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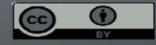
المجلد الثاني والعشرون- العدد الأول - اذار 2025







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أعضاء هيئت التحرير



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم افتتاحيم العدد

الحمد لله رب العالمين، والصلاة والسلام على خاتم النبيين سيدنا محمد، وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين

وبعد...

احبتنا الباحثين حول العالم... نضع بين أيديكم العدد الرابع من مجلتنا (مجلم جامعم الأنبار للعلوم الإنسانيم) تلك المجلم الفصليم العلميم المحكمم والتي عن جامعم الانبار والتي تحمل بين ثناياها ١٥ بحثاً علمياً يضم تخصصات المجلم ولمختلف الباحثين من داخل العراق وخارجه ومن مختلف الجامعات.

في هذه البحوث العلمية، نرى جهداً علمياً مميزاً كان مدعاة لنا في هيئة التحرير ان نفخر به وان تلقى هذه البحوث طريقها الى النشر بعد ان تم تحكيمها من أساتذة أكفاء كل في مجال اختصاصه ليتم إخراجها في نهاية المطاف بهذا الشكل العلمي الباهر، والصورة الطيبة الجميلة، والجوهر العلمي الرصين، فجزى الله الجميع خير الجزاء لما أنتجته قرائحهم العلمية والثقافية وسطرته أقلامهم لينتفع ببحوث هذه المجلة والذخيرة العلمية المعروضة فيها كل القارئين من باحثين وطلبة ومهتمين.

إن العطاء الثر من الباحثين والجهد المعطاء من رئيس وأعضاء هيئة التحرير والدعم الكبير من رئاسة جامعة الانبار، وعمادة كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية يحث الخطو بنا للوصول إلى الغاية المرجوة المنشودة في دخول مجلتنا ضمن المستوعبات العالمية للنشر العلمي. لذا وجب التنويه بأننا بصدد التحديث المستمر والمتواصل لشروط النشر وآليته للارتقاء بأعداد مجلتنا والوصول بها إلى مكانة علمية أرقى وأسمى تضاهي المجلات العلمية ذات المستويات المتقدمة، ولتساهم بفاعلية في حركة النشر والبحث العلمي العربي سعيا لتعزيز مكانة العلمي وتوسيع آفاقه في البلدان العربية لأن البحث العلمي قرقي رقي الأمم ومؤشرا على تقدمها... ومن الله التوفيق

أ.د. فؤاد محمد فريح
 رئيس هيئة التحرير



تعليمات النشر في مجلَّة جامعة الأنبار للعلوم الإنسانية.

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 والمراجع والجداول والملاحق، وبحواشي واسعج ٢،٥ سم او اكثر اعلى واسفل وعلى
 جانبي الصفحج.
- يقدم الباحث خطابا مرافقا يفيد ان البحث او ما يشابهه لم يسبق نشره، ولم يقدم
 لأي جهم اخرى داخل العراق او خارجه، ولحين انتهاء اجراءات البحث.
 - يكون الحد الاقصى لعدد صفحات البحث ٢٥ صفحت.
- يكون البحث مكتوبا بلغة سليمة باللغة العربية او اللغة الانكليزية ومطبوع على الالة الحاسبة بخط Simplified Arabic حجم ١٤، على ان يتم تمييز العناوين الرئيسة والفرعية.
- تكتب الهوامش والمراجع وفق نظام شيكاغو او APA للتوثيق، بخط حجم ١٤،
 على ان يتم ترتيبها بالتتابع كما وردت في المتن، ويكون تنظيم المراجع هجائياً
 حسب المنهجية العلمية المعتمدة وباللغتين العربية والانكليزية.
 - تؤول كافة حقوق النشر الى المجلة.
 - تعبر البحوث عن اراء مؤلفيها ، ولا تعبر بالضرورة عن راي المجلة.
 - بيانات الباحث والملخص:
- يلزم الباحث بتقديم البيانات الخاصة به وببحثه، وباللغتين العربية والانكليزية،
 وتشمل الاتي: عنوان البحث، أسماء وعناوين الباحثين، ورقم الهاتف النقال، والبريد
 الالكتروني، وملخصين عربي وانكليزي بحد ادنى ٢٥٠ كلمة يحتويان
 الكلمات المفتاحية للبحث، والهدف من البحث، والمنهج المتبع بالبحث، وفحوى
 النتائج التي توصل اليها.
 - ادوات البحث والجد اول:
- اذا استخدم الباحث استبانة او غيرها من ادوات جمع المعلومات، فعلى الباحث ان يقدم نسخة كاملة من تلك الاداة، ان لم يكن قد تم ورودها في صلب البحث او ملاحقه.

مجلت جامعت الانبار للعلوم الانسانيت



وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي جامعت الأنبار

- اذا تضمن البحث جداول او اشكال يفضل ان لا يزيد عرضها عن حجم الصفحة A 4، على أن تطبع ضمن المتن. يوضع الشكل بعد الفقرة التي يشار اليه فيها مباشرة، ويكون عنوانه في اسفله. يوضع الجدول بعد الفقرة التي يشار اليه فيها مباشرة، ويكون عنوانه في اعلاه. -- تقويم البحوث: تخضع جميع البحوث المرسلة الى المجلة الى فحص اولي من قبل هيئة التحرير لتقرير اهليتها للتحكيم، ويحق لها أن تعتذر عن قبول البحث دون بيان الأسباب. تخضع جميع البحوث للتقويم العلمي بما يضمن رصانتها العلمية، وقد يطلب من الباحث إذا اقتضى الأمر مراجعة بحثه لإجراء تعديلات عليه. الوصول المفتوح: -متاحة جميع البحوث على موقع المجلة الالكتروني وموقع المجلات الاكاديمية العراقية ضمن سياسة الوصول المفتوح. اجور النشر: -يقوم الباحث بتسديد اجور النشر، والبالغة ١٢٥،٠٠٠ مائة وخمسة وعشرون الف دينار عراقي، واذا زادت صفحات البحث عن٢٥ صفحة تضاف٥٠٠٠ خمسة الاف دينار عراقي عن كل صفحة. الباحثون من خارج العراق تنشر نتاجاتهم العلمية مجانا. المراسلات: -توجه المراسلات الى: جمهورية العراق – جامعة الأنبار – كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية-مجلت جامعت الأنبار للعلوم الإنسانيت الموقع الالكتروني للمجلة https://juah.uoanbar.edu.iq -هاتف رئيس التحرير،٠٧٨٣٠٤٨٥٠٢٦ E-mail : juah@uoanbar.edu.iq



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وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي



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The Military Coup in Portugal and It's Impact on the Internal Situation (1974–1976)

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Abstract:

The military coup in Lisbon in April 1974 occurred as a result of political turmoil in the country and strong criticism of the Portuguese government's policy in Africa. The coup put an end to four decades of dictatorship (1926-1974) in the midst of the Cold War, a severe oil crisis, and simultaneous processes of decolonization in Africa. The military coup was faced with a counter-coup by elements of low-ranking army officers on November 25, 1975, supported by extremist Portuguese leftist elements who wanted to control the government in favor of the communists. However, this coup failed, which directly affected the internal situation in Portugal. So, dialogue with enemies were held. A joint effort between the military and civilians to develop a constitution for the country that guarantees freedom and pluralism. Aims: The study aimed to shed light on the internal political events in Portugal during the Cold War and the dispute that occurred between Portuguese political groups, which led to several coups, disturbances, and demonstrations during the research period. Methodology: The study adopted the descriptive historical approach, which monitored historical events in order to determine the real reasons and developments that led to the coup. **Results**: After analyzing the gathered data, the study showed that the military coup in 1974 was an important event in Portugal, as it was considered a transition between the republic and the dictatorship. It also created a political, military and social crisis and generated a division in the armed forces movement between the moderate right and the extreme left and the coup leaders tried to seize power but failed. Conclusion: The study concluded that the military coup failed to achieve its goals, which prompted the military and civilians to work to draft a new constitution for the country that guarantees a pluralistic liberal democracy.

Keywords: Military Coup, Internal Developments Portugal, Europe

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الانقلاب العسكري في البرتغال واثره على الوضع الداخلي (١٩٧٤ - ١٩٧٦)

أ.د. حسين حماد عبد

جامعة الانبار- كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية

الملخص:

حدث الانقلاب العسكري في لشبونة في نيسان عام ١٩٧٤ نتيجة للاضطراب السياسي في البلاد والانتقاد الشديد لسياسة الحكومة البرتغالية في أفريقيا، لذا وضع الانقلاب حداً لأربع عقود من الديكتاتورية (١٩٢٦-١٩٧٤) في خضم الحرب الباردة وأزمة النفط الحادة والعمليات المتزامنة لإنهاء الاستعمار في أفريقيا. وقد واجه الانقلاب العسكري انقلابا مضادا من قبل عناصر من ضباط الجيش ذو الرتب الصغيرة في ٢٥ تشرين الثانى ١٩٧٥ يساندهم العناصر اليسارية البرتغالية المتطرفة الذين أرادوا السيطرة على الحكم لصالح الشيوعيين، لكن فشل هذا الانقلاب مما أثر بشكل مباشر على الوضع الداخلي في البرتغال، لذا اجريت مناقشات مشتركة بين العسكريين والمدنيين لوضع دستور للبلاد يضمن الحرية والتعددية. الأهداف: هدفت الدراسة لتسليط الضوء على الأحداث السياسية الداخلية في البرتغال خلال الحرب الباردة والخلاف الذي حدث بين الفئات السياسية البرتغالية والتي ادت الى قيام عدة انقلابات واضطرابات ومظاهرات خلال مدة الدراسة. المنهجية: اعتمدت الدراسة على المنهج التاريخي الوصفى الذي رصد الاحداث التاريخية من اجل الوقوف على الاسباب الحقيقية، والتطورات التي ادت الى الانقلاب. النتائج : اظهرت الدراسة، ان الانقلاب العسكري عام ١٩٧٤ كان حدثا مهما في البرتغال اذ عد تحولا بين الجمهورية والدكتاتورية كما انه خلق أزمة سياسية وعسكرية واجتماعية وولد انقسام في حركة القوات المسلحة بين اليمين المعتدل واليسار المتشدد والذي حاول قادة الانقلاب الاستيلاء على السلطة لكنهم فشلوا. الخلاصة : خلصت الدراسة الى فشل الانقلاب العسكرى في تحقيق اهدافه ما دفع العسكرين والمدنيين للعمل لوضع دستور جديد للبلاد يضمن الديمقر اطيم الليبر اليم التعدديم.

الكلمات المفتاحية؛ الانقلاب العسكري، تطورات داخلية، البرتغال، اوروبا.

Introduction:

On April 25, 1974, Portugal witnessed a military coup that ended one of the longest authoritarian regimes in Europe, an era that began in 1933 and the Armed Forces Movement carried out its coup that ended the dictatorship, and announced its new program to implement democracy, develop the then-backward economy, create job

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opportunities, and end the colonialism of the empire abroad, whose colonies were Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape Verde in Africa.

The military coup faced a counter-coup by elements of lowranking army officers on November 25, 1975, supported by the Portuguese leftist extremists who wanted to seize control of the government in favor of the communists, but this coup failed and joint discussions were held between the military and civilians to draft a constitution for the country that would guarantee freedom and pluralism.

Study Problem: The study problem was defined from April 1974 to reveal the beginning of the military coup against the dictatorship until 1976 and the failure of the counter-coup and the formation of a constitutional government to restore political and administrative stability in Portugal.

Study Questions: The study tried to answer the following questions:

1- What was the reason for the military coup in Portugal?

2- Why did the division occur within the military establishment?

3- What were the reactions of the interim government to the strikes that occurred?

4- Why did President Salazar try to find a balance between the political forces?

5- Did the coup succeed or fail? And what was its impact on the internal situation?

Importance of the study: The importance of the study lies in knowing the role of the military establishment in the occurrence of the coup that ended political authoritarianism, which encouraged the emergence of political parties as an active element in the country and was a reason for the emergence of political disagreement between the military and civilians, which directly



affected the internal and external situation of Portugal.

Study recommendations:

1. Conduct a detailed academic study on the internal political developments in Portugal and clarify the impact of these developments on the internal situation of the country.

2. Study the methods of the Portuguese government in achieving its goals and dealing with the military coup.

3. Know the plans used by the government in order to eliminate that coup.

Study topics: The study was addressed within the following topics:

First topic: The military institution and its role in the military coup.

Second topic: The military coup and its impact on the internal situation in the country.

First topic: The military institution and its role in the military coup

The military coup in Portugal took place on April 25, 1974 after midnight in Lisbon, carried out by a group of officers belonging to the Armed Forces Movement. The popular song entitled "City of the Sea" broadcast by the Catholic Renaissance Radio was a signal to start the planned coup to overthrow the Caetano regime, and they were able to take control of Lisbon⁽¹⁾.

After the announcement of the military coup, Captain Salgueira left the city of Santarem (about 50 miles northeast of Lisbon) for the capital Lisbon with (8 armored cars) and (10 trucks) to support the coup, and the Fifth Regiment also took control of the Portuguese Radio Club and broadcast the first statement of the armed forces at 5:30 in the



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morning, asking the police and military forces to remain in their barracks, while Prime Minister Caetano took refuge in the Carambo Barracks, which included the Republican National Guard and at 8 pm, the armed forces announced that the regime had ended, However, Caetano refused to surrender to anyone and handed over power to General Antonio Spinola and fled to Madeira and a month later, he was granted political asylum in Brazil⁽²⁾.

In this case, the coup forces received immediate support from the people of Lisbon, who in less than a week destroyed the symbols of the old regime, opened the prison doors in Caxias and Peniche, released political prisoners and dismantled the secret political police. No one expected this end to the oldest colonial empire⁽³⁾.

In the same context, the division within the Portuguese military establishment appeared immediately after the collapse of the Caetano regime in April 1974, the Armed Forces Movement had prepared a political program calling for the establishment of a provisional government that would pave the way for elections to a constituent assembly. It emphasized that the new regime guaranteed freedom within an economic policy to defend the interests of the general class⁽⁴⁾, end colonialism and grant independence to the colonized peoples, and that it had no goal of taking power in the country⁽⁵⁾ Therefore it issued Decree No. 203/74 on May 15, 1974, and which the program of the provisional government was defined and announced freedom of association, strengthening local government and public investment,

⁽⁵⁾Guya Accornero, "Back to the revolution: The 1974 Portuguese spring and its austere anniversary", historian, Vol. 15, Issue 1, 2015, P. 33.



⁽²⁾Manny Thain, "Revolution in Portugal", Socialist Party Magazine, Issue. 82, April, 2004, P.1, <u>www.socilismtoday.org</u>

⁽³⁾Raquel Varela, "One, Tow, Three MFA: the rise and fall of Portugal's Armed forces movement (MFA)", Revista Brasileira de Historia, Vol. 32, No. 63, 2012, P.2.

⁽⁴⁾Stewart Lloyd Jones, "Portugal's history since 1974" CPhrc working paper, series 2, Issue, 1, 2001, P. 3.

improving agriculture, and Portugal's accession to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights⁽⁶⁾.

The first provisional government was formed (May-July 1974), and Adeliano Palma Carlos became Prime Minister (May 16-July 18, 1974). It was a coalition government of politicians from all over Portugal⁽⁷⁾, as it included members of the Communist Party, the Social Democrats, the Socialists, the Liberals, and the Democratic Popular Party⁽⁸⁾, so it had to develop a strategy to defuse the strikes of the labor movement that had been raging since April over wages, free health care and medical care, and annual bonuses⁽⁹⁾, The table below shows the strikes in Portugal (April 25-June 1, 1974)⁽¹⁰⁾:

Forms of conflict	Threat of strike	Strikes	Occupation of public places	Kidnapping of employers or equipment
Industry	8	42	26	4
Gas, electricity, water, transportation, trade, communications	6	15	8	-
Banks, insurance, services	1	1	1	-
Total	15	58	35	4

(6)Maria Antonia Pires de Almeida, "The Agrarian reform under the Portuguese revolution 1974-1976, its roots and reversal", Journal Studies in People's History, Vol. 3, Issue. 2, 2016, P. 7.

(8)Varela, One, Tow, Three, MFA, P. 2.

⁽⁷⁾Simon Cooke, The Response of the Labor government to the Revolution of carnation's in Portugal 1974-1976, University College London, 2014, P. 52.

⁽⁹⁾Peter Robinson, "Portugal 1974-1975: The Forgotten dream, Socialist history occasional papers", Series No. 9, 1999, P.9.

⁽¹⁰⁾Raquel Varela and Joana Alcantara, "Social conflicts in the Portuguese revolution 1974-1975", Journal Labor-letravial, Issue. 74, 2014, P. 160.

It seems that these strikes prompted the provisional government to work to have representation for the general class in the government and to include the Communist Party in it, which constantly stressed the need to build an industrial base for the country first and urged workers to save the national economy $^{(11)}$.

The goal of this first provisional government was to prepare Portugal for elections, renegotiate its relations with foreign colonies, confront economic problems and end its political isolation⁽¹²⁾, However, the weakness of this government made it unable to endure

more than two months of social conflict, which led to its downfall due to divisions within the government⁽¹³⁾, in addition to its falling under the influence of Spino's political project, which wanted to quickly suppress the armed forces movement and monopolize power⁽¹⁴⁾.

In June 1974, the country witnessed revolutionary strikes by transport workers, shipyard workers, tire manufacturing companies, the electrical components company, and aviation companies, and workers occupied factories and companies, and response, the government issued an order to call in the army to suppress these strikes and impose restrictions on strikes⁽¹⁵⁾, Therefore, It issued Decree No. 277, which stipulated the scrutiny of behavior that contradicts the orders issued after April 25, 1974⁽¹⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁶⁾Antonio Costa Pinto, "Political Purges and State Crisis in Portugal's transition to democracy 1975-1976", Journal of Contemporary history, Vol. 3, Issue. 2, 2008, P. 314.



⁽¹¹⁾Robinson, Portugal 1974-1975, P.10.

⁽¹²⁾Cooke, Op.Cit, P. 52.

⁽¹³⁾Varela, One, Tow, Three, MFA, P. 2.

⁽¹⁴⁾Accornero, Op.Cit, P. 33.

⁽¹⁵⁾Phil Mailer, Portugal: The impossible revolution?, U.S.A, 1977, P. 53.

Second topic: The military coup and its impact on the internal situation in the country

These strikes forced the first provisional government headed by Carlos to resign, in addition to the Continental Operational Command formed by the armed forces rejecting his request to give him broad powers to draw up a provisional constitution for the country and postpone the elections for the Constituent Assembly, as it was all a conspiracy in cooperation with Spinola in order to strengthen his authority ⁽¹⁷⁾.

As matters continued to develop in Spinola's favor, he formed the second provisional government (July-September 1974) headed by Colonel Vasco Goncalves with (6 members) from the Armed Forces Movement, and Carvalho, the leader of the Communist Party, was appointed military governor of Lisbon and deputy commander-in-chief of the Continental Operations Command⁽¹⁸⁾.

August 1974 witnessed an active strike by workers at the "National Airlines Company" and Lisbon Airport was placed under control⁽¹⁹⁾ and the government responded by sending forces to suppress the workers, and this bore fruit as the workers were subsequently subjected to military discipline rules, and also evacuated the building of a newspaper supporting the strike, which prompted the Journalists' Union to announce its support for the strike⁽²⁰⁾.

On September 12, hardline military officers were able to control and prevent the demonstrations, and workers wearing helmets marched towards the Ministry of Labor in Lisbon⁽²¹⁾, However, this

(21)Robinson, Portugal 1974-1975, P.11.



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⁽¹⁷⁾Ted Grant, The Revolution in Portugal, The dictatorship overthrown- The workers movement, May 1975, P. 7, <u>www.marxisis.org/archive/grant/1975</u>

⁽¹⁸⁾Cooke, Op.Cit, P. 59.

⁽¹⁹⁾Robinson, Portugal 1974-1975, P.11.

⁽²⁰⁾Raquel Varela, "The Portuguese Communist Party and the labor movement in the beginning of the carnation Revolution (April- September 1974)", Twentieth Century Communism, Issue 3, 2011, P.P. 102-103.

control and the close connection between the armed forces and the two parties (the Socialist Party) and (the Portuguese Communist Party) and their support for the independence of the African colonies prompted Spinola to speak publicly about the dangers and internal chaos⁽²²⁾ and asked his supporters to demonstrate in Lisbon on September 28, 1974, but the armed forces were able to mobilize and besiege the city and prevent the demonstration from taking place so This was considered a plot to attempt a coup, and Spinola was forced to resign from his position on September 30, 1974and he was replaced by General Costa Gomes, who formed a new provisional leftist government that enjoyed a strong presence from the armed forces, which took steps to strengthen its institutions, and that government also began to supervise political activity⁽²³⁾.

By October 1974, the Portuguese Communist Party had strengthened its control over administrative positions, labor unions, and workers' committees by appointing its members to political and administrative offices, and achieved many gains in that area⁽²⁴⁾, including the joining of more extreme leftist groups to the party and the occurrence of demonstrations and the government had to confront them, especially in the agricultural lands in the south of the country, which wanted to sabotage the economy, which prompted it to intervene and implement legislative reforms that were enacted in the issuance of Decree Law No. 660/74 on November 25, 1974, and which was a means of ensuring stability⁽²⁵⁾.

The spread of unrest in February and early March 1975 prompted all parties to strengthen the army in the administration of the

(25)Varela and Akcantara, Op.Cit, P. 173.



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⁽²²⁾Kenneth Good, "Democratization from Portugal Poland 1970-1990s, and in Tunisia and Egypt since 2010", a Journal for and About Social movements, Vol. 4, Issue. 2, 2012, P. 388.

⁽²³⁾Jones, Op.Cit, P. 4.

⁽²⁴⁾Sarah Tang, The 1974 Portuguese carnation revolution: A matter of time and perspective, The national history challenge 2016, P. 5. www.moadoph.gov.au/blog/2016

state and institutionalize the Portuguese armed forces⁽²⁶⁾, especially since the political balance became more disturbing when Spinola and his followers announced a coup at Portsela Airport in Lisbon on March 11, 1975, and sent paratroopers to disarm the First Light Artillery Regiment, but the plan failed because the paratroopers refused to shoot, so the coup failed and Spinola fled to Spain Therefore response, a new strategy emerged for the ruling class to re-impose control by abolishing the military council and forming the Revolutionary Council as the strongest body in governing the country and the fourth provisional government was formed under the leadership of Gonçalves, and the council set a date for holding elections for the Constituent Assembly on April 25, 1975⁽²⁷⁾, and nationalizing Portuguese banks (except for foreign banks), major companies, major industries, and approximately 60 percent of the economic system⁽²⁸⁾.

In a development, elections were held on April 25, 1975 for the Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution for the country. There was great interest in participating in those elections and 90 percent of the population voted. The Socialist Party won 38 percent of the votes and presented itself as a socialist alternative against fascism and rightwing democracy, which came in second place with 26 percent of the votes and the Communist Party came in third place with 13 percent of the votes, while the revolutionary left won 8 percent of the votes⁽²⁹⁾.

It is worth mentioning here that the then US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger wrote about these elections, saying: "The elections will be a popular contest of no importance," because the US State Department was convinced that the Armed Forces Movement and its

(26)Varela, One, Tow, Three, MFA, P. 4.
(27)Harman, Op.Cit, P. 5-6.
(28)Douglas L. Wheeler and Walter C. Opello, Historical Dictionary of Portugal, U.S.A, 2010, P. 21.
(29)Harman, Op.Cit, P. 6.

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alliance with the Portuguese Communist Party had not ceded its new power to civilian politicians $^{(30)}$.

On July 10, 1975, the Portuguese Communist Party, which opposed the elections, decided to officially abandon the fourth provisional government in protest against the closure of the party's newspaper, El Republika, by militant workers, and the party's desire to control the means of communication, especially after its increasing presence in state structures, and direct political control, which forced the Revolutionary Council to meet on July 25, 1975 and propose the formation of a tripartite government consisting of Gomes, Gonçalves and Carlvalho to put an end to the Portuguese crisis so the Communist Party supported this proposal because there was a need for negotiations to form the fifth provisional $government^{(31)}$.

The elections led to the emergence of a power struggle that became clear through political conferences, mass demonstrations and the shifting of loyalties within the armed forces. As a result, the economy got out of control and led to inflation, the withdrawal of foreign capital and the collapse of agricultural production⁽³²⁾, and agricultural workers also took control of the lands in the north of the country with the encouragement of the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Catholic clergy, and many confrontations occurred through the destruction of the offices of the Portuguese Communist Party and the supporters of communism⁽³³⁾.

As a result of these confrontations, on August 5, 1975, the Fifth Division of the Army was dismissed by the Revolutionary Council for disobeying orders to take the necessary measures. This was the first sign of Gonçalves' downfall when (9 officers) close to the Socialist

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(31)Varela, One, Tow, Three, MFA, P.P. 6-7.

(32)Cooke, Op.Cit, P. 148.

(33)Jones, Op.Cit, P. 7.



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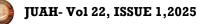
⁽³⁰⁾Diego Palacios Cerezales, "Civil Resistance and democracy in the Portuguese revolution", Journal of Contemporary history, Vol. 52, Issue. 3, 2017, P. 1.

Party submitted a document to the government in which they refused to accept the model of government for socialist Eastern Europe and also rejected the model of social democratic society in Western Europe and this document was published by the Portuguese newspaper Novo on the same day and became known as the (Novo Document) or (Document of the Nine). It demanded Gonçalves' resignation⁽³⁴⁾, As a result, the Revolutionary Council removed Gonçalves from his position as Prime Minister and appointed General Pinheiro de Azevedo to form the new government⁽³⁵⁾.

The fall of the fifth provisional government on September 29, 1975, and the formation of the sixth provisional government of social democrats and some of the more moderate armed forces⁽³⁶⁾, prompted some moderate armed forces officers to organize themselves on November 25, 1975⁽³⁷⁾ and carry out a counter-coup that led to the emergence of an institutional democratic system that ended the armed coup of the extreme right ⁽³⁸⁾, Thus, the coup was the last chance for the leftists, as the moderates regained control of the state and the army and were able to direct democracy in the manner of European democracies⁽³⁹⁾.

The counter-coup failed and was described by Prime Minister Gonçalves as: "a provocation organized by the sixth provisional government" which ordered the bombing of air bases in an attempt to force the resignation of the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, which

⁽³⁹⁾Pedro Ramos Pinto, The Lisbon commune: The Social roots of political movement in the Portuguese revolution 1974-1976, paper presented at workshop 14-19 April 2005, Spain, P. 5, <u>www.ecpr.eu/filestore/paperprosal</u>



⁽³⁴⁾Varela, One, Tow, Three, MFA, P. 7.

⁽³⁵⁾Hugo Gil Ferreira and Michel W. Marshall, Portugal's revolution: Ten years on, Cambridge University Press, 1986, P. 194.

⁽³⁶⁾Accornero, Op.Cit, P. 34.

⁽³⁷⁾Marina Costa Lobo, Antonio Costa Pinto and Pedro C. Magalheas, "Portuguese democratization 40 years on: Its meaning and enduring Legacies", Journal South European Society and Politics, Vol.21, Issue. 2, 2016, P. 167.

⁽³⁸⁾Raquel da Silva and Sofia Ferreira, "The Post-dictatorship memory Politics in Portugal which erased political violence from the collective memory", Journal integrpsych behave, Vol. 53, Issue, 1, 2018, P 31.

caused a political and social crisis and the division of the armed forces movement and the seizure of the Monsanto air base, the Air Force School and five other air bases in the capital and southern Portugal by hundreds of soldiers sympathetic to the extreme left⁽⁴⁰⁾ However, the moderate military forces were soon able to defeat the extreme leftist revolutionary military groups and this year also witnessed the process of ending Portuguese colonialism in the African colonies, as Mozambique and Cape Verde gained independence in July 1975 and Angola in November 1975⁽⁴¹⁾.

The Portuguese people wanted to return to political and economic stability after all this turmoil, so there were joint discussions between the military and civilians about drafting a new constitution for the country that would guarantee liberal pluralistic democracy, which was agreed upon in April 1976 and paved the way for ending the provisional governments ⁽⁴²⁾.

The elections were held in June 1976 and General Ramalho Eanes won as the first constitutional president of the Portuguese Republic (1976-1981) and then (1981-1986) and appointed the socialist leader Mario Soares as the head of the first constitutional government, which was known for its weak economy, unrest and political and administrative instability⁽⁴³⁾.

It seems that the military establishment that carried out the military coup was unable to control the reins of power, so unrest occurred, resulting in several interim governments that tried to prevent these unrest and demonstrations, but to no avail, which negatively affected the internal situation, and a struggle for power occurred in the country.

(40)Hugo Gil Ferreira and Michael W. Marshall, Portugal's Revolution: Then years on. New York, 2011, P. 94.
(41)Wheeler and Opello, Op.Cit, P. 22.
(42)Jones, Op.Cit, P. 8.
(43)Wheeler and Opello, Op.Cit, P. 23.

Conclusion:

- The military coup in April 1974 was a significant social event in Portugal in the transition from republicanism to dictatorship.

- The military coup was closely linked to the democratic transition and the armed struggle to end the far-right dictatorship.

- The opposition of the armed forces to the continuation of the war in the Portuguese colonies in Africa eventually led to the independence of those colonies, ending a colonial era known as the worst in modern history.

- The political differences between the parties after the coup led to the formation of several interim governments in Portugal, reaching 6 governments.

- The end of 1975 was marked by a political, military and social crisis and the division of the armed forces movement between the moderate right and the extreme left, which tried to seize power but failed.

- The failure of the extreme left to seize power prompted the Portuguese political parties to hold constitutional elections in the country.

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In the name of God, the Most Gracious, The Most Merciful Editorial of the issue

Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds, and may blessings and peace be upon the Seal of the Prophets, our Master Muhammad, and upon all his family and companions.

Dear researchers around the globe, it is our pleasure to announce the first issue for the year 2025 of our scientific journal (Journal of University of Anbar for Humanities) (JUAH), the peer-reviewed quarterly scientific journal. This issue contains 15 scientific paper that include the journal's specialties for researchers from the University of Anbar and other Iraqi universities. It also contains international scientific papers. In these scientific research, you would find scientific effort that we in the editorial board should be proud of. These researches found its way to publication after being peer-reviewed by qualified professors, each in his field of specialization.

The generous contribution of researchers, the generous effort of the Editor in Chief and members of the Editorial Board, and the great support from the presidency of University Of Anbar and the deanship of College of Education for Humanities encourage us to take steps to reach the looked-for aim of indexing our journal in the largest abstract and citation database (Scopus). Therefore, it must be noted that we are in the process of continuously updating the publishing procedures in order to improve the journal and bring it to a higher scientific status. Furthermore our future aim to contribute effectively to the Arab publishing and scientific research movement in order to enhance the status of the scientific research and expand its horizons in Arab countries because we believe that the scientific research is one of the factors in the progress of the nations and is an indicator of its progress.

Prof. Dr. Fuaad Mohammed Freh Editor in Chief



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- 1. Accept with minor revision. The revised manuscript may or may not be sent to the reviewers for another round of comments.
- 2. Accept with major revision. The revised manuscript sent to the reviewers for another round of comments.
- 3. Reject. The manuscript is rejected for publication by JUAH.
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Publications in JUAH are in English or Arabic language. Authors whose first language is not English should make sure their manuscript is written in idiomatic English before submission. Please write your text in good English (American or British is accepted). language and copy-editing services are provided by the JUAH; hence, authors who feel their manuscript may require editing to eliminate possible grammatical or spelling errors are encouraged to obtain such services prior to submission. Authors are responsible for all costs associated with such services. (Editing Language) 3-2- New Submissions

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Title of up to 17 words should not contain the name of locations, countries or cities of the research as well as abbreviations. Avoid complicated and technical expressions and do not use vague expressions.

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