

## Spain

### Rice

In 1919, Spain was a parliamentary democracy, but also with a monarchy component. The king technically named the prime minister—who was the leader of the group that won the most seats in the legislature. At the beginning of 1919, the prime minister was Álvaro Figueroa y Torres Mendieta, the leader of the Liberal Party (PL). When elections were held later that year, the Conservative Party (PC) won the largest number of seats, and the king turned to Antonio Maura y Montaner, one of the leaders of PC, to be prime minister in April 1919, which is a SOLS change. Maura y Montaner, however, resigned in July 1919 because the factions within the Conservative Party were too deep to bridge (Pierson 1999, 125). He was replaced with another member of PC, Joaquín Sánchez de Toca Calov. This is not a SOLS change. In December of 1919, de Toca Calov was replaced by Manuel Muñoz de Salazar, also a member of PC. De Salazar formed a cabinet of Dato Conservatives (D.Con), Liberals and Democrats. This is a minor SOLS change (Annual Register 1921, 260-1).

In May 1920, new elections were held, and the Conservatives won again—with a new Prime Minister Eduardo Dato y Iradier. This is a minor SOLS change. Dato remained in office for almost a year, until he was assassinated in March 1921. He was briefly replaced by Gabino Bugalial Araujo, who served as acting prime minister, and Manuel Allendesalazar Muñoz de Salazar, PC, became PM, heading a cabinet of the Conservatives, the Liberals, and the Democrats. This is a minor SOLS change.

Muñoz de Salazar stayed in office for 5 months, before being replaced by coalition government of Maura y Montaner, which is comprised of the Conservatives, the Lliga, Liberals and Democrats in August. This is not a SOLS change. Maura's government fell over a military crisis in Morocco and he was replaced by Sanchez Guerra (PC) of the largest Conservative faction, heading the same coalition in August of 1922 (no SOLS change).

At the same time, Spain was entering into war with Morocco, over the territories of Ceuta and Melilla, which Spain held as colonies. A huge military loss occurred in July 1922, and a report was prepared for the government by General José Picasso. When the Picasso Report was leaked, Guerra y Martinez was forced to resign, in December 1922. New elections were held, and PL won the ability to form a government, led by Manuel Garcia Prieto. This is a SOLS change on December 5, 1922. However, the war continued, and the government lost popular support. On September 15, 1923, Garcia Prieto was overthrown in a military coup led by Captain General Miguel Primo de Rivera y Orbaneja. This is a SOLS change. Primo de Rivera convinced the King to name him prime minister and grant him dictatorial powers (Pierson 1999, 127). We classify Primo de Rivera's government as a hybrid of military and personalist regimes. De Rivera initially relied heavily on the military for support as his cabinet was composed of members of the military. However, he also (increasingly) relied on the church, the monarchy, and Spain's upper-middle classes (Esenwein 2005, 12; Magone 2004, 10). Moreover, in the latter

half of his regime, he started to include people from his support party: Union Patriótica (UP), founded in 1926, in the directorate and have plebiscites to legitimize his leadership (Roger and Weber 1965, 187; Magone 2004, 10; Finer and Stanley 2002, 181-2; Rial 1986, 61). Consequently, we find that some sources support classifying the regime as a military regime initially (1923-1925) and a hybrid military-personalist regime later on (1926-1929). However, we do not code different regime types for the same leader's rule, so we code De Rivera's regime as a military-personalist hybrid throughout.

Although initially popular, Primo de Rivera's repressive techniques lost support over time. In 1930, the king officially withdrew his support of Primo de Rivera, and requested his resign. Primo de Rivera did so, and the king appointed General Dámaso Berenguer y Fusté, conde de Xauen, as interim PM (Tilly 2008, 150; Riley 2010, 93). This is not a SOLS change, but the country did return to democracy.

The leaders of the Spanish political parties refused to cooperate with Berenguer y Fusté, instead calling for legislative elections and debating the idea of a republic without a monarch's influence (especially since the king had supported Primo de Rivera). Some of these leaders began to gather and promote the idea of a Spanish Republic, but in the meantime, Berenguer y Fusté agreed to both municipal and legislative elections. Upon doing so, in February 1931, he resigned and was replaced by the non-partisan Juan Bautista Aznar-Cabañas, who would preside over the elections. This is not a SOLS change. After municipal elections were held, it was found that 46 out of 50 of the provincial capitals had voted against the monarchy (or the politicians who supported a monarchy over a republic), and the king decided to leave the country.

The period from the end of Primo de Rivera's rule to the beginning of the Spanish Republic (a little over a year) should not be coded as autocratic. While the governments may not have been officially interim government, this is clearly a time of transition.

On 14 April 1931, as the King left the country, Niceto Alcalá-Zamora y Torres, the leader of the Conservative Republican Party (PRC) declared a Spanish Republic, of which he was prime minister. This is a SOLS change. Alcalá-Zamora oversaw elections to the legislature, and the drafting of a new constitution, but resigned in October over the issue of separation of church and state—which he did not support. According to Casanova (2010, 23), Alcalá-Zamora's cabinet included the Partido Radical (PRR), Partit Catalana Republicana (ACR), Republican Action (RA -Alianza Republicana), Organización Republicana Gallega Autónoma (ORGA), Partido Radical Socialista (PRS), and Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) (the socialists). He was succeeded by Manuel Azaña Díaz, the leader of the Republican Action (RA) (SOLS change). His coalition included all the same members as Alcalá Zamora's except for the PRC, since both PRC ministers resigned in protest (Casanova 2010, 33).

In December, 1931, however, after the constitution was passed, the PRR refused to continue to serve with the socialists, and thus the PRR left the cabinet, as did the rep of ACR in

favor of the Catalan Esquerra Republicana (ER). This is a minor SOLS change. We could not find the information regarding the exact date, so we coded it as December 15 (Casanova 2010, 34). There was another minor SOLS change on June 13, 1933, when Partido Republicana Federal (FR) joined the coalition (Casanova 2010, 86).

Azaña Díaz, who was initially popular, pushed through some religious and land reforms, but was constantly at odds with Alcalá-Zamora, had been made president. In September 1933, Alcalá Zamora dismissed Azana Diaz. Alejandro Lerroux, leader of the PRR, was asked to form a government. He created a coalition of the PRR, AR, ISR, PRS, ER, and ORGA, but the parliament would not accept it. Thus, the VP of the PRR, Diego Martinez Barrio was asked by Alcalá Zamora to create a caretaker government (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 249). Barrio's coalition of PRR, AR, IRS, PRS, ER, and PRP broke down soon afterwards. The first Lerroux cabinet (PRR) stayed in power less than 30 days, but Barro and the second Lerroux were also supported by PRR (although coalition partner were slightly different) so the transition is not coded as a SOLS change or a SOLS change that last less than 30 days. As a result, elections had to be called (Casanova 2010, 88). Elections took place in November resulting in victory for the PRR. Alejandro Lerroux Garcia (PRR) returned as PM with in a coalition of PRR, PRR, PLD, PRP, and Ag (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25). This is a SOLS change (Blanco Freijeiro 1986; Carr 2000, 250).

This was a period of frequent coalition change in government. As Casanova (2010, 93) writes "The governments under the Partido Radical after the 1933 elections never lasted more than an average of three months, and between September 1933 and December 1935 there were twelve governments , with five different prime ministers and fifty-eight different ministers." Lerroux formed a cabinet that included PRR members and some independents and excluded both the right (the CEDA coalition) and the left (the socialists) (Casanova 2010, 95). Lerroux resigned in April 1934, and Ricardo Samper Ibanez of the PRR became PM. This is not a SOLS change (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25), but the party split soon after (Casanova 2010, 101). By October 1934, however, it became clear that the PRR could not govern without the collaboration of the right, and on October 10 Lerroux formed a new government with CEDA, consisting of PRR, CEDA, PLD, and Ag. This is a minor SOLS change (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25; Casanova 2010, 105).

At this point there was significant conflict in Spain. On April 3, 1935, Lerroux was appointed to lead an interim administration (Payne 1993, 231-2; Robinson 1971, 199). At this time, the CEDA and Ag left the coalition (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25). Since this is an interim government, we do not code a minor SOLS change here. On May 6, 1935, however, CEDA and Ag returned in a new government (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25) that gave more ministries to CEDA. This is not a minor SOLS change either, since it was the same coalition as the last regular government led by Lerroux. In September 1935 two ministers resigned in protest. Chapaprieta, the finance minister, was asked to form a cabinet. His cabinet included the PRR, CEDA, the Lliga Catalana (Lliga), and Agrarians (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25; Casanova

2010, 121). Chapaprieta is listed as non-party on Cahoon (2012). This is a tricky case, because there was a lot of continuity with the last cabinet, and it could be a minor SOLS change, but our rules require that if Chapaprieta was not a member of the same party as the former PM, it is a major SOLS change. Also, Chapaprieta was in power for more than 30 days (almost two months). On October 29, the PRR ministers resigned as the result of a scandal (Casanova 2010, 121) .

According to Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009a), Manuel Portela Valladares became PM on December 31, 1935. According to Casanova (2010, 122), Chapaprieta resigned on December 9 and Portela (non-party) formed an interim government (Peirats 2011, 83; Bookchin 1996, 162) in coalition with PLD, PRR, and Rad. Dis. (Blanco Freijeiro 1986: 1024-25). Because Portela is interim, the transition from Chapaprieta to Portela is not a SOLS change.

Before the elections of 1936, the parties of the left joined together to create a group called the Popular Front, while the parties of the far right joined together to create the National Front. The Republicans, who had now reorganized into a new party known as the Republican Left (IR) were able to form a government under Manuel Azaña Díaz in February 1936 made up of leftist republicans (IR and UR: Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25). This is a SOLS change. However, widespread strikes and violence were breaking out across Spain, and the president of Spain was deposed by the legislature. Azaña was pulled to take his place, and Santiago Casares Quiroga, also a member of IR, was made Prime Minister and expanded his cabinet with the ER on May 12 (IR/UR/ER: Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25).<sup>1</sup> This is a minor SOLS change. However, the country continued to descend into disorder, and on 17 July 1936, the Spanish Army of Africa, stationed in Morocco, attempted to overthrow the government in a military coup. However, the coup was not successful in several major cities, including Madrid. This marked the beginning of the Spanish Civil War.

Two days after the Civil War began, as Azaña tried (and failed) to put together a national unity government, Casares Quiroga resigned. He was replaced by Diego Martinez Barrio, who constructed a coalition (IR/UR/ER) that lasted for less than a day (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25). Barrio was a member of another Republican party, the UR (due to the short duration of Martinez Barrio's time in office, we code this as a SOLS change that last less than 30 days for his entry and his exit). Later on July 19, Azaña asked José Giral Pereira, another leader of IR, to take over as prime minister, which he did with nearly the same cabinet as Casares Quiroga (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25; Casanova 2010, 166). The government's control over the country continued to fall apart, and General Francisco Franco assumed command of the Nationalist forces fighting their way towards Madrid. Azaña continued to try and form a Republican government that could be a rallying point for the government's side, and found another leading Republican politician, Francisco Largo Caballero, a member of the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE) to take the office of prime minister. This is a SOLS change.

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<sup>1</sup> We coded the minor SOLS change for May 13, which is when Archigos has Casares Quiroga come to power.

Largo Caballero put together a coalition including socialists, republicans, communists, and Basque and Catalan nationalists that was referred to as the “national unity” government (PSOE/IR/UR/PC/ER/PNV: Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25; Casanova 2010, 246). It also included members of the CNT. Shortly after Largo Caballero took power, Franco’s forces took the capital, and the government moved to Valencia. Blanco Freijeiro (1986, 1068-69) list a change in the composition of Caballero’s cabinet on November 4, 1936 (PSOE, IR, UR, PC, ER, CNT, and CNT-FAT), which we code as a minor SOLS change. Largo Caballero proved unsuccessful in managing the Republican side of the war—the left was divided into many groups, and many of those groups found a reason to feel that he was not doing a good job (Pierson 1999, 150). Azaña was forced to replace him in May 1937 with Juan Negrín López, another member of PSOE. His cabinet included members of the same parties with the exception of the CNT who were excluded: PSOE, IR, UR, PC, ER, and PNV (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25; Casanova 2010, 264). This is a minor SOLS change. On April 6, 1938, however, the CNT rejoined as part of the PSOE, IR, PC, ER, and CNT coalition, which is coded as a minor SOLS change (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1068-69; Casanova 2010, 271).

In February 1939, Negrin and his government fled to France. In March 1939 José Miaja Menant, Mil, became the president of the National Council of Defense. This is a SOLS change that last less than 30 days. On April 1, 1939, however, the Republicans were completely defeated, and Franco (Mil/FET: the Falange) took charge. This is a SOLS change.

According to POLITY, Spain remains a democracy through 1938. It is not clear that the government really had control of the country since the last few years were the years of civil war, but we code by democracy rules in spite of this given POLITY coding. According to GWF, Franco led a personalist regime until 1973. On October 30, 1975, Franco appointed Juan Carlos I as his successor. According to the Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009a), Juan Carlos did not officially become the head of state until November 1, 1975. Since GWF code Spain during this time period as a personalist regime and since Juan Carlos was selected as Franco’s predestinated successor, we code no major SOLS change for this leadership change.

Prior to appointing Juan Carlos as his successor, Franco selected Arias Navarro to serve as PM in 1973. After being chosen as the king of Spain by Franco in 1975, Juan Carlos asked Arias Navarro to stay on as PM on November 9, 1975. According to the Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009a), this was a leadership change. Since Juan Carlos appointed Arias Navarro as his successor in the role of head of state, we code no SOLS change. Navarro served as PM until July 1, 1976 (Associated Press 1989; Columbia Encyclopedia 2008; Encyclopedia of World Biography 2004; Goemans et al 2009b, 348).

1976 saw the democratization of Spain. In 1976, Spain’s parliament approved a bill to establish democracy in Spain. Prior to that, on July 1, 1976, Adolfo Suárez González of the Unión Centro Democrático (UCD) was appointed PM by the Spanish monarch Juan Carlos I (Columbia Encyclopedia 2008; Goemans et al 2009b, 348). In 1977, elections were held which

led to Suarez González's UCD party winning the first Spanish free election in 41 years (Columbia Encyclopedia 2008; Ratnikas n.d.). We code a major SOLS change for the date Suarez González came to power, July 1, 1976 (GWF code provisional in 1977).

González and the UCD party remained in power until his February 1981 replacement by Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo y Bustelo of the UCD (Cahoon 2012; Goemans et al 2009b, 348). Since both men were from the UCD party, we code no major SOLS change. Following elections in late 1982, Felipe González Márquez of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) became the new PM (Cahoon 2012). We code this as a major SOLS change for December 2, 1982, since both men were from two different parties.

González and the PSOE party stayed in power from 1982 until 1996 when the Partido Popular (PP) and its candidate José María Aznar López took the premiership (Álvarez-Rivera 2012; Cahoon 2012; Goemans et al 2009b, 348). We code a major SOLS change for May 5, 1996 since López and the PP were of a different party than González and the PSOE party.

One more relevant event occurred prior to the end of this project's temporal domain. It was the replacement of López of the PP party by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero of the PSOE party on April 17, 2004 (Cahoon 2012; Goemans et al 2009b, 348). We code this leadership transition as a major SOLS change since both politicians were of different political parties. No other relevant political event occurred prior to the end of this projects temporal domain.

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