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The Military Transition to Democracy in Spain: Looking for a New Democratic Soldier

Spanish Case

PRIF- Research Paper No. I/1-2007

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Research Project „The Image of the Democratic Soldier: Tensions
Between the Organisation of Armed Forces and the Principles of
Democracy in European Comparison“

Funded by the Volkswagen Foundation 2006-2009

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1. Introduction

The problems which led into the Spanish Civil War were evident already in general Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923). The social and institutional approval of this dictatorship was due, in part, to the impact of the unions violence on some cities and districts (under the influence of the Russian Bolshevism, the Labour movement arranged itself to conquer the State using the direct action; also the revolutionary syndicalism played the lead in the street struggles that desolated Barcelona and, in a minor measure, other Spanish cities between 1919 and 1923). The armies' officers of that generation reached the conclusion that repression and authoritarianism were the most effective formulas to eradicate the subversive war. For this reason, the majority of the population did not have reservations in fact, many did agree or were pleased and, even, some celebrated that army's officers assumed completely the responsibility to govern the State in 1923.

In what concerns the Armed Forces, Primo of Rivera did not characterize himself, during the years that he was in power, in order to make an effort to modernize the Armed Forces. He had to dedicate all his diligence to resolve old pending litigation on personnel policy (many of which had its origin in the War of Africa), what interfered with any attempt to undertake the important reforms that the institution was requiring.

The proclamation of the Republic (1931) opened the most coherent process of military rationalization ever tried. Manuel Azaña (Minister of War and later, President of the Government) was confronted with an army plagued of problems and scarcities: ankylosis, political prominence, operational deficiency, inflation of commands, inadequate material and logistic insufficiencies. The republican politician, firstly, rendered especial attention and dedication to bring changes into the management of the human resources of the institution and, secondly, tried to deprive the Armed Forces of competences that were extraneous to the military function properly said.

The establishment of the figure of the no-commissioned officer –sub officer– (who dignified the role of this indispensable auxiliary of the military command) is to his credit.

The principal failure of his reforms was that he was not able to separate the army of the tasks that were inappropriate to it. Never - neither before nor after the Republic - was the use of military units, as a repressive instrument, so frequent. The convulsive situation of the country denaturalized the initial proposal: to make independent the Armed Forces from the Forces of Public Order. The law that regulated this matter in 1933 delegated to the local authorities the use of the army as gendarmerie's troops and regulated the requirements in order to allow the heads of unit to be under the local authorities (provincial governors and mayors).

The society got accustomed to troop's presence at fields and cities, and the so called peoples of order, got used to consider the military like supporters of the political and institutional normality. Soon, they also saw them as possible substitutes of to the

authorities and to the whole of the army as the unique defender of property and life style.

Army became, for the wealthy classes, the symbol of the expectation of their survivorship. For the little fortunate, it represented the only obstacle that was making opposition to their social and economical promotion. In short, the military institution became, definitively, a political instrument.

In July 1936, more than one half of the officer corps and, with them, the units they were commanding, got in line with the revolting generals. The rest chose to defend the institutional legality. This division converted what had been planned as a Military Coup, into a Civil War.

In April 1939, after the victory of the revolting, a dictatorship was established in Spain, headed by General Franco, who governed the country during 38 years.

Franco dies in November 1975. With his death, a period, which has been considered, by many peoples, a model of transition to democracy, starts. Formally, we can consider that, at this point, the process that leads Spain to democracy has begun. Some people consider that this process closes itself with the new constitutional rules which were approved three years later; others believe that, really, only the process is completed when those who were repressed during dictatorship have the possibility to pretend the power and accede to it. If so, the new Constitution, published in 1978, it would get all its effectiveness at the end of 1982, when the Socialist Spanish Party (PSOE) wins the election and constitutes a government.

When Franco dies, the Spanish society was very different to the one that existed at the beginning of the Civil War, 40 years before. To begin with, there was a middle class, which saw its growth halted by the limits that all dictatorships impose. On the other hand, the social requests were not extreme and stability was guaranteed from out of our frontiers¹.

At the beginning of the seventies, and promoted by the regime, symptoms of change in the anchylosed former scheme of Armed forces started to be detected. The revision was initiated with the reform of the systems for selection and formation of professional officers, whose admittance and programme of studies were renewed. For the first time, to enter the Academies it was required a selective course with professors and syllabus of university, although developed in military installations. Also, the No-commissioned Officer Corps became incorporated to an academic regulated regime.

Nevertheless, there were critical actors, inside and outside the Armed Forces, ready to play hard in the distribution of power which the dictator's death implied.

1 "As a proof of the empirical material we have on that era, especially the qualitative surveys and the in-depth interviews there was an [...] extraordinary moderation of the expectations and popular demands. But above all we had *Big Brother* watching over us, personified by president Nixon, who sent to Madrid the assistant director of the CIA, Vernon Walters, to meet with Franco and the haig ranking generals [...] It was the year 1971 [...] As long as the military bases continued and Spain stayed in the American geopolitical mechanism, the USA guaranteed the succession of the regime against any tipe of coup from communist or rebellious Spanish military". Interview to the Professor D. José VIDAL-BENEYTO. *El País*. 01.07.2007. Page 10.

2. The Discourse of the Winners and the Spanish Society

Once the Civil War was finished, the II World War began and, at the end of this, allies that had defeated Nazism/Fascism initiated a confrontation among themselves which did not cease in 45 years.

The Spanish alignment with the countries of the Axis during the Civil War and the signature of the Pact of Steel in 1940 had interrupted its long tradition as neutral country. Once the II World War was finished, Franco got ready to change faction. In 1953, by means of a military agreement with United States, he subscribed the Spanish alignment with the western bloc. This agreement allowed initiating a certain modernization of the Armed Forces whose armament and material were obsolete, not to say useless.

The Franco's regime, which had found its justification in the defence of the occidental moral values against Communism, moves from an unconditional support the German-Italian Axis during the II World War, to forced neutrality, at the end of this war. From this time, Spain lives a period of isolation that only finalizes due to the dynamics that the geopolitics of the Cold War generate in the confrontation with the Soviet Union.

The drafting system of Franco's army contemplated the enforced enlistment of all the masculine population. The age to entering army was twenty years, with possibility of proroguing some years the incorporation to service for family or studies causes. Drafted soldiers were sent to different regions with the objective of increasing the political and social cohesion of country. The time of active service was fixed in twenty four months. Passed this time, soldiers became subject to mobilization till they were forty five years old, although never a general mobilization took effect.

During 40 years, officers, no-commissioned officers and citizens that were rendering military service received a monolithic discourse, borne by the conception of Spain as a defensive firewall against Communism. This discourse affirmed that Spain was the spiritual reserve of Occident.

The social moral values which are publicized in this discourse are pre-capitalist and anti-liberal². There are, on the other hand, some principles of Christian inspiration where the correctly made work is the merit which may allow to the access to the new aristocracy. Evidently, direct subordination to the regime is not claimed but the senseless respect to the established order and to those that they represent it is required³.

For the regime, democracy and one of its instruments of representation, political parties, were the devil, and all the professionals of policy were corrupt. It was affirmed that all parties and politicians were the responsible for the crime of the Civil War. Civil wars should be avoid whatever the price, therefore, any pretence of organizing an

2 About discourse and ideology refer to LOSADA, Juan Carlos. (1990). *Ideología del Ejercito Franquista. 1939-1959*. Ediciones Istmo. Madrid.

3 The Courts (Las Cortes: the Parliament of the era) chose their deputies by "institutional thirds": these institutional parts were the family, the union (the only one) and the municipalities (the mayors were designated by the Governor of the Province).

association of political character or a party had to be pursued and punished, with the exception of the unique party, organized by the regime.

The Fatherland is one and, therefore, differences and regional identities had to be erased. Included the others three existent languages, Galician, Catalan and Basque; the only language permitted officially was Castilian (Spanish). Patriotism was not something that we should suppose that all the Spanish people have. All Spaniards should give their lives in support of that Fatherland if it was required, and that was claimed to all of them. This brought along the conviction that being Spanish was something completely different that belonging to any other country. Such difference was not defined by ethnic or anthropometric parameters, but for spiritual, historic and character matters. And all of them impregnated of Catholicism.

As all power emanates from God, the one that was in its possession had legitimacy, automatically; especially if the Catholic Church had supported him unconditionally from the beginning of the Civil War. Therefore, the absolute subordination to this one who shows the power was mandatory to everybody.

Work, austerity, the capability of bearing suffering was the social moral values that were considered desirable. Necessity became virtue in a beggarly Spain. According to the circumstances of every moment, these social moral values continued being present at discourse of the regime, with bigger or minor intensity, to the end. But, with the economic development generated in the sixties, the social reality changes and, even, Catholic Church's unconditional initial support becomes opposition in the seventies.

Step by step, the economic development ends up showing some terms of the existent contradictions. In other words: is it possible (in this part of the world) a market economy to develop with social moral values that were similar to those of the Ancient Régime? And, in addition, in a market economy or with equilibrium between State and market: can the liberal principles be dismissed totally? Is it possible to abstain of freedom, of the individual rights and of the individual search of wealth?

3. The Process of Transition in the Military to the Eighties

Armed Forces were depurated from the beginning of the Civil War. All the moral values that were encouraged in those years for the society were encouraged it also for the military, but with a greater level of exigency.

All those which belonged to the Armed Forces and, especially, officers, should have possessed features than, almost, should have assimilated them to the priesthood. The Armed Forces should have maintained themselves isolated not to be contaminated by the civil community. This was imperfect and the military were the elite and the last resource for the maintenance of the homeland essences.

Those moral values were taught all the civic males that should have served in the armies. Armed Forces were the regenerator and re-educator of the nation. Therefore,

commands were professors and fathers of the soldiers and, like such, they treated them. In addition, there was a strong exigency of discipline that, for the inferior levels of command, it was a formal requirement and, for the high hierarchies, it had spiritual character.

The commands should have an exemplary behaviour like armies officer and like citizens. This supposed, at times, problems for military men. In a car accident, for example, if one passed judgement from the military jurisdiction, it could suppose more severe punishments for military. What in the Civil Code was one extenuating circumstance, for the Military Justice could be an aggravating circumstance. It was not possible to get married without permission of superiority and after investigating the fiancée. The wedding could be forbidden if the girlfriend had “doubtful” morality or her family was leftist.

The pre-eminence that military men were giving to the moral values as opposed to the materials was evident, even at the professional field. This view was transferred to a certain disdain for the military material also. The North American material that arrived in the mid fifties supposed a spectacular increase of firepower, transportation facilities and communications in little units. However, in determined spaces it was perceived like a possible contaminating element of spirituality and morality of Spanish Armed Forces. Because, against what it can seem, the Spanish officers had, at that point in time, a very low opinion about the American soldier and of their morality in the combat. Besides, the possibility existed that, with the military material, could be imported “dissolving ideas”⁴, understanding like such democracy and moral values associated to it.

Evidently, not everybody held those points of view, and a division was taking place between what, in order to simplify, we can name “technicians”, on one hand, and “warriors”, for another one. In the course of time and within each Armed Forces' Branch, a separation in moral values takes place also between the ones that did the Civil War and one part, difficult to quantify, of those that they entered the Military Academies as from the beginning of the economic development of the country.

The francoism's Armed Forces were very isolated of the society and, from the beginning; they became the regime's safeguard. Especially Army; it was practically deployed to the fifty provincial capitals and other important cities⁵. Anyway, the whole of Armed Forces was orientated to the defence of the interior order, it was operatingly weak, not much agile and it had surpassed by the circumstances. His officers in command were ultra-nationalistic, militarist and loyal to the francoism. At the same time, they were much depoliticized, with a great cohesion between them, professionalized and disciplined. The troop was deficient of motivation, was considering the military service as a loss of time

4 LOSADA, Juan Carlos. (1990). *Ideología del Ejercito Franquista. 1939-1959*. Ediciones Istmo. Madrid, Page 56 and following.

5 In 1964, the disperse regiments and battalions were integrated in the Operative Defence Brigades of the Territory (BRIDOT in Spanish) in each one of the nine Military Regions (apart from the military units of the islands), which distributed regiments and battalions everywhere. These were the defence units (and occupation, guided to prevent a hypothetical subversion in the interior) of the territory. There were, also, the Immediate Intervention Units and those of the General Reservation.

and their level of instruction was very deficient.

The Guardia Civil (an institution of security -similar to Gendarmerie- whose officers received instruction, and still receive it, during the two first years at the General Army Academy) completed a deployment that was covering a great part of the 8,000 centres of population in Spain.

The low salaries, the deficiency of material and the naked possibility of conflict (especially after the signature of the cooperation agreements with the United States) were not inciting to maintaining a high level of morality and professionalism, but the discourse on moral values kept on.

For officer corps and to no-commissioned officers, the problem of the salaries provoked, in francoism's two last decades, the generalization of the phenomenon of moonlighting, something unknown until then in the military community. Many were the professional army's officers that were compelled to complement their exiguous salaries with a job in the afternoons, in front of the impossibility of pushing forward their families themselves.

An opinion poll in 1976 was accomplished in the Army. The military men with a job in the afternoon were a 27.4 % according to the opinion poll. The situation is very different from the big cities to the little ones. So, in Barcelona they were the 45.7 % and in Madrid the 38.8 %. While in Soria only they were the 8.7 % and in Teruel the 4.85%⁶. Nevertheless, those numbers perhaps were less than the real thing; some author affirms that, in Madrid, two third parts of the military men were running in the afternoon and, in the rest of Spain, the fifty percent⁷.

In addition, it is calculated that, in 1974, almost a third part of the officers of the branches of the Army they were matriculated or they had obtained a middle or high degree at the University⁸, without military institution's help

Search of resources forced to a part of the officers (those the regime wanted to maintain isolated of the society) to a greater contact with the civilians in the afternoons. A significant example was the general Gutiérrez Mellado, responsible of intelligence in the francoist side during the Civil War. He asked for and obtained, in the late fifties, supernumerary's situation and during seven years he dedicated himself to civil works to confront his family's economical problems. Later, he re-joined the Army and he had a very important role, like Vice-President of Government of Adolfo Suárez, in the process of transition. Gutiérrez Mellado initiated the processes of professionalism and improving of the retributions of the military men.

When the general Franco dies, in 1975, all the generals with command they had done the war with him. Although it is not easy to quantify, it can be told that, in this moment, there were, in the military cupola, a little group of reformist officer (liberals), another

6 BUSQUETS, Julio. (1984). *El militar de carrera en España*. ARIEL. Barcelona. Page 230.

7 PUELL DE LA VILLA, Fernando (1997). *Gutiérrez Mellado. Un militar del siglo XX (1912-1995)*. Editorial Biblioteca Nueva. Madrid. Page 144.

8 Op. Cit., Page 142.

bigger group that it were maintaining in the francoist ideological parameters and was wishing the continuation of regime (intransigents) and a group resolved to accept changes that were perceived as inevitable, but preserving the military's autonomy (conservatives). Finally, it was a silent and "not aligned" majority⁹, between the officers of minor graduation, whose worries they were the support of the Spanish unit, legality and order. Therefore, it cannot be affirmed that armies officer formed a compact block and with a unique criterion, because to the above said we have to add the disunion between the Armed Forces Branches¹⁰ and the discrepancies inside them.

Of another part, there was not a military leader (an army officer with capacity to act like leader of the Armed Forces) and the King had received from the general Franco the formal legitimacy like successor in the power. His action, moderated and firm, at the same time, made possible that take place the successive transfer of loyalties from Franco to him

The military men, otherwise, did not have a model of society that they can present to the rest of social groups and that could suppose the adhesion of a significant part of citizenship. There was not a military possible and identifiable option in front of the civil leaders that guided the transition to democracy.

For their part, the civil leaders imposed an accelerated rhythm (although non radical, in principle) of changes that it allowed a continuous displacement, from legality francoist to democracy, without time to articulate a response *a contrario sensu*. They leaned on popular and democratic consultation that showed that the electorate was moderate in his political options (which contributed to stop the left parties in its ambitions); and the first phase of process finished with the approval of the Constitution, that gives, precisely, the mission of defending the constitutional organizing to the military (Art. 8).

Without a doubt the francoist military expected changes, but not those that took place and at that rate.

4. Military and the Distribution of the Power to the Eighties

Once the Civil War was finished, Franco tried to forge, for Armed Forces, a space that it was separated really of Government and of unique party. Some generals claimed a bigger participation of the military in governmental or state-owned decisions, but the politicians of unique party were thumbs down on it. This supposed than part of the armies officer, during that period feel a certain animadversion toward the Falangist (that, at the beginning, agglutinated the unique party) and toward the politicians of regime in general.

Anyway, the participation of the Armed Forces in policy proved to be contradictory

9 This distribution of the professional-political trends of the soldiers was obtained during an interview with General Gutiérrez Mellado. Source: AGÜERO, Felipe. (1995). *Militares, civiles y democracia*. Alianza Editorial. Madrid. Page 187.

10 There were three Military Ministries, (Army, Air Force and Navy)

with the moral values that were basing the discourse of dictatorship. Because guaranteeing what is essential (the survival of state and the superior moral values of the nation) could collide with what's contingent (the political daily action). Furthermore, a subordinate and disciplined instrument could not claim for a protagonist role. The result went that in spite of the presence, important, of armies officer in policy, the direct participation of the Armed Forces, as institution, it was scarce, when no null.

This enouncement, besides, was congruent with the power's articulation that General Franco established: he fragmented it between the different actors or existent "families" in each period, as it was the case, in addition to army's officers to personal title, of Falangist, Carlist, technocrats, Catholics and other groups.

In the middle of the Civil War (1938) the number of military minister supposed the 41.6 % of the cabinet, reaching a peak of the 50 % in 1945 (when the regime feared an invasion of the allies at the end of the II World War), to go down to the 15.8 % in 1975¹¹.

Otherwise, 14 % of the Members of Parliament in all of the francoist period were (or they had been) military, oscillating from the 19%, during the ten first years, to the 22 %, during the ten following, to fall to the 11 % at the beginning of the seventies¹².

During almost forty years, Armed Forces are the institution that keeps watch and impede that the interior enemies may take part actively in policy. But Armed Forces, as a corporation, do not participate in the political life. Military should have been, legally, apolitical. They were educated during four decades for it and the majority of them come to the transition to the democracy with that conception. There is no evidence of direct intervention (in corporative manner) of the armies officer in policy during the transition, except when the Members of Parliament of new Congress studies a law of amnesty that could include the members of the Military Democratic Union (UMD)¹³ and the military chain of command, obsessive for the memory of 1936, showed its decided will of excluding them of amnesty. This would be the only episode of political interventionism of the military institution during the transition.

With first democratic election of Congressmen in the Congress in June 15, 1977, practically, the armies officers disappear of the Parliament.

As right now it has been indicated, there was a Ministry for each Branch of the Armed Forces. Ministers of Army, Navy and Air Force disappear when, in July 1977, General

11 These data was obtained from «cuadro nº 7» of BAÑÓN, Rafael y OLMEDA, José Antonio (1985). *La institución militar en el Estado contemporáneo*. Alianza Editorial. Madrid. Page 310.

12 BAÑÓN, Rafael. (1978). *Poder de la burocracia y Cortes franquistas. 1943-71*. INAP. Madrid. Page 264.

13 The UMD was a clandestine organization created by some officers, within the Armed Forces in 1974. Its objective was working to facilitate the installation of a democratic system in Spain. Some were stopped and expelled. When the law of amnesty was brought for their approval, General Gutiérrez Mellado, who was vice-president of the Government, accompanied by twelve Generals, warned of the unsuitability of pardoning the expelled soldiers, by the strong reaction that would come from inside the Armed Forces. It was not only an ideological issue: no creation of any type of clandestine organizations would be permitted within the Armies. On this subject refer to AGÜERO, Felipe. (1995). *Militares, civiles y democracia*. Alianza Editorial. Madrid. Page 155.

The UMD was formally self dissolved after the first democratic elections (June, 1977).

Gutiérrez Mellado decides the creation of Ministry of Defence, unifying the internal organization of the three military ministries and institutionalizing the figures of the Chiefs of Staff, as visible heads of every Branch. The subjacent criterion in such decision was the separation of the military issues from the administrative and politic matters. Despite of the first Minister of Defence was a General (General Gutiérrez Mellado). Rodríguez Sahagún was the first civilian nominated as Minister of Defence (April 1979). He will dictate in 1980¹⁴ the law that regulate the military organization's bases and, among other things, the division of functions between civilians and military men within the Ministry of Defence.

The Commander In Chief of the military was the King and Government was the one that direct the Military Administration. Concretely, the President was the responsible to direct and to coordinate the Policy of Defence and the Minister of Defence who organized and executed the Military Policy. The Board of Chiefs of Staff (JUJEM) composed for the Chiefs of Staff of the three Branches of the Armed Forces was the collegiate superior organ of the chain of command. But the exposition of the norm was ambiguous, because it did not specify accurately (and, most of all, with rotundity) that JUJEM should be subordinated to executive power. JUJEM had attributed very specific competences, like the elaboration of the Strategic Joint Plan, that it should have been proposed to Government for its approval; the strategic conduction of this Plan; the coordination of the derivative plans of that one and the regulation of the doctrine of the Armed Forces.

In short, with this redistribution of competences we can assure *grosso modo* that, in subjects of defence, Government's President was the responsible of the policy, the Minister of Defence was competent exclusively about the themes related with the administration and the military cupola was responsible of all of the technical-military subjects. An artificial division that, besides not subordinating of a clear way the Armed Forces to the executive, it let was opened the possibility of the direct access of the army's officer to the President, leaving out, in the margin, the Minister of Defence.

The country goes on with a territorial organization composed by Military Regions and the compulsory military service is held and it is a priority over any other duty for the citizens (males). Women kept on without having access to the military career. For the first time, the conscientious objection to the military service is allowed; a social service that substitutes it with obligatory character becomes established and this service should have been regulated by a law. Aforesaid law did not get into print and conscientious objectors were arrested and were ending up in jail.

The Military Jurisdiction is maintained, but, exclusively, in and for the military environment. It runs out that way with the previous criterion established in the Code of Military Justice of 1945 that was putting in front of the Court-Martial, through ordinary or summary procedures, those who they were committing crimes related with the state security (sedition and rebellion) or its territorial integrity (case of the separatist or nationalistic groups), with independence of commission's place or that they were civilians or military men. Otherwise, the Constitution (Art. 123) had established the subordination

14 Ley Orgánica 6/1980, de 1 julio. Criterios Básicos de la Defensa Nacional y la Organización Militar.

of the Military Justice to the Supreme Court, finishing that way with the duality of jurisdictions that had kept on from the Civil War.

Many important subjects were in this law, for example, the organization of the military teaching. That was very important because it could suppose a change in the moral values of the commands of the Armed Forces. All these themes are remitted to future laws or new pieces of legislation for its development.

5. Consensus, Military Coup 1981 and the End of an Epoch 1982

Reforms before indicated were possible because it took place a true consensus between the civil leaders, coming from francoism and the other ones that were coming from opposition. The “noise of sabres” (expression that it became popular in those years in certain ambits of political negotiation) tempered, besides, the pretensions of everybody and avoided the radicalization of any political attitude.

Otherwise, all the participants in the process obtained some benefit of consensus (Catholic Church, labour unions, left parties, businessmen, nationalists, etc.). The content of Constitution and the way as its consensual redaction took place are an obvious expression of this affirmation. But it is not the same thing to approve a Constitution that to make it effective.

In those moments, institutions, bureaucracy and present moral values in public organizations had not changed. “Conservative” military men and the “intransigents” were majority in the superior positions of command. Although, for the above-mentioned circumstances, they had not articulated an answer in front of the political changes that generated great trouble to them. (For example, although in the Constitution the used term was Autonomous Regions instead of Federate States, the range of competences that could be attributed to them was very similar: from the perspective of the majority of those military commands, it walked toward the Spanish disintegration).

We have to consider that the officer corps, like social group, approached the post-francoism without another specific project than to insure, as a final resort, that so-called “succession’s providences” of francoism should come true.

Until the legalization of the Communist Party in April 1977, we did not detect fissures of importance. For the majority, the political reform was inevitable, even necessary, and they were willing to assume it whenever that it did not violate three principles: The homeland unity, Monarchy and the proscription of Communism.

The Communist Party's legalization broke the calm situation. The distrust toward the reform and its supporters, originated for that one, it created necessary conditions in order that, as from the autumn of 1977, quite much accept like irrefutable truth how many disqualifications, hoaxes and rumours that right-wing extremist journalism spread out. And they plant face to the process of political and military reform.

Regardless, the process of consensus that was making going a transition to democracy

came through of because armies officer had been educated in a strongly anti-interventionist culture (what it seems to be paradoxical in a dictatorial regime) and because the vast majority did not envisage the possibility of opposing the process with weapons in the hand.

However, at first, the political actors did not stay firm in all of their commitments on consensus. They considered that once the Constitution was approved right now the transition process had been closed. The attitude of Government's party (UCD)¹⁵; was that one. And PSOE initiated a campaign of erosion of the president Adolfo Suárez with an eye to gain the next elections. This, that is normal in any democracy, was done in a context in which few changes in the Public Administrations became and practically no one in the Armed Forces.

The political parties of left hands (PC and PSOE) appeared strong and cohesive. On the other hand, the party of centre (UCD), that was holding Government, was internally divided between the "barons", proceeding from the francoist era. The right-hand party (AP), at that point, was becoming of small entity. In the more radical military space, the political situation was interpreted as a sign of weakness of all the system and no only of the Government.

Terrorist activity helped to increment feeling of insecurity. Terrorist actions were intensified with the obvious purpose of destabilizing the situation and giving place to an involution that favoured its interests. Nationalistic parties (regionalists) contributed to increase the feeling of incertitude, incrementing their demands in front of central Government and anti-Spanish protest marches.

Otherwise, the creation of the Ministry of Defence and the sharing out of competences between civil (responsible of "support to force") and military (responsible of "force") it supposed that most of the functions and installations of the three disappeared ministries pass to depend on the Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces Branches. Agustín Rodríguez Sahagún, first civilian Minister of Defence, in April 1979, had neither building nor office. Minister as well as the not much civil staff that accompanied him to help him in his functions, was installed in some few rooms of the Air Force Headquarters; that situation kept on during several years.

The Minister became the administrator that should have provided what the Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces Branches were indicating. These, besides, had the possibility, given the imprecision of the Law of 1980, to address one self, directly, to the President and intended to do the same thing with the King. It was the way that military were trying to counterbalance what the constitutional development would imply in: a new dynamics and structure in the Armed Forces.

Also it is precise to consider that the economic crisis of beginning of the seventies coincided with the political changes in Spain and it was not wanted to (or it was not possible) to be faced it; priority at that time was the political subjects, no the economic.

15 UCD were the initials of the Democratic Centre Union, PSOE corresponds to the Socialist Worker Spanish Party, PC was the Communist Party and AP was Popular Alliance.

The result was that the crisis got worse, unemployment increased and inflation and available resources descended. Armed Forces that were in a very bad situation in the francoism's final stages did not see any concrete improvement in that period of time.

In short, neither the "conservative" army's officer nor the "intransigents" liked the happened changes, or those that, logically, were resulted of the constitutional fact. But there was a difference among themselves: the first ones did not want to skip the law and the military discipline; and "intransigents" were willing to do it.

Government's President resigned in January, 29, 1981, and in the course of the new President's investiture in February, 23, an attempt of coup d'etat took place.

What happened with the eleven commands of the Military Regions (nine at the Peninsula and two at the islands) was a significant indicator of the internal division in the Armed Forces. A Region was joined to the coup, three were pronounced clearly against it and the others did not define their posture.

After the intent of coup, the agreement in autonomic matter between the principal parties and the new President, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, it returned. That made possible its treatment with more order, which supposed certain distrust of the nationalistic parties, but it was well received for the army's officer. They saw that Government faced those processes with a bigger control.

Besides, the lamentable attitude and the declarations of almost all the accused for the failed coup d'état provoked such collective catharsis between their comrades, that it immunized them against any future interventionist fickleness. The public hearing of the martial court that judged them and condemned them, celebrated in the first months of 1982, showed conducts too little chords with military ethics and deontology; this was a surprise and overwhelmed the practical totality of the military.

During the year that the new Government lasted, the number of civil positions in the Ministry of Defence was increased a bit; and Spain became incorporated to the NATO. Being a part of Atlantic Alliance supposed one "point of bifurcation"¹⁶ for Spanish Armed Forces. Now, new and different tasks carry-out waited for them.

16 This concept proceed from the theory of the chaos and it is applicable to Sociology and, concretely, to the study of public organizations. According to that theory there are "strange attractors" that have the quality of generating a new conduct in a system. Thanks to them a system abandons their chaotic behaviour to be organized. The moment in which the system starts its stabilization process is the "turning point", but, at the same time, it tends to be a moment of maximum instability.

From this perspective, NATO was a "strange attractor", due to the incorporation signified the obligation for Spanish Armed Forces to adapt organization and procedures to those of that organization. The Spanish soldiers had to be concentrated in those tasks and, furthermore, in the course of time, new symbols and values would be incorporated.

Data: IGLESIAS, Alonso y ARRIOLA, Javier R. (2004) El planteamiento estratégico de las organizaciones públicas. Una visión desde la teoría del caos. Editorial Dykinson. Madrid. (Chapter I)

6. The PSOE and the Changes in the Military

If during the first years of the transition, Communist Party was an important actor (because its actions and attitudes were moderate); PSOE was the politic actor, without which one cannot explain the eighties and almost the nineties. This party gains the elections in 1982 and constitutes government in December of that year. Felipe González Márquez was the leader: He gained four followed elections and he was President of Spanish Governments between that year and June 1996.

During those fourteen years and in the whole world (in the frame where the subjects of defence are developed) multitude of facts was product which transformed that frame a lot. Many were the changes that took place in Spanish Armed Forces and some of them, in turn, had repercussion on PSOE.

For that, in this paragraph we will indicate, of brief mode, the political previous proposals of this party; the reassessment of the objectives; the government action in defence policy, military policy and personnel management; as well as some data about the budgets and the approved legislation.

6.1. The Political Objectives of a Party in Opposition and in Government

The PSOE's 27 Congress took place in December 1976 and showed an important concern for the military subjects of the country. PSOE was, in those moments, a social-democratic party (supported by the German SPD) and its postulates were of Marxist inspiration. The party renounced Marxism later, in an extraordinary congress. The 28 Congress developed in May 1979 and varied any of the political issues that are summarized below.

It was indicated in the 27 Congress that “.....the ideological constants not only of our party, but of all the organizations’ workers, they had, also, a marked confrontation not only with the warlike fact, but also with the military organizations in particular». But ... «the deep changes produced in the power structure in the world, after II World War, forced that the socialist thought in Spain and in the world it modified its antimilitarist positions”¹⁷.

Departing from this antimilitarist tinged posture, it comes into question, as a defence policy, to hold an attitude of active neutrality and the rejection of the policy of blocks (looking for alliances with European countries, but no entering in the NATO, because the entrance supposed homologation with military of those countries and it would bring elevated economic costs), the recuperation of the sovereignty on Gibraltar (sole existent colony in Europe), the suppression of the North American-Spanish military bases, the creation of a military force with countries that are in the process of constructing the democratic socialism, upholding a distension policy and the suppression of nuclear,

17 Fundación Pablo Iglesias. Programa de Transición. XXVII Congreso PSOE. La Defensa. Documento Fc 1285. Pages 6-7.

chemical and bacteriological weapons.

With reference to the military policy it was planned the submission Armed Forces to the civil power, turning them into the political "great dumb"¹⁸; the creation of a Ministry of Defence that integrate, of effective way, the Armed Forces' Branches, finishing with the military tutelage on civil activities (like the civil aviation or the merchant marine), the creation of a independent and total defensive model, the maintenance of the units of territorial defence, moving to the civil space services that can be provided out of the military (like health) and promoting an industry and a technology of self-defence.

Also were intending the elaboration of a pack of laws that was considered essential (Organic Law of the Armed Forces, Law of General Mobilization, Law of the Military Service, Law of Civil Defence, a new Military Justice's Code), the improvement of the organization and resources (with the fusion of determined services and installations, the suppression of other ones and the transference to the Civil Administration of those that "were needing a certain managerial approach in order to structure them for a rational use of the budget"¹⁹); and everything with an obvious decrease of the military outgoings.

About the personnel policy they projected the simplification of scales and corps, to allow the association of the military (for the defence of his quality of life), although without authorizing their syndication, holding the compulsory service (better repaid and promoting voluntary enlistment), keeping the conscientious objection and incorporating the woman to the Armed Forces.

Some of the previous proposals and demands lost meaning because of the evolution of the events; during that period, for example, and to initiative of the UCD government, it was created the Ministry of Defence and some laws (in the line with those that were expounded in both Congresses) were published.

The 29 Congress, October 1981 (after the failed coup d'état), it changed some criteria of military policy. It proposed the creation of big units and the disappearance of territorial defence, encouraged the disappearance of the Captaincy Generals of provinces that were perceived as a parallel "system to the civil power"²⁰ and it designed a plan to reorganize the infrastructures in ten years.

These would be the objectives of the ex ante policies of those who a year after the last mentioned congress would form government. But the government action (once the elections were gained) changed the definition of policies and required an ex post reformulation, after the first four years in power²¹. Right now in Government, it becomes

18 This expression appears in: Fundación Pablo Iglesias. Memoria del 29º Congreso. Propositiones I. Apartado 1.4. Defensa. Documento Fc 244. Page 219.

19 Fundación Pablo Iglesias. 28 Congreso del Partido Socialista Obrero Español. Resolución Sectorial. 17, 18, 19 y 20 de mayo de 1979. Madrid. Documento Fc 824. Pages 3 to 9.

20 Fundación Pablo Iglesias. Anexo al Acta del 29 Congreso. *Política y Estrategia. Política Internacional*. Document Fc 1299. Page 18

21 The rethinking of the objectives of the policies can be dealt with extensively in the conference that the Defence Minister, Narciso Serra, gave in Saint Anthony's College of the University of Oxford, about *La política española de defensa*, in January 31, 1986. Published by Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas nº 36, octubre/diciembre de 1986. Pages 173 to 188.

obvious the need to remain in NATO (although without to be integrated in the military structure); to homologate Spanish Armed Forces with the countries of our environment; closing the possibility of any intervention of the armies officers in policy; consolidating the Ministry of Defence and the Minister's role; regulating Military Justice, military service and conscientious objection; modernizing Armed Forces (reducing them, rationalizing the expenses and infrastructures and endowing them with better equipments) and backing up a system industrial of defence, among other more concrete objectives.

In order to study the government action, we will do express reference to the themes related with defence policy, military policy (inside this, the predominance of civil authority, the organizational issues and senior posts), personnel policy, financial resources that were applied and legal ground rules published and brought into effect.

6.2. The Policy of Defence

In defence policy, the first and important problem the new Government met with was to keep its electoral promise to do a referendum about the integration, or not, of Spain in NATO. The former president (from UCD) had incorporated Spain to this Alliance, with the PSOE's loud opposition, that, in order to save the problem in the next elections, it included a referendum about the incorporation to NATO in its electoral program.

President Felipe González changed his mind when it got to Government; and he defended the permanence in NATO, which supposed tensions with his own party. Finally, he got the party's support and the referendum took place the March 12, 1986. It resulted propitious to the permanence for an adjusted percentage of votes. After, all themes of defence were treated directly by Government; and, from that moment, no one military topic was debated inside the party, like it happened before²².

It is necessary to indicate that the admission in NATO and the process that was followed for it was not a subject without importance in Spain. The entrance takes place for decision of the president of the Government Calvo Sotelo in May 30, 1982, in a social atmosphere contrary to the incorporation to the Alliance. For many Spaniards and also for many military, to enter in NATO was to serve to the American interests.

The arrival to the government of PSOE and the change in favour of the entrance supposed a decrease of the unpopularity of NATO; but, five months before the referendum, 46% of the Spaniards were with determination against it. In fact, the previous polls to the referendum didn't clarify if the "yes" was going to prevail²³.

Also the definition of the policies can be found in the published text by Ministerio de Defensa. Secretaria General Técnica (1986). *Memoria de Legislatura 1982-86*. Pages 28 to 29.

22 In Pablo Iglesias Foundation documentation on the PSOE Congresses 31, 32 and 33 (this, in April 1994) consulted, not a single reference to defence problems has been found. The terms "military" or "defence" has not even been mentioned.

23 The main opposition party, Popular Alliance (AP), conservative and supporter of NATO, did not make any act in favour of the entrance in the Alliance, as a way to weaken the government and, in addition, it proposed its voters that voted blank. Under the leadership of a well-known writer, the campaign of "not", mobilized the smaller parties contrary to the entrance and too many citizen organizations.

The same question that the referendum formulated it was complex, due to the three conditions that it included²⁴, being itself a manifestation of the necessity to sum supports. 52.54% of the voters were pronounced in favour of entrance in NATO²⁵.

On the other hand, the opinion of the Spaniards about the United States was not good. Even today, Spanish population is the one that, in the European Union, worse it values the North Americans (understood as government and its international action; the opinion about its citizens is different). That criterion, in greater or smaller measure, was had (and it has) in the Spanish Armed Forces; although, evidently, it was never expressed in public. The North American soldier doesn't provoke any admiration in the Spanish military, even from the period francoist (see section 3.); but the good organization de its Armed Forces are recognized as well as the quality de their armament and material.

At a later time, Spain became incorporated to the UEO (1988) and to the European Community; and, from that date, Spanish Armed Forces initiate its participation in operations of peacekeeping of United Nations (initially in Angola and later in Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, etc.).

The entrance in the NATO supposed a successive adaptation that it affected from the strategic planning to the tactical and logistic regulations and to the study and adjusting of operating procedures.

The disappearance of USSR, Kuwait's war and ancient Yugoslavia's war brought a drastic change at the worldwide panorama. This implicated the re-definition of the peace and security's model that Government had established few years before. The big (and few) threats had disappeared; at the same time, risks were multiplied and diversified. It took conscience that security and defence it was not only a subject of national sovereignty, and, therefore, it was precise to face up to those problems along with the countries of our environment that were sharing (and they share) a political and social similar conception.

6.3. The Military Policy

The military policy followed a sequence that, we can say, it passed off clearly from the general to the concrete and, always, after a study and a careful diagnosis of the successive situations that it was to face.

In order to clarify the exposition about what happened in military policy, we subdivided it in paragraphs. They have to do with the definitive establishment of pre-

24 The three conditions were:

1. Spain would not incorporate to the integrated military structure.
2. It was prohibited to install or to introduce nuclear weapons in the country.
3. The North American military presence would be reduced progressively.

25 The results were: 52.54% of votes to favour, 39.83% against and 6.54% abstention. From 29.02 million of voters, 17.24 participated (59%), 9.05 voted to favour, 6.87 against and 1.12 blank. It was clear that an important portion of the voters and militants of Popular Alliance (AP) disobeyed the watchwords of the party and they voted in favour of NATO.

eminence of the civil authority on the military; reorganization of Ministry and Defence's Superior Agencies, rearrangement of the military units and designation of the civil and military senior posts.

6.3.1. *The Pre-Eminence of Civil Authority*

During the first year, socialist Government did not take significant measures; and the rules that got into print were of minor range. This period concluded with the publication of a new Law of Basic Criteria of The National Defence and Military Organization. The new piece of legislation attributed to President of Government the capability to take the big decisions on defence policy, detailed clearly his attributions on Armed Forces' direction, war conduction, great strategic proposals' formulation and military policy, finishing with indefinitions and ambiguities that the Law of 1980 met with.

If the above was important, the change in the relative weight of other two actors (Minister of Defence and Board of Chiefs of staff) also was very important.

The Minister of Defence reinforces his figure because of the competences that are attributed directly²⁶ to him and that the previous Law was letting in the JUJEM's hands. This Board goes from being Superior Organ of Command, to be an Advisory Organ of the President and of Minister of Defence. Minister stops being responsible for the political and the shopping issues that the Staffs specified, only, and he becomes the central figure that should take the big decisions.

The Law of 1984 finished with the stranger distribution of competences between the Minister and the military cupola, put an end to one hundred ten years of effective autonomy of the military institution and delineated an important inflection point in the process of the military transition to democracy. This Law specified clearly that Minister of Defence will supervise the military teaching.

6.3.2. *Reorganization of the Ministry, Superior Organs and Military Units*

Few days after the publication of mentioned Law in the previous paragraph, it begins the development of the Law through rules and resolutions of inferior rank and the reorganization of the Ministry of Defence²⁷ starts up. It was structured in: The General Staff of the Defence; State's Secretariat of Defence (from a new creation, it was the responsible organ of management and control of financial resources, of policy of armament and material and of infrastructure); Defence's Undersecretaryship (responsible of management of personnel policy and of policy of military teaching; it became State's

26 Ley Orgánica 1/1984, de 5 de enero.

Among the competences of Minister should be emphasized: a) To propose the objectives of defence policy to the Government; b) To elaborate, to determine and to execute the military policy; c) To formulate the Joint Strategic Plan and to determine the Force Joint Objective, and to present them for their approval to Government; d) To direct and coordinate the acquisition and administration of the resources and to decide the production and supplies regime of the different types of weapons and material, according to the Joint Strategic Plan and the Force Joint Objective. To encourage and coordinate the scientific and technical investigation in matters that affect National Defence.

27 Real Decreto nº 135/1984, de 25 de enero. Reestructura el Ministerio de Defensa.

Secretariat of Military Administration in 1990²⁸) and Army, Navy and Air Force (the norm indicated, specifically, that the three Branches would depend directly on the Minister).

In this reorganization, it will be two State's Secretaries (second level, after the Minister): the Secretary Of State of Defence and the Chief of General Staff of Defence; the Undersecretary of Defences and the Chiefs the Staff of the Armed Forces' Branches that will have Undersecretaries' category (third administrative level); so, a civilian (who controls financial resources, acquisition of armament and material and the infrastructures) passes to have greater administrative category than the Chiefs Of Staff of the Armed Force's Branches.

The controlling function (Intervention) was accomplished by each Branch separately. In 1985²⁹, it was created the Intervention's Military Corp of Defence with all of the Intervention's personnel of three Armed Forces' Branches, taking place the first integration in a unique Corp. It was of first unified Corp of Defence.

In the case of the Defence's Superior Organs, its reform aspired to make effective the civil direction of defence. For it, it was created a new figure, that it should be the most proximate military collaborator to the Minister, and that should help it to the disappearance of the, almost watertight, compartments that it were still in the three Branches. That figure was the Chief of Defence General Staff (JEMAD), responsible to execute the operative aspects of the military policy.

The functions of this post was related with defence policy and, concretely, with Plans and Organization, Intelligence, Strategy, Logistic, Telecommunications and Electronic War. Personnel's issues and training were left out of its attributions, except the Superior Centre of Studies of National Defence (CESEDEN)³⁰, where it was imparted or accomplished the military studies of bigger level.

At the same time that JEMAD's figure; it was created an auxiliary organ, the Joint General Staff of Defence (EMACON), to which was precise to endow of contents. Also, a procedure in order that this Chief's choice does not provoke confrontation between the Armed Forces' Branches was needed. For it, and until now, JEMAD has been elected, consecutively, from each one of the three Branches.

Relating to the structure and territorial distribution of Army, in its first legislature, the PSOE's Government initiated some military units and organisms' reorganization. That way, nine Military Regions (RM) are transformed in six. The number of military unit's type brigade was reduced in a spectacular form (it became established in a high point of fifteen); in five years, the nine Brigades of Operating Defence of Territory were dissolved.

Later and always referred to the Army, and as a consequence of the big changes that it

28 Real Decreto 619/1990, de 18 e mayo de 1990.

29 Ley 9/1985, de 10 de abril.

30 At that time the CESEDEN included the High Military Studies School, the Joint General Staff School and the Spanish Institute of Strategic Studies.

happened at the geo-strategic worldwide surroundings, after collapsing of Warsaw's Pact, a new reorganization, named Plan NORTE was designed; and it approved in February 1994. It was directed to transform definitively Army from a territorial character to another projectable towards exterior. Their objectives were to organize very agile and operative units, deployed in terms of the mission that they had to do, and flexible and systematically organized, as well as setting apart the outmoded tendency to the territorial defence and the rigid previous structure.

6.3.3. The Appointment of the High Charges

The appointment of people in charge that should carry out a policy is an important instrument in hands of governments, in order to control any institution and for the implementation of the policies they wish to develop. The entry of civilians in responsible posts in the Ministry meant that military policy and defence policy were not exclusive dominance of military bureaucracy.

The number of the high ranking civilian posts in Ministry of Defence has been increased over the years (see panel nº 1). Thus, when it was completed the appointment of all the charges in the first legislature the number of civilians was the 17%, raising up to 45% in the last PSOE legislature.

As indicated in panel nº 1, the number of the high military posts maintained constant during that time; but those of new creation, after the successive reorganizations (the high posts grew 53%), was given to the civilians almost in its totality; with this they achieved almost the equality between high military and civil charges.

PANEL N° 1				
Ministry of Defence. High charges appointment				
YEAR	POSITION	CIVILIAN S	MILITAR Y	TOTAL
1984	General Director	2	5	7
	General Subdirector	4	25	29
	TOTAL	6	30	36
	%	17%	83%	100%
1987	General Director	3	6	9
	General Subdirector	9	26	35
	TOTAL	12	32	44
	%	27%	73%	100%
1989	General Director	5	4	9
	General Subdirector	9	26	35
	TOTAL	14	30	44
	%	31%	68%	100%
1993	General Director	11	3	14
	General Subdirector	14	27	41
	TOTAL	25	30	55
	%	45%	55%	100%

Source: AGÜERO, Felipe. (1995). *Militares, Civiles y democracia*. Alianza Editorial. Madrid. Page 323.

But, the continuity of the policies under way in each moment was hindered notably, because the military personnel of the Minister were obligated to a continuous relief. Generals and Admirals took these positions at a mature age, and by the existing regulation, they had to go to retirement, very soon. For that reason it was rare that a command in those posts lasted more than two years; and every six months, more or less, some of the components of the JUJEM was changed. Around the end of 1984 the age of retirement was modified, and it was established that JEMAD and JEME,s could continue in their posts for a maximum period of four years³¹.

Two years after³² the process for the selection of promotion to general was changed. Until that moment, according to the procedures that were regulating the promotion to general, the

31 Real Decreto-Ley 12/1984, de 12 de diciembre.

32 Orden Ministerial 24/1986, de 13 de marzo.

Superior Councils of each Branch proposed three candidates to the Minister for each post of general. From that moment it was mandatory to submit to Minister the complete list of potential candidates to be promoted. On the other hand, with the new norm, promotion to colonel was now in the power of the Minister, as well as the appointment of commands of regiments or ships and certain destinations (as head of studies and the directors of teaching centres); and those appointments had to be accomplished at the proposal of the Undersecretary of Defence (a civilian).

6.4. The Personnel Policy

The number of soldiers was highly elevated according to the needs of defence in Spain. To study the situation of the corps and levels a Commission of Military Personnel was created in June 1983. Its diagnoses were: 1) The number of corps and levels was excessive; 2) Most of the levels did not have clearly defined their functions, assignments or necessary requirements for their exercise; 3) There were not significant differences in the functions of the homologous corps of the three Branches; however, some of them was their own specialities; 4. The conditions to join, permanency and promotion were different in analogous levels.

In the three Branches, there were 207 corps and levels (plus 45 that, previously, had been declared “to extinguish”) and no specific Corps of Defence existed. From 1989 (further on, you can read about these changes) it was diminished to thirteen corps, in total in the Branches, and four new Common Defence Corps were created. Those corps were subdivided in three levels: non-commissioned officers, officers and generals (not in all cases) totalling 28 groups which classified all personnel of the Armed Forces. These corps and levels were defined by the career models, but their complete definition took ten years in to be completed³³.

Before that year, the Intervention Corps and the Legal Corps of the Defence had been created. Later the Health Corps (Medicine, Pharmacy and Veterinary) and Military Marches were created. In this way, their specific functions are structured in various unique corps, for all the Armed Forces. Thus, they disappeared from the Branches and pass to depend directly to the Minister of Defence.

Concerning the Armed Forces policy of join, during the first years, it was tried to assure the equality, merit and capacity principles. The benefits of the «plazas de gracia»³⁴, that permitted the entry in the Armies of more personal than was required, were cancelled. These posts were an element more that facilitated the auto-recruitment.

During all the legislatures, the number of posts for future officers and subofficers was diminished... For example, in 1980, 275, 72 and 126 officers' posts for Army, Navy and Air Force were summoned and in 1995 the posts were 139, 65 and 48, respectively.

33 The career models (corps, levels and specialties) were regulated by Real Decreto 288/1997, de 28 febrero, Reglamento de Cuerpos, Escalas y especialidades fundamentales de los militares de carrera. This regulation was rectified by Real Decreto 207/2003, de 21 febrero, Reglamento de Cuerpos, Escalas y Especialidades de las Fuerzas Armadas.

34 According to Art. 3 of Decreto de Presidencia nº 3057/6, de 24 de septiembre de 1964, that unifies criteria on conditions of join Armed Forces, had «plaza de gracia»: "the children of Honored soldiers or orphans of the three armies, of the Guardia Civil and of Policeman, and other types of military who died in line of duty or in acts of service". Who could accede to these posts had to pass all the test established by “join rules” and they occupied posts above the limits of the quota. These posts disappeared with the Third Additional Arrangement from the Ley 46/1985 de Presupuestos Generales del Estado.

On the other hand, the procedures to join Armed Forces were ruled by a similar regulation to the one in existence for State Administration³⁵.

The total of professional military personal in existence was excessive (especially officers and in Army) according to a study that was accomplished. The relationship between subofficers and generals/officers was respectively of 100 to 124 in Army (with the reduction they wanted the relationship one by one), of 78 to 100 in Navy (the reduction maintained the proportion) and two subofficers for officer in Air Force (relationship was stayed the same).

With professional military personnel model in that was approved for 1991, it was necessary to pass from 66,505 effective in 1984 to 58,223 in 1991 (12.5% less). There in after and for 1999, they had to reach 49.720 effective. More than 8.000 posts had to be eliminated in the first years; from those, 6.000 were corresponding to Army and 1.000 to each of the other two Branches.

For the surplus posts a specific situation was created the “Transient Reserve”, that could be requested by the Army personnel³⁶ from 1985 and a year later it was applied to Navy and Air Force³⁷. This type of “reserve” was designed to reduce, above all, the excess of colonels and lieutenant colonels of Army, attempting to avoid a traumatic reduction. But, in the manner in which it was carried out, a lot of lower officers decided to leave Armed Forces. Additionally, the age of retirement was also reducing and this norm was applied progressively.

With the publication of the Law 17/1989³⁸ the sectorial personnel policies were integrated in a single rule, giving coherence to the action of the government. The regime of the military personnel remained defined in that Law by various aspects, being the principal those that make a reference to: hierarchic order of the members of the armed forces by military ranks; conditions of join and retirement; the evaluation and promotion systems; procedures to be posted and administrative situations, and the regulation of a corps and levels structure, that it allows to have the qualified personnel to carry out each one of the different assignments.

This same law defined a unitary system of military teaching that tried to guaranteeing the continuity of the educational process and the integration in the general educational system of the State. There were equivalent titles, but the teaching had to be developed through the educational structure of the Ministry of Defence.

To develop this law supposed ten years o work. Basically, personal policy and military teaching were affected for this time.

As a summary of the action of government, in this long period, it can be said that, with prudence and few resources, an in-depth reform of the personnel problems was undertaken. Those reforms affected the organization of the personal, to way of personal management, the career models, the join military career, the participation of the women in the Armed Forces and other aspects.

But, the rights and duties of the military (commanders and soldiers) were maintained within a framework of a strict discipline; perhaps to prevent the military appearing in politics. A soldier that wanted to participate in politics had to officially resign from the Armed Forces. And

35 Real Decreto 2223/1984, de 19 de diciembre. Reglamento General de ingreso del personal al servicio de la Administración del Estado.

36 Real Decreto 1000/1985, de 19 junio.

37 Real Decreto 7417/1986, de 11 de abril.

38 Ley 17/1989, de 19 de julio. Régimen del Personal Militar Profesional.

the assistance in uniform to political uniform events was (is) sanctioned.

It did improve the right to complain and appeal against sanctions that the implicated could consider unjust. With the previous Disciplinary Regime any presentation of a complaint or appeal against a sanction was always considered under the perspective to «to maintain discipline well based». That is to say: discipline before justice.

Unions and other syndicates (even associations) in the military were not permitted in virtue of an article of “Royal Ordinances”, a kind of ethical code, that it collect, in a certain form, rights and duties of the military, and that, also in a certain form, it contravenes the Constitution. Some soldiers that had passed to retirement, created an association. But, its annotation in the Associations Record of the Ministry of Interior was not permitted until ten years after, when they won an appeal on that issue in the Justice Courts.

6.4.1. *The Obligatory Military Service*

The problems deriving from the Military Service have always been present in the modernization programs of Armed Forces, by the repercussions not only in the military, but society in general.

The Law of the Military Service that it was approved around the end of 1991, developed the universal recruitment model. It designed a mixed model in which the conscripts are complemented with an important volume of professional soldiers (voluntary). It was what Spain needed, according to the conception of the governors at that time. In that Law, the time of military service was reduced from twelve to nine months (the necessary *minimum* to obtain the standard in instruction that was required); the service was personalized (the youths solicited - and where possible it was conceded-, their preferences with respect to moment of incorporation, geographical location, Branch and assignment areas in those which wish to join the military service); the instruction and training plans of the troops were revised.

6.4.2. *The Incorporation of Woman to the Armed Forces*

Starting from 1988³⁹ the incorporation of woman at the Armed Forces began. The initial criterion was that women incorporated progressively, beginning in corps and levels non-combatant.

The posts were published without sex distinction and without establishing differences in the access (except for some different physical tests in the selection process). They could enter as officers and subofficers (not as troops) in the Military Intervention Corp of the Defence, in the Legal Corps, in the Corps of Health and Pharmacy of the Branches, in the Corp of Military veterinary, in the Armament and Construction Engineers Corps, in the Aeronautical Technical Engineers Corp and as Directors and Subdirectors of the Marching Bands. In that year 292 female presented themselves and twenty-seven entered.

The law changed some time later, and woman could accede to every position in Armed Forces.

39 Real Decreto-Ley 1/1988, de 22 de febrero. Regula la incorporación de la mujer a las Fuerzas Armadas.

6.4.3. *Dimensions of Armed Forces*

One of the high-priority objectives of the personnel policy was the dimensions of Armed Forces.

In June 1991 the Congress approved the future model of Armed Forces, with wide parliamentary support. The criteria were collected thereafter by the National Defence Guideline 1/92.

The Armed Forces model of future that was designed by the Law 14/1993 defined the military personal number by the following parameters:

- A maximum of 180.000 people had to be reached during the decade of the nineties.
- A rate of professionals that would have to be increased from 29% surpassing 50%. This meant the existence of 99.000 professionals. Of which, almost 50.000 would be officers and subofficers, with a rate above 27% (similar to the European countries). The 50.000 remaining would become professional soldiers, which would duplicate the number existing at that moment.
- The personal total, up to 180.000 would be completed with conscripts.

It was the first step toward a fully professional army that would be reached in the 2000's decade.

6.4.4. *Support Policy to the Professionals*

Within the personnel policy great importance was given to the actions of support to the professionals. This policy could permit a total dedication to the service and a permanent readiness of professional soldiers. The measures were also important to improve their social integration and that of their families and to facilitate the mobility of these professionals. Among them, it can be mentioned:

- Salaries of the soldiers; to match and compare the retributive concepts to those of the rest of the officials of the State.
- Military housing, including changes of destination for active military professionals.
- Sanitary assistance; that was structured in two fields: 1) the logistical-operative, that responded to the peculiarities of each Branch; 2) the assistance, that were lent through Military Hospitals or through arrangements with public or private entities, in coordination with the Social Institute of the Armed Forces.

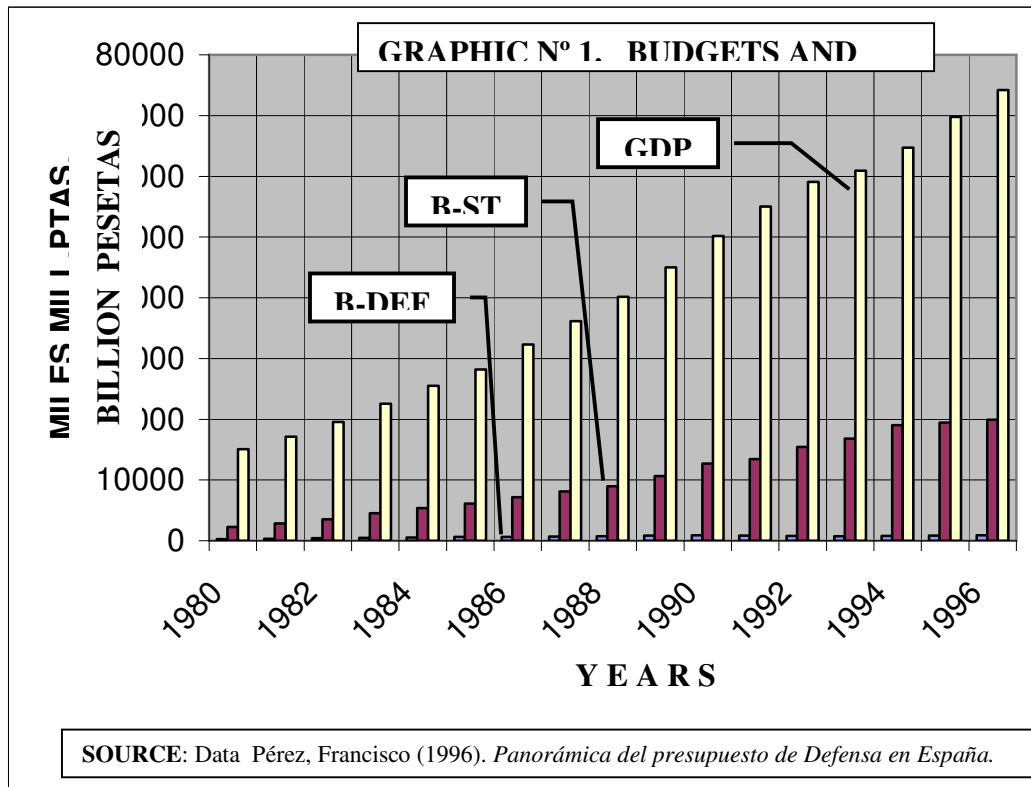
6.5. **The Budget**

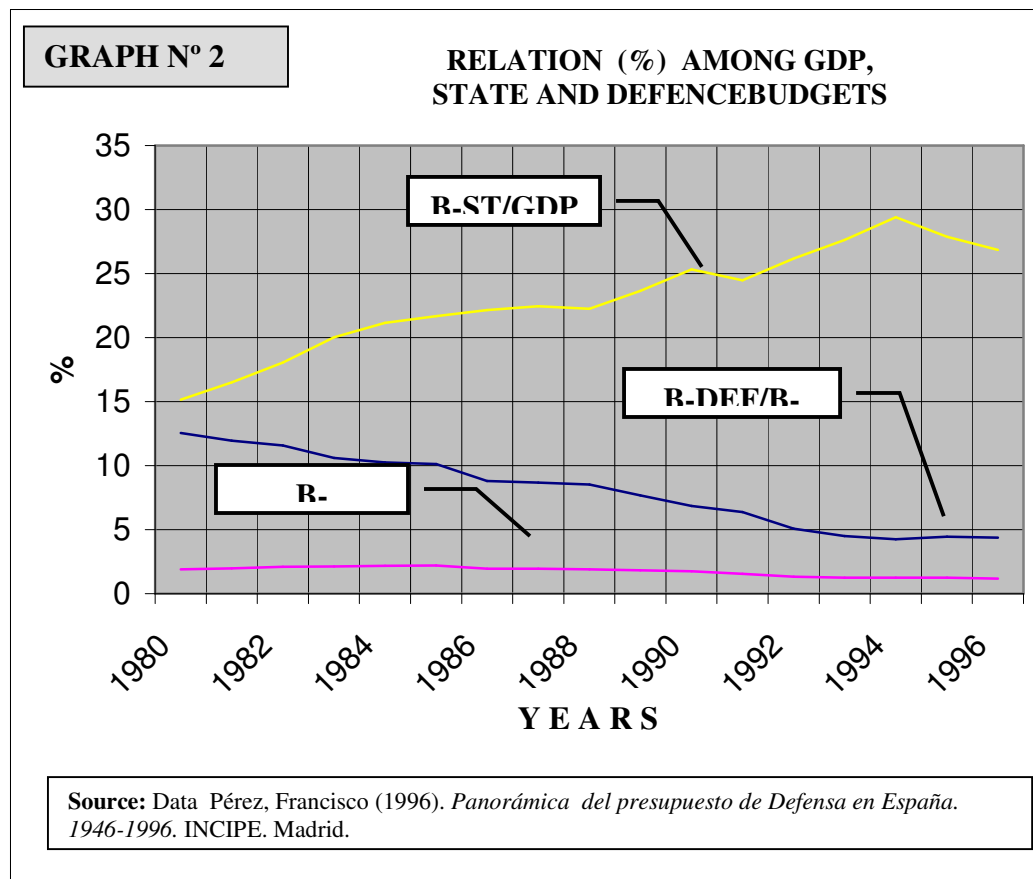
During the time in which PSOE was in government, the Defence Budget (B-DEF) was duplicated. But it is necessary to contemplate these quantities in connection with the Budgets of the State (B-ST) and the Gross Interior Product (GDP), in its absolute values (graphic nº 1) as well as in the relative (graphic nº 2), to understand its meaning.

During the government of PSOE the GDP was multiplied by 3.79 (it rose from 19.567,3 to 74.215 billion of pesetas); the budgets of the State were multiplied by 5,62 (of 3.533,8 to 19.923,5 billion) and the Defence Budget went from 409,2 to 870 billion. But, it this amount

had already been reached in 1990 and from that year began a successive fall until 757,7 billion in 1993 to again rise progressively until the indicated quantity.

It is also important to consider the relative growth of the Defence Budget in relationship to the Budgets of the State (B-DEF/B-ST), as well as both with the Gross Interior Product (B-DEF/GDP and B-ST/GDP), that is shown in the graphic n° 2.





In this graphic you can see that the quantity of captured resources and the intervention of the State in the economy rose more than ten percentage points (the Budgets of the State as percentage of the GDP rose from 15,14 % in 1980 to 26, 85%) while the Defence Budget descended from 1,90 in 1980 to 1,17 of the GDP in 1996; even though in the first years of government (from 1982 to 1985) it ascended from 2,09 to 2,19% of the GDP in Defence expenses.

This increase in the expense was in good measure due to the salaries comparison between the military and the civil servants, because for equivalent positions there was, in some instances, a difference of salary of more than thirty percent.

The State devoted successively greater percentages of the resources captured for activities not related with the Defence and, because of this, of the 11,58% of the state budget devoted to the Defence in the first year of government began a continued fall to 4,37%.

To summarise, it is difficult that organizational processes that require abundant resources (as the military material acquisition, the support to the investigation, the industrial developments of military application, the reorganization of teaching, etc.), they could carry out in-depth and with a certain speed if the necessary resources are not provided.

6.6. The Normative Production

The set of procedures that were elaborated to regulate the changes in Armed Forces is a meaningful element of the sequence that Spanish Armed Forces had changed. But, though it is not possible to make a detailed analysis of the rules in general and about its contents, some

problems of interest about the government's action will be shown.

A law establishes, or it can establish, new parameters in a given area. A Royal Decree that develops a law (in many cases it takes the form of Bylaws), emphasises more the framework actions or defines the limitations. But they are the Ministerial Orders, the Instructions and Resolutions which specify the concrete actions that can or can not be developed and the subjects who are responsible to do that. Another way to understand, the content and quantity of this last type of procedures, will be what indicate us when, in truth, they are being carried out, limiting or preventing determined actions or facts, of what is anticipated or ordered in superior range regulations. From panel nº 2, it can be deduced, partially, the development of governmental action.

PANEL Nº 2					
PUBLISHED NORMS AFFECTED TO DEFENSE					
Legislature Years	Laws	Royal Decrees	Ministerial Orders, Instructions, Resolutions	TOTAL NORMS	OBSERVATIONS
Dic. 1982	0	1	0	1	<i>Elections: 20 October</i>
1983	0	20	97	117	Minister: Narciso Serra i Serra 02.12.82 - 12.03.91 ...
1984	12	22	70	104	
1985	6	21	69	96	
1986	6	25	111	142	<i>Elections: 23 June</i>
1987	2	12	64	78	...
1988	3	16	61	80	...
1989	2	10	35	47	<i>Elections: 29 October</i>
1990	3	11	14	28	Minister: Julián García Vargas 12.03.91 - 02.07.95
1991	2	6	35	43	
1992	1	16	38	55	
1993	4	18	123	145	<i>Elections: 6 June</i>
1994	2	23	76	101	Minister: Gustavo Suárez Pertierra 02.07.95 - 02.06.96
1995	1	24	90	115	
Mar. 1996		7	39	46	<i>Elections: 3 March</i>
TOTAL	50	232	922	1204	
Source: Date <i>Memorias de Legislatura 1982-86, 1986-89, 1989-93 and 1993-96.</i>					

The greater number of laws was published in the first legislature and affected, above all, the structure and operation of the Defence Ministry and to the territorial organization of Armed Forces. During the year 1983 there were no laws published, but there were a high number of lower level procedures. The possible reason would be that they acted with lower level norms in question of procedure, until the reforms began.

As of 1984 the normative production is increased, during that and the second legislature. Descending successively during the last four years, of the almost nine, that Minister Narciso Serra was in power.

In the first legislature (1982-1986) it is important to emphasize: norms that affected to personnel (creation of the "Transient Reserve") and salary of the personnel, a Law of the Military Service, a new Disciplinary Regime of the Armed Forces, a new Military Penal Code, the conditions for enter in Military Academies the incompatibilities of the military personnel, among others.

In the second legislature (1986-1989) the structural changes before mentioned continued. Furthermore, it emphasized the laws that permitted the incorporation of woman in the Armed Forces, the law which converted the Legal Corps of the Branches in a Corp belonging to Defence, the Territorial organization of the Military Jurisdiction and other procedures, among which included those that extended the right of Complement Soldiers to receive unemployment benefits.

As before mentioned, the second legislature was closed in 1989 with a Law (17/89) especially important for what is indicated here. It meant the revoking of the seventy laws and various outdated norms. Because of that the Personnel Regime and the Military Teaching were regulated. As of the publication of this law a new great reorganization of personal and military teaching began, that gave the approval of 23 Royal Decrees, 15 Ministerial Orders and 11 complementary procedures. When PSOE lost the elections in 1996 it had not yet concluded the normative development process of the law.

7. The Latest Years

The legislature agreements established by the Popular Party (PP), –conservative, successor of Popular Alliance (AP)– that did not reach the absolute majority in the elections of 1996, committed to the Government presided by José María Aznar to suppress the obligatory military service in the term of six years. The Defence Ministry, Eduardo Serra, former State Secretary of the Department with PSOE, was obligated to reform the Law 17/1989, to include the troops as professionals, before the first of January 2003.

The new norm past right the way through parliament the 18 of May 1999. In that norm a unitary military was contemplated. That is to say, from the Soldier to the General all of the changes were included in this law. The subject matter was more generalized than previously; as it regulated the all subjects related to personnel policy, showing the maximum personnel of the Armed Forces (265 Generals, 48.000 Officers and 120.000

professional Soldiers) and mobilization problems.

The foreign projection of the Armed forces model designed in 1994, the growing opposition to the obligatory service and the strong increase of the conscience objection, forced the abolition of the compulsory military service and the definitive setting-up (that peaked in 2002) of a professional system. In which all the troops and marines would be voluntaries (professionals). On 28 of May of 1998, the Congress, with the support of the 74,90 percent of the polled population three months before, designed the profile of the soldier for the first decades of the century XXI. Its most important characteristic was voluntarily and professionally, without discrimination because of the sex (neither in ranks, corps, levels or post assignments). In this way the conscience objector disappeared. In this professional troops a percentage of foreign citizens (Spanish-American and Equatorial-Guineans) could enter as long as they possess a residence permit or they have the right to access recognized by law (Spanish descendents).

In this latest legislature, with the PSOE government, we must emphasize the Law of National Defence 5/2005, that in a specific way asserts: «defence policy has proposed the protection of the Spanish society, its Constitution, of superior values, principles and institutions that are consecrated in this, of the social and democratic state of law, of total exercise of rights and the freedom and of the guarantee of the independence and territorial integrity of Spain. Also, its goal is to contribute to the preservation of the peace and international security, in the framework of the commitments contracted by the Kingdom of Spain».

The recent Law of Troop and Marines converts the troops into authentic professionals. This law guarantees the possibility of completing a professional career that can reach 45 years.

The “Corp of Voluntary” also has been created; they are citizen that in a voluntary and temporarily way provide their knowledge and capabilities of civil life to the Armed Forces, being able to choose the Branch and the period of such collaboration time, in function of their availability and level of commitment.

As an example of the diversification of the new missions of Armed Forces -and of the wide ideological, cultural and social change, that the military have experimented-, the Military Emergencies Unit (UME) was created in 2006, and formed by 4.000 volunteers (professional soldiers). Their principal mission is be trained and prepared to give an effective response in cases of catastrophe or serious risks for the civil society (forest fires and floods are frequent in the country).

Finally, and in approval phase by the Parliament, a Project of Law has been drafted; it intends to regulate the military career and those aspects of the personnel regime that conform it. It must be emphasized in its content the project of creation of university centres of the defence, integrated in the State university system. Its objective is that the officers obtain a university degree totally validated with the general educational system, at the same time as the military training.

As a consequence of the professional skill of the troops, of the integration of woman

and of other circumstances that have modified the manner of being and comportment of the Armed Forces, it is foreseen the writing of an important number of norms. Among them, a Law of Duties and Rights of the Soldiers that check, update and recast the assorted quantity of procedures that regulate these aspects.

8. Last Considerations

8.1. The Military Transition to Democracy

We have seen, in broad outline, which one has been the transitional democratic process in Spanish Armed Forces, from the arrival of democracy, after the death of dictator (1975) and the publication of a Constitution (1978), freely accepted by people, to the present-day.

It is worth to highlight, although it come from brief form, which ones they have been the basic characteristics of this process, in terms of the general parameters that we are studying.

In the first place, and above all else, the approval without fissures of the supremacy of the civil power on the military apparatus -correspondingly to all consolidated democracy- that the Constitution suggests. Right now it is admitted the elected institutions are those who democratically they should govern all military task. That is, those institutions are the ones that should accomplish a general policy without interference of the armies' officer, defining goals and national defence's general organization, formulating and accomplishing a defence policy and determining and supervising the military policy. The acceptance of the civil supremacy on the military apparatus made that, at the end of the eighty, takes place a "lost de centrality"⁴⁰ of Armed Forces, that practically disappears of the public and political scope. Military are no longer seen as potential actors de the public life and the mass-media don't pay them bigger attention (except for concrete questions of military character).

Secondly, and like palpable manifestation of what's been said, we should consider as basic milestones the following ones:

- The ministerial unification, with the creation of a unique Ministry of Defence, which was the vehicle for to introduce in the general state structure the defence's administration and the military subjects.
- The promulgation of bills and laws which supposed a modernization in the parameters that guided the military institution.
- The adequacy of effective and material to the reality of the historic moment.

40 About this question can be consulted BAÑÓN, Rafael(1993) «Fuerzas Armadas», in CAMPO, Salustiano del (Dir). *Tendencias sociales en España(1960-1990)*. Volume II. Published by Foundation BBV. Madrid.

- The approximation, first, and integration, later, in international organisms, so much of political type as of defence type, which they brought a change in the intention and attitudes of the armies officer and a re-definition of the objectives and missions of Armed Forces.
- The determined implication in international missions and operations of peacekeeping (in these moments, the Spanish Armed Forces have presence with units in Bosnia Herzegovina, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Lebanon and they maintain observers in various missions of United Nations and the European Union, with a total of over 3000 effective). This kind de missions has had a great acceptance among the professional military ones, due to the good opinion that, in general terms, the Spaniards have of them and that, also, it suppose destinations of professional interest and a better payment. At the moment, in some units, a certain fatigue can be taking place, due to the frequency in that they are forced to go abroad and for the existence de reduced personnel that it compels them to an almost continuous activity.
- The direct involvement of the Parliament in the authorization of the Armed Force's operations.
- The complete professionalism of the Armed Forces and the complete disappearance of the figure of the conscript.
- The total incorporation of women in Armed Forces (today, they constitute 12 % of the total of force, 13,344 come from professional soldiers of troop and sailor and 1,023 are officials, some of whom have attained right now major's rank).
- The reform of military teaching's system.
- The contention and rationalization of governmental expenditure in military issues.
- The increment of confidence and the positive evaluation of the public opinion about the Armed Forces, in spite of persisting a certain repulse of the citizenship to the participation in missions out-of-doors (if it imply casualties' risk or it can seem war missions) and, in general terms, to the investments in Defence.

The transition to democracy, and all the achievements before indicated, they came true under the influence of the outgoing regime (on the contrary that at the Czech Republic, where this influence has been null). There was no rupture, but reform (a transaction between politic elites, well-known like consensus) There was a certain continuity and, also, will of reforming. That way the King and the UCD's first Governments acted.

The military elites did not take part in the process, and, with the arrival of the socialists to the power in 1982, it disappear until the possibility that they may have influence. Nevertheless, the measures embraced by the PSOE, even though they were determined and decisive, they were not implanted in radical way.

Anyway, it is convenient to emphasize that the process of the modernization and reform, open in 1975, he will not become definitively consolidated till, probably, well entered the XXI century. Nevertheless, during this transcendental stage of the history of the military institution (the transition to a democratic regime) the Spanish State has achieved to define in a clear way some stable lines of defence policy, has designed an adapted Armed Forces to the defined objectives and has presented the model of military capable to provide the human resources that it need.

8.2. The Military Transition to Post-Modernity

In order to close down this approximation to the military transition in Spain, we will accomplish a brief analysis of which one is the situation of Spanish Armed Forces at present-day, regarding the characteristics that we could apply to a post-modern army.

If the big changes that were predicted, according to John Allen Williams⁴¹, for an organization like the armed forces in Post-modern era, were: «the increasing permeability of civilian and military spheres; a reduction in differences in armed services based on service, branch, rank, and combat versus non-combat roles; a change in military purposes from fighting wars to conducting missions not traditionally considered "military"; a more extensive use of multinational military forces authorized or legitimated by supranational institutions; and the internationalization of military forces themselves». We will confirm that, in greater or minor degree, all those characteristics are observable in the Spanish Armed Forces of 2007.

We have to consider than post-modernity is born as a consequence of the loss of legitimacy of the big meta-narrations that configure the history. And, evidently, in this period (characterized for the interdependence that is imposed by globalization, telecommunications, the advanced information systems and for the fact of the impossibility -or almost- of a war between consolidated democracies), the great meta-narration of the citizen-soldier, that should defend until the death the fatherland's sacred frontiers, it does not adjust to the reality of the new missions of the Armed Forces at least from the European vision (among other things, because it does not perceive any threat of the type of the traditional ones in XIXth or XX century).

It takes us to look for some new characteristics, that they right now are emerging in the Armed Forces of the XXI century; and that, as Charles Moskos says, define Post-modern Armed Forces (that they had been configured, little by little, from 1990) in comparison with Modern Armed Forces (previous to the II World War) an with Late Modern Armed Forces (posterior to the II World War and projected toward the Cold War).

To the sight of the typology of every one of this three types of Armed Forces presented by Moskos; (although considering the United States, in certain form, like the paradigm of that evolution); we would dare to said that the process of military transition

41 MOSKOS c. Charles, WILLIAMS A. John, SEGAL R. David, *The Postmodern Military, Armed Forces after the Cold War*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000. Page 265.

in Spain has gotten that an Armed Forces anchored in the Modern Era in the decade of the sixties, they had fitted, in short time, characteristics (some of them very stressed) of the Post-modern Era, without transiting, or doing it in very brief form (although with intensity), through the Late Modern Era.

In relation to the variables defined by Moskos⁴², after what's explained along this work, we can do the following considerations:

- Perceived Threat: The Spanish Armed Forces have passed to conceive it like an enemy invasion to regard it as an extra-national threat, where the international terrorism occupies an important place.
- Force Structure: There has been an obvious transit from an army of masses, nourished for conscription, to a small, professional Army and with a certain (almost limited) capacity of exterior projection.
- Major Mission Definition: The new definitions (even the own perception of the society) evidence a fundamental shift in the emphasis of Armed Forces from defence of the homeland to multinational peacekeeping and humanitarian missions.
- Dominant Military Professional: In this case, although there are a small proportion of combat leader, the majority attempts being manager or technician; but it starts to observe an increment of soldiers-statesman and soldier-scholar.
- Public Attitude toward Military: At the beginning of the transition the public attitude toward Armed Forces was, from some, supportive and definitely contrary, from others, according to the ideology of each one. We cannot forget that the left parties were (and they are), in general, antimilitarists and, in the Spanish historical circumstances, this aspect has been accentuated (as it is indicated in 6.1.). The failed *coup d'etat* of February 1981 made fall the popularity of the Armed Forces. Nevertheless, it was begun soon after to recover and today, for an important part of the Spanish people, they are an institution very valued⁴³. Spaniards also value positively the participation in international and peacekeeping missions. However, international missions that imply war actions, and much more, if they are not supported in a mandate of UN, are decidedly unpopular. That was the case of the second war of Iraq that caused the generalized rejection of the population. Also certain rejection of the missions that can imply losses between the Spanish soldiers begins to be

42 Op. Cit. Page 15.

43 In the opinion polls that periodically the Sociological Investigations Centre (CIS) accomplishes during the last decade, the institutions better valued by the Spaniards they are Monarchy, Armed Forces and Police. In the last poll of 2007 it was asked for the confidence that twelve institutions inspire, to value from 0 to 10. The obtained score was: Police (5.76), Armed forces (5.41) Monarchy (5.19). In the last places they appear Congress (4.52), Senate (4.38) and Tribunals (4.31). In the same poll, the Spaniards were asked about a list of other six organizations. The obtained score was: Nongovernmental Organizations ONG's (5.9), mass media (4.84) and two last ones, the Catholic Church (3.84) and the political parties (3.41).

observed, although no so hard neither so hardly expressed.

- Media Relation: From a position in which media rarely were talking of Armed Forces, today it has been gotten that media contemplate them positively, for the same reasons than the population; but also it is true that, from Armed Forces it is promoted an approximation of the media to the military task; in a way it agree with Moskos's expression: «the media are courted by the military».
- Civilian Employees: It is true that the number of civilian employees is increased in these years. But the most important is that, from the disappearance of conscription, a lot of menial works and others like logistic or supply have been hired to civil companies, in an operation that is known as "externalization of functions".
- Women's role: It has changed from the most absolute absence of the woman in the Armed Forces to the total integration, even in combat units, jet fighters, paratroops, etc. Now, they could have been posted to any area of high risk.
- Spouses and Military Community: In a general way, the wives, save concrete exceptions, have not participated or have taken not much part in social functions⁴⁴ inside the Armed Forces. At the present moment, with the generalized incorporation of the woman to the work out of home, that participation is actually on short supply.
- Homosexuals in Military: The transit from the first epoch, in which they were prosecuted and excluded of the military service to a decided approval and without apparent problems, it has lasted all the time that the period we have studied has lasted. It is more than likely that the new civil laws on integration of gay and lesbians (marriage, change of sex, etc.) it had influenced its approval, without reserves, but without comments, in the military community.
- Conscientious Objection: Although it was a heavy problem in the seventies and in the eighties, today the object is not by valuation, because the disappearance on compulsory military service it has left it without effect. The very few cases of "supervened objection" that can take place among professionals are solved without great problem.

As we can see, the transition of the Spanish Armed Forces to democracy is not more than that, or that and a little more (which is very much). We can say that, today, the Spanish soldier is a democratic soldier and, for the majority of the civil population, this affirmation is completely valid. The absolute (and without bankruptcy) acceptance of the supremacy of the civil power and the moral values that the Constitution upholds, it convert the Spanish Armed Forces in comparable with any armed forces of the countries of our environment.

44 Some associations from the beginning of the XX century had a function to fulfil in social welfare (as the Association of the Ladies of Saint Barbara of the Artillery Corp, among others) still exist. But, since the State took charge of the social welfare, those associations have descended in number of members and are devoted to some few activities of religious or cultural character.

And we have gotten this, no effortlessly, in a period of thirty years. The most difficult were the ten or fifteen first ones, where the bases for democratization and Armed Forces' renewal and for the conversion of the Policy of Defence in a Public Policy became established. Ever since, everything has been one work of harmonizing and regulate, to the extreme that we can say: if the western armed forces are post-modern armed forces (always in the meaning used by Moscow), the Spanish Armed Forces, also they go on the way to being it.

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