

Controlling the military

A policy instrument approach to Francoist Spain and the Portuguese Estado Novo

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Background:

- Armed Forces paradox: the organisation created to protect the polity is granted enough power to overthrow it.
- Similarities between Portuguese and Spanish cases:
 - Right wing authoritarian civilianized regimes born thanks to military intervention; Estado Novo (1933-1974) and Francoism (1936-1975)
 - Tradition of military intervention; Catholicism; high levels of illiteracy; low level of economic development; past colonial empire
- However different patterns of civil-military relations:
 - In Portugal: many military coup attempts, the liberal and left-wing military ended up overthrowing the regime and actively participated in the transition to democracy
 - In Spain the military remained loyal to the regime even after the death of Franco



Research approach:

- Comparative analysis of civil-military relations in Portugal and Spain during their dictatorial regimes.
- Public policy comparative framework: Hood's (1983) tools of government
- In-depth examination of historical evidence (archival work and secondary resources)
- Explanations are grounded on neo-institutional theory



Research questions:

- Did Portuguese and Spanish authoritarian governments use different combinations of tools to maintain the military subordinated? Why such choices diverged or converged?

Contribution:

- By using a public policy comparative framework, Hood's (1983) typology for the study of tools of government, and neo institutional theoretical background it provides a new angle to the sub-field of civil military relations and pushes civil-military analysis towards main stream political science
- It produces generalisations about the selection of control policy instruments grounded on historical examination and comparison of civil-military relations

Tool approach to civil-military relations:

- Advantages of a tool perspective:
 - Tools as techniques of social intervention. Tools as building blocks of policies
 - By focusing on the tools launched rather than on goals, processes or outcomes, subjectivity is reduced and the analysis simplified
 - It helps establishing comparisons and depicting tendencies
- Weaknesses/gaps in policy instruments literature :
 - Empirical application of the general typologies developed
 - Comprehensive framework linking context and policy choice

Comparative framework: a variant of Hood's NATO framework (1983) for the study of tools of government

Nodality: 'property of being in the middle of an information or social network'

- Information Effectors:** propaganda (posters, publications, public speeches, etc.), censorship
- Detectors:** action of intelligence services, informers, official reports

Treasure: 'the possession of a stock of moneys or fungible chattels'

- Direct:** salary raises, pensions, economic incentives
- Indirect:** acquisition of modern equipments and weapons, better working facilities

Authority: 'the possession of legal or official power...to demand, forbid, guarantee, adjudicate'

- Positive:** promotions, appointments and privileges granted to loyal officers, functions granted to the military (symbolic functions, participation in public order and justice)
- Negative:** limitations, prohibitions, removal of rebel officers from crucial positions

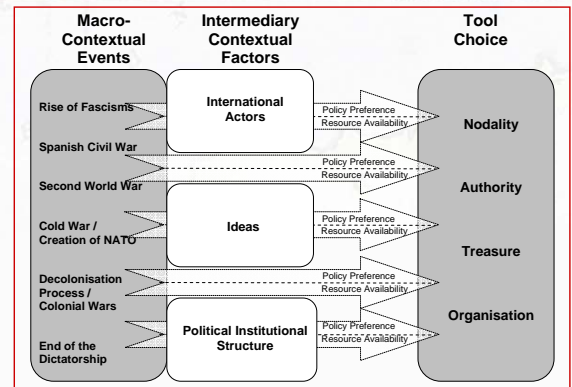
Organisation: 'the possession of a stock of people, ..., land, buildings, materials and equipment somehow arranged'

- Coercive:** paramilitary or police forces, special military units, disciplinary and political tribunals, penitentiary system
- Non-coercive:** military education and training, exploitation of the organisational design and geographical deployment, provision of services, goods and jobs



Conclusions:

- There is not a single 'Iberian approach' or 'authoritarian' model. Portugal and Spain developed policies of control based on different combinations of policy instruments:
 - Coercive organisation instruments:
 - In Spain a more intensive use of force, especially during the Civil War and post-war, in Portugal a higher reliance on paramilitary bodies
 - Non-coercive organisation tools for professionalization: Earlier in Portugal due to NATO membership although abandoned during the colonial wars
 - Information detectors: In Portugal higher reliance on intelligence services, Spain on informal communication
 - Authority tools: In Portugal political appointment ('escolha'); in Spain integration of loyal militia fighters and higher level of resource availability
- Tool choices were shaped by material and cognitive contextual factors. The two basic mechanisms by which context affects the choice of control instruments is the alteration of their desirability and their availability
- The general evolution of civil-military relations in the Peninsula portrayed critical junctures and inertias. A series of macro-contextual events, such as rise of Fascisms, Spanish Civil War and Second World War, NATO membership and the colonial conflicts, enabled or/and forced changes in governments control toolset



Portugal	Timeline	Spain
1926. Coup against the First Portuguese Republic. Military Dictatorship is established	1926. Military rebellion in March, April and May.	1931. Second Republic is established
1932. Salazar becomes Prime Minister	1946. Military rebellion 'revolta da mealhada'	1936. Coup against the Second Republic. Beginning of Civil War. Franco is appointed chief of the rebel government
1936. Communist Navy revolt in Tagus	1949. Portugal becomes a founding member of NATO	1939. End of the Spanish Civil War.
1939. Beginning of WWII	1955. Portugal joins the UN. The Warsaw Pact is established	1939. End of WWII
1945. END of WWII	1953. Economic and military agreements with the US	1953. Economic and military agreements with the US
	1955. Spain joins the UN	1955. Spain joins the UN
	1957. Sidi-Ihli war in Sahara	1957. Sidi-Ihli war in Sahara
	1961. Military Rebellion in Beja	1961. Last Spanish troops abandon Morocco.
	1961. Beginning of Colonial wars. Coup attempt by Botelho Moniz	1961. Last Spanish troops abandon Morocco.
	1968. Caetano substitutes Salazar as Prime Minister	1968. Independence of Equatorial Guinea from Spain
	1974. Military coup of 25 April (Carnations Revolution)	1975. Death of Franco
	1975. End of colonial wars	1975. Death of Franco

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