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.
- Similitudes between Portuguese and Spanish cases:
  - Right wing authoritarian centralized 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 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

Conclusions:
- There is not a single ‘iberal 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
    - Coercive organisation tools for professionalization: Earlier in Portugal due to NATO membership although abandoned during the colonial wars
  - Information instruments: In Portugal political appointment (‘escolha’); in Spain integration of loyal militia fighters and higher level of military units, disciplinary and political tribunals, paramilitary system
  - 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
  - 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 rises of Fascisms, Spanish Civil War and Second World War, NATO membership and the colonial conflicts, enabled or forced changes in governments control toolset

Timeline

Portugal
1936. Coup against the First Portuguese Republic. Military Dictatorship is established
1936. Beginning of the Civil War
1947. Portugal joins the UN. The First Republic is established
1955. Spain joins the UN. The Second Republic is established
1962. Military Revolution in Lagos
1964. Coup d’etat in Lisbon. President Moniz is deposed
1968. Colonial territories of São Tomé and Principe are established

Spain
1913. Second Republic is established
1914. War in the East
1936. Beginning of the Civil War
1941. End of the Spanish Civil War
1950. Spain joins the UN. The Second Republic is established
1954. Spain joins NATO
1955. Spain signs the Geneva Convention from 1972
1961. Left Spanish-von Moniz’s rising
1968. Independence of Equatorial Guinea from Spain

Macro-Contextual Events
- Rise of Fascists
- Second World War
- Cold War / Creation of NATO
- Decolonisation Process / Colonial Wars
- End of the Dictatorship

Intermediate Contextual Factors
- International Actors
- Policy Preference
- Resource Availability
- Nodality
- Authority
- Organisation

Tool Choice

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