciplined military forces, under the overall command of Ramalho Eanes, defeated the radical wing of the armed forces, more and more in the hands of NCOs and soldiers, which in the context of the book means largely ignored. The moves and countermoves that filled those days, and the palpable change in atmosphere in Lisbon that followed them, are ignored. A final regret for the reviewer is Maxwell's decision to consider the New State a 'prisoner of history' and, as a result, to open the book with a ten-page account of Portuguese history since the time of Afonso Henriques, the country's first king, unfortunately typical of much work by foreign historians and commentators on Portugal. Such an abbreviated account, tailored to reinforce the 'prisoner' thesis, pays more attention to the rule of Pombal in the eighteenth century than to the evolution of liberal politics since the revolution of 1820, including the experience of the First Republic (1910-26) and of colonial history since Brazil's independence. A more detailed analysis of the recent past, which had a much greater and direct impact on the regime's political and colonial views, might have yielded a more convincing explanation for the refusal of Salazar and his followers to countenance democratic reforms at home and decolonization abroad.

By focusing his attention on the process of transition to democracy, Maxwell has chosen to leave unanswered some of the vital questions raised by his fluid narrative. The quality of his analysis regarding the height of the revolution leaves the reviewer wishing that Maxwell had written a slightly different, and more complete, work.

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