This monograph is a comparative analysis of Portugal and Spain based on the historical examination of their civil-military relations and the application of a refined version of Hood’s (1983) NATO framework. This chapter briefly describes the historical sources that were investigated as well as the comparative and explanatory frameworks utilised. Then, it presents Hood’s original NATO resource-based typology for the classification of tools of government (1983) and some adaptations made to operationalise it in the context of civil-military relations. This chapter also introduces as an explanatory framework two alternative neo-institutionalist approaches to the evolution of civil-military relations and control tools: one based on the legacies of past historical events and the other based on the continuing action of environmental factors such as ideas, the political institutional structure, and the international environment.

2.1 Comparative historical analysis

Most civil-military studies have either focused on one single country or compared many countries. This book seeks a nuanced position between the virtues of inference and those of complexity. It studies two countries but through different periods in their history. The utilisation of Hood’s resource-based framework involves a bias towards qualitative analysis and away from rational choice paradigms that have dominated comparative political science recently. Historical and interpretative analysis can elicit not only descriptions but also explanations and generalisations and therefore contribute to a coherent and rigorous body of research (Adler 1997:348; Wendt 1998:115–18). Although some of the policy tools are numerically measured here – in particular, military expenditure and budgets – a purely quantitative template fails to capture the salience
of some of the instruments of control and the impact of the historical legacies and contextual factors on their choices.

The analysis presented in this book is grounded on the historical research of primary and secondary sources concerning civil-military relations in Portugal and Spain from the early 1930s to 1986: from their right-wing authoritarian regimes until their membership in the European Economic Community. All narratives about tool choices are constructed by combining several different authors and resources in order to increase the level of confidence in the accounts.

The primary research focuses on the examination of defence and military internal reports, laws, decrees, budgets, speeches, interviews, and letters. In the case of Portugal, the main primary resources scrutinised were the personal archives of António Oliveira Salazar and Marcello Caetano as well as the Council of the Revolution and the Portuguese Military History archives. These historical archives provide valuable information on Spanish political transformations and the relationships between the Iberian countries, which for the most part have not been explored in previous analyses of Spain.

For Spain, the most important sources used were Franco’s personal archives and the extensive audio collection of the ‘Fundación Ortega y Gasset’, which contains interviews with political and military leaders as well as recordings of the conferences on military issues held during the early years of democracy. These archives have hitherto been underutilised by researchers of Spain’s public policy and civil-military relations.

Portuguese and Spanish legislations on defence have served as another fundamental base of evidentiary support. Newspapers and military magazines as well as books and correspondence written by some of the most relevant actors (such as Salazar, Caetano, Franco, General Spínola, General Gutierrez Mellado, and Narcís Serra) are used in this book.

Finally, due to the length of the periods covered, the complexity of the subjects analysed, and the existing gaps in the primary resources available, this research also covers a wide range of secondary sources, including extensive history, sociology, and political science bibliographies related to defence, military affairs, international relations, and politics as well as biographies of political and military leaders.

2.2 Developing a tools perspective: a revised NATO framework

Hood’s (1983) NATO framework sums up the four basic resources that governments possess as policy instruments: nodality, authority, treasure,