Although we believe that democratic transition and democratic consolidation are closely interconnected processes, we also believe that social scientists can and should strive to be as explicit as possible as to whether a transition is complete and whether a particular political system is or is not a consolidated democracy. In part 2 we argue that not only have Spain, Portugal, and Greece completed democratic transitions, all three have become consolidated democracies. Since there are many studies of the southern European transitions, but relatively few of consolidation per se, we pay particular attention in our studies of southern European countries to how uncertain and even difficult transitions became consolidated democracies.

The Paradigmatic Case of *Reforma Pactada–Ruptura Pactada:* Spain

THERE IS GROWING consensus that the Spanish transition is in many ways the paradigmatic case for the study of pacted democratic transition and rapid democratic consolidation, much as the Weimar Republic became paradigmatic for the study of democratic breakdown.[1] A number of factors contribute to the special (if not actually always paradigmatic) status of Spain in the transition literature. Foremost is the fact that it was one of the first in the cycle of what Samuel Huntington calls the "third wave" of democratic transitions, and it therefore influenced thinking in many countries that would later undertake similar difficult tasks. It was also, in contrast to many transitions, one in which the authoritarian regime had not faced defeat or near-defeat in war, as was the case in Portugal and

1. The bibliography on the Spanish transition is the most extensive of any of the cases we consider in this book. An essential source is José Félix Tezanos, Ramón Cotarelo, and Andrés de Blas, eds., *La transición democrática española* (Madrid: Sistema, 1989). This volume includes outstanding articles by Spanish social scientists, a very complete bibliography, an essay reviewing the different analyses of the transition, and a chronology of the process. Also see the special issue of *Sistema* 68–69 (Nov. 1985), which includes a bibliographic essay, several outstanding articles, and the responses to a questionaire by politicians and intellectuals on their views of the transition process. An indispensible selection of articles is contained in Ramón Cotarelo, ed., *Transición política y consolidación democrática: España (1975–1986)* (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1992). Other valuable overviews are José María Maravall and Julian Santamaría, "Political Change in Spain and the Prospects for Democracy," in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 70–108; José María Maravall, *La política de la transición 1975–80* (Madrid: Taurus, 1981), which is available in English as *The Transition to Democracy in Spain* (London: Croom Helm, 1982); Carlos Huneeus, *La Unión de Centro Democrático y la transición a la democracia en España* (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas-Siglo XXI de España, 1985); and Donald Share, *The Making of Spanish Democracy* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1986). A well-documented study of the period immediately before and after the transition which pays particular attention to why key activists in the late Franco regime came to accept a democratic transition is Charles T. Powell, "Reform versus 'Ruptura' in Spain's Transition to Democracy" (Ph.D. diss., Faculty of Modern History, Oxford University, 1989). For parties and elections see Richard Gunther, Giacomo Sani, and Goldie Shabad, eds., *Spain after Franco: The Making of a Competitive Party System* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988). For the role of labor, see Robert Fishman, *Working Class Organization and the Return to Democracy in Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990). A basic source on the political attitudes of Spaniards during the transition and the first election is Juan J. Linz, Francisco Andrés Orizo, Manuel Gómez-Reino, and Darío Vila, *Informe sociológico sobre el cambio político en España 1975–1981* (Madrid: Fundación FOESSA, Euramérica, 1982).

Greece. Likewise, its rulers did not confront a deep economic crisis, as in Latin America and the Communist countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Nor was it a case in which an external factor, like the withdrawal of the support by a hegemonic power, influenced the rulers. Rather, it was a case in which those in power thought they could not stay in power without, given the Western European context, excessive repression, while those challenging the regime could not marshal, at least immediately, enough force to overthrow it, particularly in view of the loyalty of the Armed Forces to the regime.[2] In this sense Spain was a "regime-initiated transition," although under the pressure of society.

Another reason for the admiration of many observers of the Spanish transition to democracy has been that Spain appeared to outsiders as a highly conflictual and potentially violent society, owing to the legacy of the civil war. However, the outsider's view did not correspond to the facts of Spanish society in the 1970s. Rather, through the "cultural work" of civil society before the transition and the continued cultural work of civil society and almost all elements of political society during the transition, Spain had transformed the lessons of the civil war into a positive factor that aided the transition. The contrast with the historical meaning of the Croatian-Serbian civil wars of the 1940s could not be more dramatic.[3] To this it should be added that Spain was the first of our examples of an attempted transition to democracy in which problems of a multilingual and multinational state intensified at the same time as the transition process was being initiated.

2. Ten years after the death of Franco, a public opinion poll captured this sense of deadlock. On the one hand only 13 percent of those polled felt that the regime could have continued without change after the death of Franco. On the other hand, only 18 percent of those polled said that "the opposition groups were very strong and could have overthrown the regime." See "Actitudes y opiniones de los españoles ante la constitución y las instituciones democráticas" (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1985), 105. For the changing calculations of regime forces in the 1969–75 period, see Powell, "Reform versus 'Ruptura'," 15–54. For an excellent analysis of the role of the military in the same period, see Fernando Rodrigo Rodríguez, "El camino hacia la democracia: Militares y política en la transición española" (Ph.D diss., Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociológicas, Universidad Complutense, 1989), 21–72.

3. As Víctor M. Pérez-Díaz argues so well, Spain's new democratic political culture "is to a certain degree a deliberate institutional and cultural construct. . . . This institutional effort has been considerably helped by a cultural collective attempt, partly conscious and partly unconscious. . . . Looming large in our collective memory of that experience we find a crucial experiment that failed: our II Republic and the Civil War of 1936–1939. . . . The moral implications of that tragic account were: the share of guilt and responsibility was more or less evenly distributed among the contenders, since they were all to blame." See Pérez-Díaz, "The Emergence of Democratic Spain and the 'Invention' of a Democratic Tradition" (Madrid: Instituto Juan March, June 1990, Working Paper #1), quotes from 19, 20, 21, 23. Also see his magisterial *The Return of Civil Society: The Emergence of Democratic Spain* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993). Paloma Aguilar Fernández, in her excellent study of Spanish textbooks, newsreels, theater, and general discourse, documents how, in the twenty years before the death of Franco, the historical memory of the civil war had been culturally reconstructed so that it became a building block for the effort to consolidate democracy. See her *La memoria histórica de la guerra civil española (1936–1939): Un proceso de aprendizaje político* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales, 1995). Despite the passage of more than forty years, the most commonly used descriptions by Croats of their Serbian enemies, and vice versa, are the names of the major contending factions in the civil war, the Croatian *Ustašas* and the predominantly Serbian *Chetniks*. See Ivo Banac, "Post-Communism as Post-Yugoslavism: The Yugoslav Non-revolutions of 1989–1990," in Ivo Banac, ed., *Eastern Europe in Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 168–87.

Another circumstance that makes the Spanish case particularly interesting is that the authoritarian regime had lasted thirty-six years and had created a complex institutional structure. It was not possible to use the existing institutions by filling them with democratic content or proceeding to a restoration of the pre-dictatorship democratic institutions, as in some Latin American cases. There was finally a unique factor that appeared to complicate the transition, Franco's installation of a monarchy that had a low historical legitimacy and that could easily be contested by democrats. Today the king is often referred to as *el piloto del cambio* (the pilot of change). However, it is useful to remember that, in Spain, the king by his actions legitimated the monarchy more than the monarchy legitimated the king.[4]

The relatively smooth process of the Spanish transition has, a posteriori, led many people to consider the Spanish model of political engineering as an "over-determined" success. Indeed, if we reduce the messy historical process, with all its complexities, frustrations, delays and doubts, to a theoretical model, it appears to be an elegant process, even susceptible to a game theoretical analysis.[5] In fact, the comparison between our contemporary theoretical modeling and the inevitably more complex experience of the process should be a warning to those who analyze similar changes while they are still going on. It is well to remember that even the easiest and most successful transition was lived as a precarious process constantly requiring innovative political action.[6] It is doubtful that the Spaniards would have responded in the period 1975–77 with as great a pride about how the transition was made as they did ten years later. Certainly, the so-called *desencanto,* the disappointment or the demystification of the process and its leaders (particularly of Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez in the late 1970s and early 1980s) is by now largely forgotten, but it finds a parallel in most of the transitions in other parts of the world. The potential threat to the transition caused by the attempted military coup on February 23, 1981 tends also to be underestimated in retrospect.[7]

4. For a valuable book-length treatment of the role of the king in the transition, a book that won the Premio Espejo de España, see Charles T. Powell, *El piloto del cambio: El rey, la monarquía y la transición a la democracia* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1991). For a discussion of the role of the king, see also Juan J. Linz, "Innovative Leadership in the Transition to Democracy and a New Democracy: The Case of Spain," in Gabriel Sheffer, ed., *Innovative Leadership in International Politics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 141–86.

5. See, for example, Josep M. Colomer, *El arte de la manipulación política: Votaciones y teoría de juegos en la política española* (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 1990), which is an original and intelligent application of game theory to the transition. An article based on the book is "Transitions by Agreement: Modeling the Spanish Way," *American Political Science Review* (Dec. 1991): 1283–1302.

6. See, for example, Juan J. Linz, "Spain and Portugal: Critical Choices," in David S. Landes, ed., *Critical Choices for Americans: Western Europe* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1977), 237–96. This essay, which was written in 1974 and slightly revised in February 1976, reflects the uncertainties and fears at the start of the reign of Juan Carlos I. A rereading serves to correct the image of transition as a smooth and predetermined process that a theoretical model developed ex post facto might suggest. On the critical role leadership played in transforming the possible into reality, see Linz, "Innovative Leadership in the Transition."

7. There is an extensive literature on the military in the transition and on the failed coup of the 23rd of February 1981. The *Revista de investigaciones sociológicas* 36 (Oct.–Dec. 1986) is devoted to civil-military relations and includes an article by Agustín Rodríguez Sahagun, the first civilian minister of defense under

Finally, the Moncloa Pact has become a standard reference in discussions of the role of pacts in stabilizing transition processes. All too often, however, it is forgotten that the pact constructed in the prime minister's residence called *Moncloa,* was not a *social pact* between trade unions and employers' organizations, but a *political pact.* Adolfo Suárez called the Moncloa meetings, because he wanted to involve political society, and in particular all the parties who after the first free elections had representatives in the Spanish legislature, in negotiations among themselves. Between the Moncloa meetings, the parties consulted with their key constituents in civil society. (Suárez considered this link between political society and civil society particularly crucial in the case of the Communist Party and the trade unions.) Only after these extensive negotiations was the Moncloa political pact formally voted upon in a solemn session of the Cortes.[8] The resolution approving the Moncloa Pact was passed with one vote against by the lower house and with three votes against and two abstentions in the Senate.

We have emphasized these facts before entering into an analysis of our variables because, while we believe our variables to be extremely important, we do not want ourselves or the reader to fall into the trap of believing that the Spanish transition was overdetermined to be successful or that the political engineers at all times followed a rational model. With these important caveats in mind, how does Spain relate to the variables we discussed in Part 1?

From the perspective of the tasks a country must address before it can complete a transition and consolidate democracy, Spain began in a comparatively privileged position. Indeed, from the perspective of Table 4.3, the only task that was immediately urgent in November 1975, when Franco died, was the creation of political institutions with autonomy and support. Given this situation, it is now becoming fashionable to see the Spanish consolidation as being almost inevitable, given its supportive socioeconomic and geopolitical context. We believe that such an unexamined opinion not only leads to a serious misinterpretation of the actual process of democratic transition and consolidation in Spain but also contributes to the dangerous lack of attention to how the transition was actually prepared and how the successful execution of this plan later made it easier to handle

Suárez, another by the first socialist defense minister, Narcis Serra, as well as papers by social scientists, public opinion data, and book reviews. The complexity and psychology underlying *desencanto* is beautifully explored in Albert O. Hirschman's chapter, "On Disappointment," in his book *Shifting Involvements: Private Interest and Public Action* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 9–24.

8. This account of the political process of the Moncloa Pact is based largely on an interview carried out by Alfred Stepan with Adolfo Suárez on May 24, 1990. Suárez says he initially considered making the stabilization plan an executive decision but rapidly realized it would be more legitimate and more effective if he could arrive at an agreement with the political parties. This complex consensual process within political society, which was a hallmark of the Spanish transition, was, as we shall see, virtually completely absent in the major Argentine and pre-Plan Real Brazilian stabilization plans, which were drawn up in secret by the president and his closest advisors and announced to a shocked nation on television without ever having been discussed in the legislatures. For the relationship between the Communist and Socialist parties, the unions, and the Moncloa Pact, see Fishman, *Working Class Organization and Democracy,* 17, 180, 215–26.

Spain's stateness problem and in fact to consolidate democracy. Let us turn, therefore, to how the transition was actually crafted.

Crafting The Spanish Transition

The Spanish transition had to deal with a problem recurrent in other later transitions: how to dismantle the nondemocratic regime and its institutions and to gain democratic legitimacy based in elections in order to confront the many problems faced by the society. In contrast to the military regimes in Greece and Latin America (with the partial exception of Chile and Brazil), Franco's civilian and authoritarian regime had built a complete institutional and constitutional structure. The Francoite institutions, with their official single party and their corporatist Cortes (parliament), could by no stretch of the imagination be made serviceable to democracy by filling them with democratically elected personnel, as many believed could be done with the formally ultrademocratic constitutions of the Eastern European Communist regimes. Those Francoite institutions had to go, but the option of a revolutionary overthrow—the rupture demanded by the opposition—was not really feasible (as the Spanish Communist Party leadership acknowledged later), given the overall climate of public opinion and in particular the support the regime had in the armed forces.[9] An unconstitutional declaration by the king to abrogate the Franco constitution, with the support of some radical groups in the armed forces (the small minority inspired by the Portuguese golpe-revolution), was out of the question. So, from the beginning, within the regime, there was thought given to the possibility of using the legality of the Franco Fundamental Laws and the corporatist Cortes to change the regime constitutionally, against the spirit and intent of those laws. A lot of thinking and debate and some unsuccessful starts went into the efforts that finally yielded the Law for Political Reform. The need for legal "backward legitimation," to use Guiseppe di Palma's

9. The first thesis of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) at its IX Party Congress in February 1978 was devoted to explaining why the combination of reformist pressures emanating from the regime and the opposition, as well as international pressures, "obliged the PCE to nuance its ruptural theses." For the full text see *Mundo Obrero,* Madrid (Feb. 2, 1978), 1.

However, as late as 1981, according to the Fishman study, not an insignificant number of the working class leaders at the plant level in Madrid and Barcelona believed that "because of indecision and the errors of many leaders of the opposition, a historic opportunity was lost to create a more advanced democracy on the basis of popular mobilizations and a political ruptura." In Barcelona 68 percent of the leaders identified with Comisiones Obreras (the Communist Union) felt that way compared to 40 percent in Madrid. Among those of the socialist UGT (Unión General de Trabajadores), there were 31 percent and 23 percent in Barcelona and Madrid, respectively, who believed that ruptura would have been possible. Among all the 324 workers' representatives interviewed, 39 percent believed in the possibility of the ruptura, while 57 percent felt that "the balance of forces at the time of the political transition did not permit the step to democracy by ruptura, and the leaders of the left did well in changing strategy to facilitate the reforma which led to democracy." This was the opinion of the majority of UGT representatives in Barcelona (66 percent), Madrid (72 percent), and the Comisiones Obreras in Madrid (55 percent) and only 30 percent in Barcelona. The above data are from Fishman, *Working Class Organization and Democracy,* 144.

phrase, was based on the fact that the king had sworn to defend those laws, that his authority was derived from them, that the government in charge had been appointed according to them, and that the obedience of the armed forces could only be assured if the change took place in that way.[10] The fear of a vacuum of authority, of a sudden transfer of power to the then quite radical opposition forces—foremost the nationalists in the periphery and the Spanish Communist Party and the trade union movements controlled by it—was unthinkable without the risk of involution or political repression. The reformers thus had to act cautiously, and their instrument was legal reform, making possible a democratically elected body that could deal with the many problems on the horizon, including stateness problems and an incipient economic crisis. It also was essential to avoid a separate and open debate about the monarchy, which did not enjoy particularly strong legitimacy.

The way chosen was to convince the Cortes—the legislature created and partly appointed by Franco—to allow the creation of a fundamentally different type of legislative body after open and free elections with the participation of political parties. That is what was achieved by the Law for Political Reform and its subsequent approval by referendum.[11] The equivalent in the USSR would have involved Gorbachev convincing the Communist Party and the legislative organs of the complex constitutional structure of the Soviet Union to allow multiparty, freely contested elections for a parliament of the union which would then have the duty and power to form the government. Failing this, there should at least be a union-wide, direct multiparty competitive election for a president of the Soviet Union. As we shall see, as long as the Soviet Union existed, nothing close to such elections ever happened. How was it actually accomplished in Spain? No one can ignore the structurally favorable conditions in Spain, but there can be no doubt that this particularly successful transition owes much to agency.

A more detailed analysis of leadership during the democratic transition would pay considerable attention to the moderating role of the king, the constructive leadership of Santiago Carrillo (the leader of the Spanish Communist Party), the

10. The concept of *backward legitimation* was first developed by Giuseppe di Palma in his "Founding Coalitions in Southern Europe: Legitimacy and Hegemony," *Government and Opposition* 15 (1980): 162–89.

11. On the "law *for* political reform," see Pablo Lucas Verdú, *La octava ley fundamental*, with a foreword by Enrique Tierno (Madrid: Tecnos, 1976), and Antonio Hernández Gil, *El cambio político español y la constitución* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1981). Some readers might feel that we unfairly privilege in our analysis the role of the main actors in the regime or the opposition. We want to emphasize here the important role of ordinary citizens in generating a crisis of the regime. They often take risks in their opposition and struggle against the regime. They also generate pressures on regime actors to initiate a transition (sometimes thereby avoiding regime collapse). However, in the case of Spain, in support of our approach we have data from a survey shortly after the approval of the Law for Political Reform asking respondents to whom they attributed the positive aspects of the change: 26 percent chose the government, 23 percent the king, 20 percent Prime Minister Suárez, 8 percent the parties of the opposition, 3 percent the Cortes, 21 percent the people and the citizens in general, while 6 percent said there was nothing good and 9 percent did not answer. See Linz et. al., *Informe sociológico sobre el cambio político*, p. 119.

prudence of Cardinal Tarancón (the leader of the Spanish Catholic Church), the support and courage of General Gutiérrez Mellado (the chief of staff to the Spanish Army), the political astuteness of Josep Tarradellas (the exiled leader of the Catalan regional government), the parliamentary negotiating abilities of Torcuato Fernández Miranda, and the cooperation of the conservative leader Manuel Fraga, to mention just a few of the figures involved. In the short space available, we cannot do justice to all these actors and organizations. We would, however, like to call particular attention to the innovative leadership of Adolfo Suárez. We will pay particular attention to how he formulated the key issues of democracy in two of his most politically influential speeches (which, unfortunately, have never been translated into English). As we shall see, for Suárez, the holding of elections was the essence of his task. He was right. Elections are crucial to the democratizing process of dismantling and disempowering the old regime. They are even more crucial to the installation, legitimation, and empowerment of a new democratic regime. While the specificities of this process will vary from polity to polity, we believe that in some of the countries we discuss later—most dramatically the USSR and later Russia—leaders missed opportunities to advance this power erosion/power creation process, with deleterious results for democracy and state capacity.

In the first of two influential speeches, Adolfo Suárez, then speaking as the minister-secretary general of the almost defunct official single party, the *Movimiento*, in the first royal cabinet, made a complex appeal to the corporatist Franco-controlled Cortes that *liberalization* and eventually *democratization* was necessary.[12] It was the beginning of five months of argumentation. Suárez began by referring to "the democratic monarch's" support for reform. He went on to argue that, given the socioeconomic developments under Franco, the government should take the next step in political reform by allowing free political association. "I think that our historic task . . . is very simple: to finish the work [started by Franco]. . . . The government, the legitimate manager of this historic moment, has the responsibility to put into motion the mechanism necessary for the definite consolidation of a modern democracy." He stressed that changes in Spanish society had contributed to a new pluralism, a pluralism which had already assumed, de facto, political forms.

> The point of departure [of the proposed political reform of a law legalizing political association] is the recognition of the pluralism of our society. If this society is plural, we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of ignoring it. . . . If we contemplate the national reality with a minimum of sincerity, we have to acknowledge that in addition to this theoretical pluralism, there already exist organized forces. We would entrench ourselves into an absurd blindness if we refuse to see this. These forces, call them parties or not, now exist as a public fact. . . . The aims of parties are

12. Many analysts of the Spanish transition believe that this speech was instrumental in the king's selection of the young Adolfo Suárez to succeed the floundering Arias Navarro as prime minister. Maravall and Santamaría argue that Arias "never accepted the idea of transforming the inherited regime into a pluralist democracy." See Maravall and Santamaría, "Political Change in Spain," 81.

specific and not the least of them is to assume power. So, if the road is not opened by the legality which is being proposed by the state itself, there will only be an apparent peace, below which will germinate the seeds of subversion.

Suárez went on to say that political pacts were being discussed, but he astutely raised the question as to how democratic political representatives could be created to participate in such pacts: "With whom should they [the government] make the pact?" Suárez immediately gave his answer: "Only after elections will there be valid interlocutors and legitimated agents."[13] On July 1, 1976 Prime Minister Arias Navarro was forced to resign and Adolfo Suárez was appointed Prime Minister.

The institutionalization of a democratic process was still very much in doubt at the time of the appointment of Suárez. In many democratic transitions the constitution of the old regime remains in force and inhibits or delays democratic renewal. In Spain the Cortes could have been such a structure. Suárez's seemingly impossible task was to convince the Cortes to vote for a Law for Political Reform that in essence would result in the Cortes' own disappearance. If he could not convince the Cortes, he would have to risk a constitutional confrontation of uncertain consequences for democratic legitimacy (as occurred with Yeltsin's conflict with the Russian parliament in 1993) or accept the Cortes' ability to paralyze the changes needed for democratic transition.

Suárez approached this problem by carefully drafting and negotiating a text of the democratizing Law for Political Reform. Before he submitted the text to the Cortes for the process of legal approval, he went on national television and made his second historic speech. In this speech to the nation, Suárez implicitly warned the Cortes that without new constitutional norms there could be social conflict: "The absence of rules leads to 'ad-hockery' and can lead to anarchy." He also urged the Cortes to avoid conflict by letting the people express their will. He told the nation he was confident that the Cortes would perform this historic task. He then made the crucial step from liberalization to democratization. He advocated free and open elections and set a date. "I have said the word *elections* and in essence this is the key to the proposal. The [proposed] constitutional modification will permit the [new] Cortes to be elected by direct, secret, and universal suffrage as soon as possible and, in all events, before June of 1977. In this manner the people will participate in the construction of their own future since they will express themselves, they will elect their representatives, and these representatives will make the decisions over the questions that affect the national community." For Adolfo Suárez the fundamental task was to manage to make the forces present on

13. All of these quotations are our translations from the speech Adolfo Suárez made to the Cortes on June 9, 1976, in defense of the Law for Political Association. The full text of his speech and the law are found in the pamphlet released by Ediciones del Movimiento in Madrid (1976), entitled "El Derecho de Asociación Política," 9–28.

the street and in civil society participate in the political system without his abdication of his own powers until after the elections. While acknowledging the prestige of opposition groups and leaders, he reiterated his argument that only elections would determine with whom to negotiate. For Suárez it would be via elections that "political groups that today voluntarily present themselves publicly as protagonists (and they are significant and respectable but lack a popular mandate) will come to be representatives of the people."

Suárez made an indirect appeal to the corporatist Cortes that it would be ethically and historically correct to vote themselves out of existence by allowing free elections. He also assured the nation there would be no power vacuum and that the rule of law would prevail. "The government is convinced that the institutions [of the Franco regime] will understand the need for this reform and will support the direct appeal to the people whom these institutions themselves serve. There cannot be and there will not be a constitutional vacuum, and even less a vacuum of legality. Such a vacuum cannot emerge because Spain is a State of Law which is based on the primacy of the law."

Suárez then went on to argue that *only* if the state was restructured and filled with a new democratic power would it be strong enough to address the country's social and economic agenda and its looming stateness problem. For Suárez, the sequence of reform thus had to start with political reform. "When the people have made their voice heard, then there can be resolved other great political problems with the authority which will come from electoral representation. Then issues like institutionalization of the regions, within the permanent unity of Spain, can be approached." For Suárez, political reform was a precondition of economic reform. "As long as political unknowns [*incógnitas*] hang over the country, there cannot be either economic reactivation or stability." He concluded by conveying a sense of hope and implying that the Cortes should allow the people to decide. "The future is not written because only the people can write it."[14]

On the day before the vote, many close observers were not certain that the Law for Political Reform would be passed. However, Suárez and the movement toward democratization had gained such momentum that the Cortes passed the law by a margin of 425 affirmative votes against 59 negative votes.[15] Subsequently, the Law for Political Reform was submitted to a referendum on December 15, 1978. With a strong 77% turnout, it was approved by 94% of those voting.

After the referendum's overwhelming endorsement of the Law for Political Reform, the process of dismantling the authoritarian structure and allowing democratic power gains accelerated. The referendum increased Suárez's power and his

14. See Pablo Lucas Verdú, *La octava ley fundamental,* which contains the full texts of the law (103–8) and of the speech by Suárez to the nation (109–19), from which we have translated excerpts.

15. Juan J. Linz was present in the Cortes for the entire debate and the first vote. This 366-vote margin on November 18, 1976 represented a 121-vote increase over the favorable vote for the much less controversial liberalizing Law for Political Association, held on June 9, 1976.

ability to enter into negotiations to create an inclusive political society. Suárez first met the opposition formally on December 23, 1976, only eight days after the referendum, although in the summer of 1976 he had informally met twice with the Socialist Party leader, Felipe González, and other opposition leaders. Suárez met informally with the leader of the Communist Party, Santiago Carrillo, in January 1977, soon after Carrillo left jail. On April 9, 1977, Suárez successfully took the dangerous step, considering hard-line resistence, of legalizing the Communist Party. The first parliamentary election was held on June 15, 1977. The parliament produced by the election drafted a constitution, which was approved in a referendum on December 6, 1978. The process we have just described illustrates the complex interaction between legality, legitimacy, and power and the importance of *timing* in transitions.[16]

The Legalization of the Communist Party: An Excursus on Inclusionary Choices

Once the general principle of a freely elected legislature had been accepted, the most difficult and dangerous decision Suárez faced was whether to legalize the Communist Party of Spain (PCE). Decades of anti-Communist propaganda, suspicions about the Communists' ambitions, and worries about the party's diffuse strength throughout society provided a context in which the right, and especially the military, might well have been mobilized against the transition. Even among the reformers there were those who argued for postponing the legalization of the Communist Party until after the first free elections.

The question of legalization was, however, an issue affecting the inclusiveness of contestation, an essential element of democracy, and therefore the credibility of the Spanish regime's democratizing effort. In addition, the obvious presence of a strong Communist Party, in terms of activists and sympathizers, inevitably created the dilemmas of the cost of repression versus the cost of toleration. In his television address justifying the legalization, Suárez put the issue clearly before the people:

> The rejection [of the request of legalization] would not be consistent with the reality that the Communist Party exists and is organized. The struggle against it could only be carried out by repression.
>
> Not only am I not Communist, but I reject strongly its ideology, as it is rejected by the other members of my cabinet. But I am a democrat, and sincerely democratic. Therefore I think that our people are sufficiently mature . . . to assimilate their own pluralism.

16. On the role of timing in regime changes, see Juan J. Linz, "Ill fattore tempo nei mutamenti di regime," *Teoria política* 11, no. 1 (1986): 3–47.

> I do not think that our people want to find itself fatally obliged to see our jails full of people for ideological reasons. I think that in a democracy we must all be vigilant of ourselves, we must all be witnesses and judges of our public actions. We have to instore the respect for legal minorities. Among the rights and duties of living together is the acceptance of the opponent (*adversario*). If one has to confront him, one has to do it in civilized competition. Sincerely, is it not preferable to count in the ballot boxes what otherwise we would have to measure on the poor basis of unrest in the streets?[17]

This crucial decision ended any doubts about the sincerity of Suárez's personal commitment to democracy, and Suárez seized the occasion of his television address to announce his candidacy in the elections. The decision to legalize the Communist Party was extremely dangerous, as was shown by the hostile responses of some key military leaders and even of some of the important politicians who had supported the transition. For example, Suárez's announcement provoked the resignation of the minister of the navy, who had to be replaced by a retired admiral because no active duty admiral would assume the post. Suárez's announcement also spurred a unanimous declaration of the Army Supreme Council that "legalization of the Communist Party has produced general repugnance in all the units of the army." However, despite a more intemperate earlier document that had been leaked, they also concluded that, "in consideration of higher national interests, the [council] accepts with discipline the fait accompli [*hecho consumado*]."[18] Suárez's difficult choice proved decisive in assuring the moderate Euro-Communist posture of the Spanish Communist Party and its leader Santiago Carrillo and thus made a vital contribution to the eventual success of the Spanish transition.

We will not enter into a lengthy argument, but obviously for democracy it is a critical choice whether to make an inclusionary decision to allow *all* political forces to participate in the political process or to make an exclusionary decision to exact rules against parties that might, in the view of one or another important sector of the regime or society, be perceived as threatening to them or to democracy. We shall also not enter into the important normative debate as to whether democracy has the right to limit participation in the "democratic game" only to those committed to playing by democratic rules. We would like, however, to be explicit about two empirical implications of an inclusionary choice. Both were adeptly alluded to in the above speech by Suárez. First, the decision to allow participation allows the objective counting in votes of a possible extremist movement's support which would weaken any excess claims to diffuse societal support which could be made if it were prohibited. Second, if extremist parties are out-

17. This and other Suárez speeches in the critical 1976–78 period are found in Adolfo Suárez González, *Un nuevo horizonte para España: Discursos del Presidente del Gobierno 1976–1978* (Madrid: Imprenta del Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1978).

18. For an excellent discussion of the tense situation in the military after the legalization of the Communist Party, see Rodrigo, "El camino hacia la democracia," 185–94, quote from p. 191.

lawed, the democratic regime is involved in jailing, on potential ideological as opposed to actual behavioral grounds, citizens who belong to state-declared illegal organizations.

This does not mean that democrats should be passive against antidemocratic forces. Democrats can oppose and attempt politically to isolate ideological extremists and to jail them if they actually use violence to advance their ideas. Above all, democrats must avoid any semiloyal collaboration with antidemocratic forces.

The Communist Party of Spain loyally contributed to the transition to and consolidation of democracy in Spain. However, the normative and empirical issues raised in 1977 were still salient in Spain in the 1990s. The *Herri Batasuna* (HB), a party that advocates independence and revolutionary change in the Basque Country, does not hide its sympathy and even indirect support for ETA terrorists. However, rightly in our view, given the theoretical and empirical arguments we have advanced, HB has not been outlawed. Indeed, HB has been successful in electing some representatives and officials. But, fundamentally, it has been politically isolated.

Empirically, for the effort to consolidate democracy, the advantage to Spain of having allowed even explicitly antidemocratic extremists to participate in elections becomes apparent when we analyze some key cases. For example, in the 1979 second general elections in Spain, Fuerza Nueva, a neofascist group, campaigned actively throughout the country, claiming to speak for the values of the past and attempting to agglutinate antiregime forces. But, Fuerza Nueva won only 2.1 percent of the total vote, elected only one deputy, and disintegrated as a political force soon after the 1979 election. Even more dramatically, the courts allowed Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Tejero Molina, one of the February 1981 coup organizers, to run the party Solidaridad Española from his jail cell in the 1982 general elections. Once again the claim was that he was representing strong currents of opposition against the direction of the transition. Tejero's party received less than 30,000 (0.13 percent) of the total votes, thereby objectively "counting," to use Suárez's word, the absolute rejection of the putschists by the electorate.

Democracy does not mean that every citizen supports democracy, nor that antidemocrats should not enjoy democratic freedoms for legal and nonviolent acitivities. Violent activities should certainly be punished using legal means (although even some democrats may, in their frustration with terrorism, condone illegal reprisals). The defense of democracy is the duty of democratic parties and leaders and ultimately of the voters, making possible government by democrats.

Stateness Problems and Their Democratic Restructuring

If Spain had been a relatively homogeneous nation-state, like Portugal, Greece, and the Latin American cases we will discuss, the Spanish transition to democracy would probably have been completed with the approval of the constitution. However, the strong nationalist feelings in Catalonia and the Basque Country raised problems of stateness. The Catalan and Basque nationalisms were not perceived as central to most of those who wrote about the Spanish transition process. However, the crisis of other multinational states highlights the significance of the steps Spain took to manage its stateness problem, steps which deserve separate attention. It is our contention that Spain was able to manage its stateness problem by successful devolution only because it had first created, by the process we have just analyzed, legitimate state power with the authority and capacity to restructure the polity.

In our judgment, when Spain began its transition, the variable that potentially presented the most dangerous complication for both democratic transition and democratic consolidation was stateness. Because stateness was so critical and because, unlike Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, it was handled so well in Spain, we will analyze it in particular detail, both for the light it sheds on the Spanish transition and also for the theoretical implications it has for transitions in heterogeneous states with important regional, cultural and national differences, such as Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Indonesia, and Nigeria.

When Spain began the process of democratization, the potential for a dangerous stateness problem indeed existed. The most important indicator was that terrorist violence of the nationalist Basque organization ETA (*Euskadi ta Askatasuna*—Euskadi and Freedom) between 1960 and the year of Franco's death, 1975, had caused forty-three deaths. In 1978, the year the constitution was approved, deaths had escalated to sixty-five. There were seventy-eight deaths in 1979 and ninety-six in 1980, the year of the first new regional elections that led to a major devolution of power.[19] This armed violence created the very real potential of military opposition to the democratic transition and consolidation because, while not one army officer was killed during the Basque insurgency in 1968–75 under Franco, or in the 1975–77 transition period, in the postelectoral period of democratic rule between 1978 and 1983, thirty-seven army officers died due to Basque nationalist violence.[20]

Yet, surprisingly, despite the deaths of military officers and the inevitable difficulties of creating Spain's quasi-federal state, *none* of the important statewide interest groups or parties engaged in *system blame.* Adversity was not deliberately used to delegitimate either the fledgling democratic regime or the new constitutional structures that departed from Spain's traditional unitary state organization. In our judgment the main reason for this lack of system blame was Spain's

19. See Fernando Reinares, "Sociogénesis y evolución del terrorismo en España," in Salvador Giner, ed., *España sociedad y política* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1990), 353–96. See especially the table on p. 390, with bibliographic references.

20. Ibid. Also see Francisco J. Llera, *Los vascos y la política. El proceso político vasco: Elecciones, partidos y opinión pública y legitimación en el País Vasco, 1977–1992* (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 1994).

successful handling of its potentially grave problem of stateness via state wide elections.

Elections, especially founding elections, help create agendas, actors, and organizations, and, most importantly, legitimacy and power. One of our major arguments is that, if a country has a stateness problem, it makes a critical difference whether the first elections are statewide or regional. In Spain the first elections were statewide, and we believe that they helped transcend Spain's stateness problem. The first post-Franco vote, as we have seen, was the referendum to approve a "law *for* political reform." This law committed the government not to any details of political reform, but to a process of clear *democratization,* not just *liberalization.*

The second key vote, on June 15, 1977, was also not merely about liberalization, but about democratization; it was a statewide general election to select deputies who would create a government and draft a new constitution. Because of the statewide stakes involved, four statewide parties conducted a campaign in all of Spain around statewide themes, winning 319 of the 350 seats. Just as importantly, the statewide parties campaigned very hard in areas where the potential for secession was greatest and the history of antisystem sentiment was most deeply rooted—the Catalan and Basque regions. While strong Catalan and Basque nationalist parties did emerge, the four statewide parties and their regional affiliates won 67.7% of the vote in Catalonia, and 51.4% of the vote in the Basque Country.[21]

The deputies and government produced by these statewide elections engaged in prolonged public and private negotiations over the constitution and over how to proceed on the stateness issue. A consensual constitution was finally supported in parliament by the four major parties and the major Catalan nationalist party; 258 of the 274 members voting gave it their approval. Spain's third general appeal to the voters then followed, namely a referendum on the constitution, which was approved by 87.8% of the voters on December 1, 1978. In Catalonia the constitution was approved by 90.4 percent of the voters. In the Basque Country 68.8 percent of those who voted approved the constitution, but voter turnout was only 45.5 percent, which was below the Spanish and Catalan level of 67 percent.[22]

Strengthened and legitimated by these three convocations of its electorate, Spain's government and parliament began negotiations in earnest over the devolution of power to the Catalan and Basque Country provincial representatives, who themselves had been constituted in the aftermath of the general elections. Surrounded by intense controversy the negotiators eventually crafted a system by which Spain would change its historically centralized state structure for a new decentralized one characterized by an unprecedented devolution of power to the

21. For the organization of statewide parties and the importance of the general election in transforming the agendas of these parties, see Gunther, Sani, and Shabad, *Spain after Franco,* 37–177. The results of the 1977 election are found on pp. 38 and 311.

22. For details about constitutional votes see Andrea Bonime-Blanc, *Spain's Transition to Democracy: The Politics of Constitution-Making* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1987).

peripheral nationalist constituencies. These negotiated agreements over regional autonomy (the Statutes of Autonomy) were submitted to Basque and Catalan voters in October, 1979. The Catalan statute was approved by 87.9 percent and the Basque statute by 90.3 percent of those who voted in the regions.[23] The largest and oldest Basque nationalist party (PNV), which had urged abstention on the earlier referendum on the constitution, adjusted to the new political situation and urged approval of the Statutes of Autonomy.[24]

Had the first elections in Spain been regional rather than statewide, the incentives for the creation of Spain-wide parties and a Spain-wide agenda would have been greatly reduced. Consequently, the statewide parties and their affiliates would have received fewer votes.[25] We also believe that, if the first elections had been on the regional level, issues raised by nationalities would have assumed a much more substantial and divisive role in the electoral campaign than they actually did and the nationalist parties and their affiliates would have been more extreme. Indeed, there is a good chance that peripheral nationalist parties and groups would have been able to shift the discourse of the electoral campaign so that calls for ruptura and mobilization for independence would have become predominant.[26] Strengthened nationalist parties would have gravely complicated the stateness problem in Spain. Relations between the military and the democratizing forces of the central government would almost certainly have been put under greater strain. In a context of heightened stateness conflict, the coup coalition—defeated by the king's personal intervention on February 23, 1981—would probably have emerged earlier and with greater force against a divided and less legitimate government.

The democratic transition in Spain certainly began under favorable conditions, but the clear commitment to democratization and countrywide elections strengthened the legitimacy claims of the central government, helped forge links between

23. See Juan J. Linz, "De la crisis de un Estado unitario al Estado de las autonomías," in Fernando Fernández Rodríguez, ed., *La España de las autonomías* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1985), 527–672, and Juan J. Linz, *Conflicto en Euskadi* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1986). On the negotiation of the Basque Autonomy Statute, see the account by two journalists, Kepa Bordegarai and Robert Pastor, *Estatuto vasco* (San Sebastian: Ediciones Vascas, 1979).

24. Some extreme separatist groups continued to boycott the vote on autonomy, and the overall voter turnout was 13 percent lower than the Spanish average in the constitutional referendum; nevertheless, the voter turnout of 54 percent was still politically significant.

25. Even when stateness issues are not salient, regional parties in Spain tend to poll 15–25 percent better in regional elections than they do in general elections.

26. One example of such a potential discourse was the fact that the Consejo de Fuerzas Políticas de Cataluña in March 1976 publicly demanded the "establishment of a provisional government of the Generalitat that would assume power in Catalonia from the moment of the 'ruptura democrática' with the commitment to announce and hold in the shortest time possible elections to the Catalan parliament; that government would constitute itself on the basis of the principles that shaped the Estatuto of 1932 and as a first step in the concrete exercise of the right of self determination." As the former exiled leader of the Catalan regional govenment, Josep Tarradellas, comments in his memoirs, "political verbalism was at its height." José Tarradellas, *Ja Sóc Aqui: Recuerdo de un retorno* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1990), diary entry of March 15, 1976, p. 4.

Table 6.1. Multiple Identities in Catalonia: 1982

	Population			
Identity	Both Parents Born in Catalonia	Neither Parent Born in Catalonia	Immigrants	Entire Sample
Catalan	13.7	10.7	2.3	9.0
More Catalan than Spanish	26.5	12.0	4.2	16.9
Equally Catalan and Spanish	48.2	37.5	25.9	40.1
More Spanish than Catalan	5.7	10.5	12.6	8.2
Spanish	5.1	23.7	51.3	23.5
No answer	0.8	5.7	3.8	2.4
	(414)	(69)	(317)	(885)

Source: Juan J. Linz, "De la crisis de un estado unitario al estado de las autonomías," in Fernando Fernández Rodríguez, ed., *La España de las autonomías* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1985) 560.

Table 6.2. National Identities in Catalonia

	Percentage	
Survey Answer	Catalans	All Spain
"Proud to be Spanish"	73%	85%
"Proud to be Catalan"	82%	N/A[a]
In favor of the unification of Europe via the European Community	83%	76%

Source: The questions on pride are from Francisco Andrés Orizo and Alejandro Sánchez Fernández, *El sistema de valors dels Catalans* (Barcelona: Institut Català d'Estudis Mediterranis, 1991), 207. The question on European unification is from "Los Españoles ante el Segundo aniversario de la firma del Tratado de Adhesión de España a la Comunidad Europa" (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, Abril 1988), 53. This table is reproduced with permission from Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia," *Daedalus* 121 (Spring 1992): 128.
[a]N/A, not available.

political society and civil society, and contributed to a new, constitutionally sanctioned relationship between Spain's peripheral nationalisms and the central government. Most importantly, countrywide elections restructured stateness identities in ways that were supportive of multiple identities and democracy in Spain. In the new democratic Spain, *complementary multiple identities* persist. Dual identities in Catalonia are the norm and have never been in question (table 6.1)

Catalans now have political and cultural control over education, television and radio, and indeed over most of the areas where Catalan nationalism had been most repressed in the past. Catalans also participate as a regional group in the European Community (now the European Union), a body that in some important respects is a community of regions as much as a community of states. Finally, in this new context, Catalans, to a greater extent than ever before, accepted their identity as members of the Spanish state. The sequence of elections in Spain helped constitute these mutually supportive legal and affective memberships in national (Catalan), state (Spanish), and suprastate (European Community) polities. The

Table 6.3. National Identities in the Basque Country

	Percentage	
Survey Answer	Basque Country	All Spain
"Proud to be Spanish"	44%	85%
"Proud to be Basque	69%	N/A[a]
In favor of the unification of Europe via the European Community	74%	76%

Source: Reprinted, with permission, from Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia," *Daedalus* 121 (spring 1992): 129.
[a] N/A, not available.

overwhelming percentage of all Catalans are proud to be Catalan, proud to be Spanish, and very supportive of joining an integrated European political community. Table 6.2 shows these complementary multiple identities very clearly.

The Basque Country presents a more difficult political situation. While the support for membership in a unified Europe is high, the citizenry in the Basque Country are 40 percent less proud to be Spanish than the national average and about 30 percent less proud to be Spanish than the Catalans (table 6.3). There is still routine separatist violence in the Basque Country, but we believe that the overall political situation has been ameliorated by the sequence of elections we have described. Indeed, the Basque Country is a particularly dramatic example of how elections can structure identities and delegitimate certain types of antistate violence.

Let us now focus explicitly on the question of how identities can be constructed by political processes. Between 1977 and 1979 the most heated question in Spanish politics concerned the relationship of peripheral nationalisms to the unitary Spanish state. In this two-year period the percentage of the population in the Basque Country who said they wanted to be independent *doubled,* to represent virtually a third of the entire population. Starting from a smaller base, pro-independence sentiment *tripled* in Catalonia in the same period. Obviously, if these trends had continued for a few more years, there would have been a severe crisis of stateness in Spain. However, once there had been a referendum on the Statutes of Autonomy and governments had been established with Basque and Catalan nationalist parties in office, sentiment for independence declined and later stabilized at lower levels (figure 6.1).

Assassinations, kidnapping and terrorism by pro-independence groups in the Basque Country still continued after the referendum, but their political significance changed dramatically. The terrorism of the ETA was a central factor in the course of the democratic transition, the constitution-making period, the negotiation and approval of the autonomy statutes, the election of the Basque parliament, the formation of a Basque government, and the transfer of functions to the government. At each of those points in time, it was argued that those steps would lead to the end of terrorism; however, more often than not they coincided with an

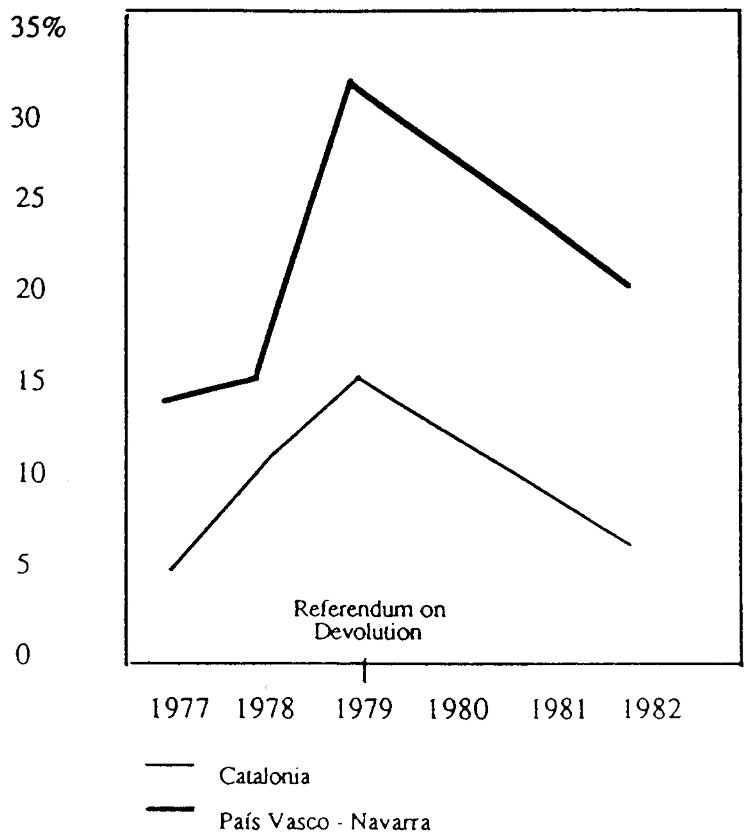

Fig. 6.1. Percentage of the Population Wanting Independence in Catalonia and País Vasco-Navarra before and after the 1979 Referendum on Devolution of Power to the Automonías.

Source: Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia," *Daedalus* 121, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 130. Reprinted with permission from *Daedalus*. This table is based on the data originally produced in Juan J. Linz, "De la crisis de un Estado unitario al Estado de las autonomías," in Fernando Fernández Rodríguez, ed., *La España de las autonomías* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1985), 587.

upsurge of terrorist casualties. Terrorism has not disappeared with the consolidation of Spanish democracy and the consolidation of Basque institutions and self-government.

Does this mean that the steps in the solution of the stateness problem—the existence of peripheral nationalisms—have failed? There is evidence (which we cannot discuss here in full detail) that this is not the case. Terrorism, from having a central importance, has become a tragic aspect of life, mostly in the Basque country, but that cannot destabilize Spanish democracy. The attempt on the life of the leader of the opposition Partido Popular, José María Aznar, in 1995 provoked

unanimous condemnation. Terrorism has today its own dynamics, with only minority support in the Basque population.

The public opinion data show basic changes in the attitudes of the Basque population toward ETA, but the comparison of attitudes over time is complicated by some changes in question formulation and the different proportions of "no opinion"and "don't know" (due probably to the practices of the different polling organizations). With this in mind we want to note that in 1979 only 5 percent saw ETA as "criminals"; by 1989, 16 percent did so. In 1979, 17.1 percent saw ETA as patriots; by 1989, only 5 percent saw them as patriots. In the course of a decade of democracy, the proportion saying that ETA were "idealists" dropped from 33 percent to 18 percent; the ambiguous answer "manipulated" dropped from 29 percent to 11 percent; while that of "madmen" increased from 8 percent to 16 percent. Many of those changes were due to larger numbers of don't know and no answers, from 8 percent to 34 percent—reflecting perhaps a tiredness of the whole issue—but that does deflect from the fact that the number of those expressing support by defining ETA as "patriots" and those condemning them as "criminals" have changed.

Another set of data covering several years from 1981 to 1989 shows that, in 1981, 8 percent gave ETA their "full support"; in 1989 the figure was 3 percent. Those agreeing with ETA goals but not the means went from 3 percent in 1981 to 9 percent in 1989. Most importantly, the percentage of respondents expressing "total rejection" went from 23 percent in 1981 to 45 percent in 1989, with 48 percent "don't know, no answer" in 1981 and only 16 percent "don't know, no answer" in 1989.[27]

The comparison of data by party voted between 1979 and 1986 shows that, among those supporting the Socialists (PSOE) the percentage answering "patriots" or "idealists" dropped from 46 percent to 10 percent and the percentage giving negative answers ("madmen" or "criminals") rose from 47 percent to 74 percent. Most significantly, this "identity delegitimization" occurred even among the voters of the main nationalist party, the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV), where the percentage of positive answers dropped from 40 percent to 16 percent. Even among the voters of Herri Batasuna, the positive responses weakened, from 60 percent saying "patriots" to 31 percent, while more said "idealists," 25 percent in 1979 and 40 percent in 1986.[28]

27. For an analysis of the Basque data and a more extensive discussion of democratic politics in the context of political violence, see Goldie Shabad and Francisco J. Llera, "Political Violence in a Democratic State: Basque Terrorism in Spain," in Martha Crenshaw, ed. *Terrorism in Context* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 410–69; Llera, *Los vascos y la política* and Linz, *Conflicto en Euskadi*, 698.

28. Shabad and Llera, "Political Violence." Unfortunately, the comparison of attitudes concerning independence between 1979 and 1989 is not fully possible, since the alternative answer "indifferent" was introduced in 1989. However, those expressing "great desire" or "fairly large desire" for independence constituted 36 percent in 1979 and 31 percent in 1989. Those reporting a desire that was "fairly small," respectively, 15 percent and 8 percent; "very small" were 12 percent and 7 percent; and "none," 29 percent and 19 percent. Offering the alternative "indifferent"allowed 19 percent not to make a choice. In addition, the number of "no answers" increased from 7 percent to 18 percent (probably because of the different practices of the survey organizations).

For Basque nationalists (probably like most nationalists throughout the world), the goal of an independent nation-state will never disappear. But the intensity of that desire and the political means used to advance that desire can and have changed. Accommodation to a democratic multinational state is possible, as the pattern of Spanish-Basque politics of the last two decades shows.

These developments have largely stabilized the multiple levels of identity (the important number of those who feel their Basque identity as well as a Spanish identity) and limited the polarization of the two communities. They also have stabilized the initially strong and growing desire for independence. Not that such a desire has disappeared, although it is increasingly stated as a symbolic long-term goal, while politics, government, and elections take place within the redefined Spanish state. Those developments have also made possible in the Basque country the delegitimation and political isolation of the ETA terrorists. Although Basque political killings continue, they no longer threaten to bring down the democratic government.

The crisis of Spanish stateness has been contained, initially due to the choice of electoral sequence. As we shall see when we discuss the stateness issue in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the electoral sequence in these two countries was profoundly different, and it exacerbated the stateness problem that both countries already had due to their Soviet-style federal constitutions and historical memories. We do not want to overstate the significance of holding first a general election—in which statewide parties competed in the whole country and which also gave a democratic legitimation to the nationalist parties—in the successful resolution of the problem of Spanish stateness in a critical moment. Without all of the subsequent steps taken (the decrees on the pre-autonomias in the fall of 1977, the 1978 constitution, and the approval of the Estatutos in 1979), the problem could have continued being an obstacle to full consolidation of Spanish democracy. We do not say either that the nation-building efforts in the periphery are not problematic, in the sense we have already discussed in chapter 2, in the multilingual Catalan and Basque societies. What we do say is that the postponement of full devolution until after the approval of a Spanish constitution in 1978, the negotiation of the Autonomy Statutes, and their popular legitimation in a referendum allowed a much less conflictual and more institutional recognition of nationalist aspirations and the creation of a new and different state.

Using the definition of democratic transition advanced earlier, we maintain that the Spanish transition began with the death of Franco on November 20, 1975, and was completed at the latest on October 25, 1979, when the Basque and Catalan referendums on regional autonomy were held. A case could, of course, be made that the transition was completed when the principle of government accountability to the parliament was established formally in November 1977 or when the new democratic constitution was approved in the referendum on December 6, 1978. However, we believe that only after the Basque and Catalan regional autonomy formula had been negotiated and voted upon did Spain meet our three requirements for a *completed transition*: a government was in office that was the result of a free and popular vote, the government had sovereign authority to generate policies, and the government did not de jure have to share power with other bodies. Until this point there had been some doubt about whether the military would successfully challenge the government's sovereign right to negotiate and generate new policies in the highly controversial area of regional politics. Furthermore, the legitimacy of a democratically elected government, if it had not solved these problems of regionalization, might have been questioned because the government could have been seen as displaying excessive continuity with the Franquist regime.

Excursus on Violence and Democratization

It is difficult to assess the importance of political violence in the struggle for democracy. In the cases included in our work, the regimes were not overthrown by armed popular movements, guerrillas, or terrorists, if we ignore the confusing events in Romania. The "liberation by golpe" of the Portuguese Captains is an altogether different case. However, the case of Spain involves the violence of the ETA, which certainly did not lead to the Spanish transition but contributed to the crisis of Franco's regime. The assassination of his premier, Luis Carrero Blanco, in December 1973 was an important event whose political implications for the regime and change after the death of Franco will continue to be debated. It has been argued that, if Luis Carrero Blanco had been prime minister when Franco died, the resistance of the "bunker" [the hard line] would have been greater and the transition probably would have been much different and more difficult. Some facts are clear. ETA violence was a serious problem. Its repression contributed to the international delegitimation of the Franco regime. But the scale of violence reached its height in 1978–80 during the approval of the Constitution, the second free election, the negotiation of Basque autonomy with Basque moderate politicians, and the first election for the Basque regional parliament.

However, the sympathy for or tolerant attitude toward the ETA of much of the opposition during this whole period and the ambiguous attitude of the French government toward ETA members operating in France allowed the ETA to play a disturbing and frustrating role in the new democracy. Although politically increasingly isolated, ETA violence led the Socialist democratic government to condone—we do not know exactly to what extent—illegal actions against the ETA. This is a case in which a democratic government acted in ways that blemished its civil rights record.[29] This has, years later in 1995, contributed to a serious crisis of confidence in the government.

29. As Linz has pointed out, democratic governments are most likely to violate the law and commit human rights abuses in cases where terrorism is combined with nationalistic, linguistic, or religious de-

Table 6.4. "Democracy Is the Best Political System for a Country Like Ours," Spain 1978–1993.

Survey Answer	1978	1980	1981	1982–83	1983	1988	1993
"Yes"	77	69	81	74	85	87	79
"No"	15	20	13	6	10		
"Depends"				12			
"Other, N/A"	8	11	6	7	5		
N	(5,898)	N/A	(1,703)	(5,463)	(3,952)	(4,548)	(1,448)

Source: This table is reproduced, with permission, from Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Political Crafting of Democratic Consolidation or Destruction: European and South American Comparisons," in Robert A. Pastor, ed., *Democracy in the Americas: Stopping the Pendulum* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1989), 44. National surveys by Data S.A., Madrid. For 1978 (July) and 1980 see J. J. Linz, M. Gómez-Reino, D. Vila, and F. A. Orizo, *Informe sociológico sobre el cambio político en España, 1975–1981* (IV Informe FOESSA, Vol. I, Fundación FOESSA), (Madrid: Euramérica, 1981), 627–29. For 1981, March 4 to 21 (after the February 23 attempted coup), *Cambio* 16, no. 488 (April 6, 1981): 42–45; for 1982–83, November–January, postelection survey with the support of the Volkswagen-Stiftung, unpublished. For the study see Juan J. Linz and J. R. Montero, *Crisis y cambio: Electores y partidos en la España de los años ochenta* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1986). For 1983 (Fall), see J. J. Linz, "La sociedad española: presente, pasado y futuro," in J. J. Linz, ed., *España, un presente para el futuro, I: La sociedad* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Económicos, 1984), 57–95, and J. J. Linz, "Legitimacy of Democracy and the Socioeconomic System," in Mattei Dogan, ed., *Comparing Pluralist Democracies: Strains on Legitimacy* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1988), 65–113. Data for 1988 and 1993 from the Centro de Documentación de Data, S.A., Madrid. For an important conceptual and empirical analysis, see José Ramon Montero and Richard Gunther, "Democratic Legitimacy in Spain," paper prepared for the International Political Science Association (IPSA), IVI World Congress, Berlin, August 21–25, 1994.

Here we want only to note that the terrorist struggle against a nondemocratic government may leave a difficult legacy for a new democracy, since the terrorists may pursue other goals than democratization and, therefore, not stop their actions when democracy has been achieved. The assassination of one of the intellectual leaders of the right, Senator Jaime Guzmán, in Chile after a democratic government assumed office is another example of how such a legacy complicates the democratic political process.

Democratic Consolidation

There is broad scholarly consensus that Spanish democracy was *consolidated* no later than the peaceful transfer of power to the socialist opposition after the October 1982 general elections. We accept this date. However, a case could be made that democracy was consolidated even earlier, with the completion of the successful trials and imprisonment of the military leaders involved in the February 23, 1981 coup attempt. It is very significant (and a startling contrast to Argentina) that the two major leaders of the coup attempt, Colonel Tejero and General Miláns del Bosch, were sent to jail and that there was never a politically significant movement in the military or in civil society to grant them clemency.

In our theoretical discussion of democratic consolidation, we distinguished the

mands. See his "Types of Political Regimes and Respect for Human Rights: Historical and Cross-National Perspectives," in Asbjørn Eide and Bernt Hagtvet, eds., *Human Rights in Perspective: A Global Assessment* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 177–222, 299–310, esp. 190–93.

Table 6.5. "At This Time, What Do You Think Is Best: Government Only of the UCD (The Unión de Centro Democrático, Then the Ruling Party), a Political Party Coalition, a Civil-Military Government, or a Military Government?" Spain 1981

Survey Answer	Percentage
UCD government	27%
Coalition government	52%
Civil-military government	5%
Military government	2%
Others (no response, don't know, hard to classify)	14%
	100%
(*N* = 1,703)	

Note: The question in Spanish was: "En estos momentos, ¿qué cree usted que es el mejor: un gobierno sólo de UCD, un gobierno de coalición entre partidos políticos, un gobierno cívico-militar, o un gobierno militar?"
Source: This table is reproduced, with permission, from Linz and Stepan, "Political Crafting of Democratic Consolidation or Destruction," 45. Data are from a special poll carried out by Data, S.A., Madrid, Spain, between March 4 and 21, 1981, after the putsch attempt of February 23, 1981.

attitudes of the general citizenry from the *behavior* of nationally significant groups and the *constitutional reality* of whether the democratic government was de jure sovereign in the policy sphere. In the Spanish case, the first component to become fully congruent with consolidation was public opinion. By 1978 Spanish public opinion was strongly democratic, and it has remained so ever since (table 6.4).

Not only was Spanish public opinion strongly prodemocratic in the abstract sense, it also overwhelmingly rejected the major possible alternative to democracy, a military government (table 6.5).

Ten years after the death of Franco, 76 percent of the population felt pride in the transition and only 9 percent said that the transition was not a source of pride. This sense of pride was particularly strong on the left, where 82 percent of those who said they would vote Communist and 88 percent of those who said they would vote Socialist expressed pride in the transition.[30]

In terms of the behavior of nationally significant groups, parts of the military spent significant resources attempting to impose conditions, by pressure and if necessary by military force, on democratically elected governments, at least until the failed coup in February 1981. Some scholars, such as Paul Preston, argue that some party activists were in sufficient contact with coup conspirators to be called, in effect, a semiloyal opposition. However, the overwhelmingly negative reaction to the coup expressed by the king, public opinion, and party leaders helped to establish very clearly that the only game in town after February 1981 was a democratic game.[31]

30. "Actitudes y opiniones de los españoles ante la constitución y las instituciones democráticas," 32.

31. Before the coup attempt prominent politicians from a range of parties, including the Socialist Party, engaged in semiloyal discussions with the military about a possible civil-military caretaker coalitional government. All such ambivalent actions on the part of party activists stopped after the coup. For a discussion of the semiloyal behavior of some politicians, see Paul Preston, *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain* (London: Methuen, 1986), 160–88, esp. 181–84.

The final component of democratic consolidation to be put in place was the successful exercise by the democratic government of its right not to have its policy power constrained by non-democratic institutions. The trials and imprisonment of the military were complete by 1982. The trials helped to consolidate democracy because they showed how divided and without an agenda the military "alternative" really was. The most important hard-liners were defeated, disgraced, and jailed. After the trials there was a "steady realization among large numbers of officers that democracy was there to stay and that the military ought to accommodate itself within it."[32] Finally, after they were faced with the solid parliamentary majority achieved by the Socialists in October 1982, "military contestation shifted from politics to more strictly corporate concerns, and from resistance to accommodation."[33] From December 1982 until March 1991 the defense minister of the Socialist government, Narcis Serra, the former mayor of Barcelona, designed and implemented an imaginative and sweeping restructuring of the military, which had begun with UCD goverments and their civilian ministers of defense. When he left office "the once feared *Poder Militar* was now, in many respects, one more branch of the state administration."[34] In terms of civil-military theory, a democratic pattern of civil-military relations is one in which there is low contestation by the military of the policies of the democratically elected government and where the military accepts that they have low "prerogatives" or reserve domains.[35] For more than a decade, Spain has been in this position.

A review of the basic background variables that facilitate or impede a democratic consolidation shows that Spain, with the important exception of the stateness variable we have examined, began its transformation under facilitating conditions on all the other variables. The organizational base of the authoritarian regime was civilian or civilianized pro regime officers. Some may think of the Franco regime as a military regime, but Franco exercised power as head of the party as well as generalísimo of the armed forces and predominantly as chief of state. Numerous studies of decision making in the last twenty-five years of the Franco regime support Felipe Agüero's judgment that "although the military in Spain was highly present in the Franquist structures, it did not delineate or monitor government policy or control its leader," and that "the military in Spain did not participate in the elite nucleus that made the core decisions for the transition."[36] In our judgment it is appropriate, therefore, to call the regime base in the

32. Felipe Agüero, "The Assertion of Civilian Supremacy in Post-authoritarian Contexts: Spain in Comparative Perspective" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1991), 300.

33. Ibid., 309.

34. For an excellent discussion of the socialist reform, see ibid., 309–56. This quote is from p. 356.

35. For a more extensive conceptual discussion of "military prerogatives" and "military contestation" and a comparative analysis of Spain, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil, see Stepan, *Rethinking Military Politics*, 93–127, esp. figure 7.3 on p. 122.

36. Both quotes from Felipe Agüero, "The Military in the Processes of Political Democratization in South America and South Europe: Outcomes and Initial Conditions," paper presented at the XV Interna-

years preceding the transition a "civilianized-authoritarian regime." As we have argued, such a base presents fewer potential obstacles to democratic transition and consolidation than does a sultanistic base or a hierarchical military.

In Spain there were, of course, important social and political pressures for change when Franco died. Our emphasis on the formally developed part of civil society in Spain that in part served as a basis, cover, and support for an emerging political society should not lead us to neglect the less organized forms of dissent by people in demonstrations, rallies, and sympathy strikes. Some of those actions were quite spontaneous, and certainly many of those participating did not belong to any of the organizations initiating them.

There is, however, a very important difference between authoritarian Spain and those regimes in Communist Europe with strong totalitarian or frozen post-totalitarian features, such as the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, and the Baltic republics. There the weakness of civil society and political society before the transition started and during the course of the transition made the more spontaneous actions of citizens congregating in squares, churches, and streets (like those in Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin, Prague, Sofia, and finally in Timisoara and Bucharest) play a much greater role in the crisis of those regimes and their collapse or the initiation of a transformation from above. In some of those cases, there was a serious possibility of a violent Tiananmen Square denouement, an outcome less likely in Spain (except perhaps in the Basque Country) due to the mediating role of civil organizations and the leaders of an incipient political society. The massive demonstration in Spain in February 1977, after the murder of Communist labor lawyers—the Atocha murders—is one example; their lying-in-state at the bar association offices in the Supreme Court building, the authorized character of the mass demonstration, and the control of the militants by the PCE made this an important but orderly event. In this context of heightened societal pressure for and expectations of change, the regime's political leaders, especially Adolfo Suárez, initiated the law for political reform and were in charge when the first elections were held and when the constitution was drafted. Popular pressure kept the transition going forward and contributed to the dialectic captured by the well-known Spanish phrase *reforma pactada-ruptura pactada*. Nonetheless, since the regime played a key role at all stages of the transition, it is appropriate to call Spain a case of negotiated transition, which, consistent with our argument, is a format that avoids most of the problems of a "provisional government."

Concerning the implication of the character of the previous nondemocratic regime, we argued in table 4.3 that it is conceivable that in the later stages of an authoritarian regime a country could arrive at a set of conditions vis-à-vis civil

tional Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, September 21–23, 1989, 22 and 27. For a similar argument with supporting documentation, see Rodrigo, "El camino hacia la democracia," 21–32, and Stepan, *Rethinking Military Politics*, 118–21.

society, constitutionalism and rule of law, the state bureaucracy, and economic society that would be quite supportive of democratic consolidation, if there was a democratic transition. Spain is the clearest example of the phenomenon. In the words of Víctor Pérez-Díaz, "by the time we get to the mid-70s the economic, social and cultural institutions of Spain were already quite close to those of Western Europe, and the cultural beliefs, normative orientation and attitudes that go with the workings of these institutions were also close to European ones. This is one of the reasons why the political change to democracy worked so swiftly."[37] He further notes that, by the mid-70s (just before the transition), "Spain's economy was a modern economy, ranking tenth among capitalist economies throughout the world, with a large industrial sector, a booming service sector and its agriculture undergoing rapid transformation."[38] Indeed, the Spanish economy had benefited from the overall development of Western Europe, and between 1961 and 1970 it had a growth rate of 7.3 percent, one of the highest in the world.[39] The Spanish transition is particularly relevant to the debates about economic factors in transitions and consolidations of new democracies. The robust economic development in Spain in the 1960s contributed indirectly to the transition by generating a more complex and free society in which there were considerable working class protests and strikes, first on economic issues and later on solidarity demands. In the moment of transition, Spain's close network of organizations limited anomic and violent action, possibly because everybody had something to lose in disorder. However, there was no direct relationship between prolonged economic growth and the onset of the transition nor to the specific political processes leading to democracy. Spain had reached a level of development that should have led to democratization quite a few years before Franco's death in 1975. The business class did not press for change by articulating arguments that the regime had served its function or that further development required democratization. Business did not oppose democratization and might have even privately supported it, but business played no active public role bringing about democracy.

Of the five arenas that were crucial for the consolidation of democracy, as argued in chapter one, Spain began its transition with reasonable supportive conditions in all of the arenas except political society. Democratic crafters and supporters inherited a civil society already robust and reasonably differentiated, an economic society that needed restructuring but was already institutionalized, a state apparatus tainted with authoritarianism but usable (and certainly so by the first democratically elected government, which came from its ranks), and a reasonably strong recent tradition of rule of law.

37. Pérez-Díaz, "Emergence of a Democratic Spain," 14. This is true even in the area of political preferences. For example, although, until shortly before the 1977 elections, the public recognition of leaders and the large number of emerging parties were small, the Spaniards, even before the death of Franco and especially after the transition began, could clearly place themselves on the left-right dimension and express their preference for one or another of the ideological tendencies in the European political spectrum. Most Spaniards from the daily news were quite familiar with European politics and parties. In this respect Spain was very different from most post-totalitarian societies and particularly from the former USSR.

38. Ibid.

39. See J. M. Maravall, "Economic Reforms in New Democracies: The Southern European Experience," *East South System Transformations*, Working Paper #3 (Oct. 1990), Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, 3. For a more detailed evaluation of areas of economic strength and weakness of the Franco regime in 1960–75, see José María Maravall, *Los resultados de la democracia: Un estudio del sur y el este de Europa* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1995), 61–104.

Given this situation we do not feel that international influence was critical for Spain's transition and consolidation (as we will argue it was for Portugal), but it certainly was systematically supportive. Democracy in Spain, in fact, was already consolidated before Spain entered the European Economic Community in 1986. However, the fact that the EEC was solidly democratic, and had "set up a stable pattern of rewards and disincentives" for would-be members was helpful to Spain's transition and consolidation.[40] As the former Socialist Minister, José M. Maravall, has noted, "Adolfo Suárez presented Spain's request for membership to the EEC in 1977 and the totality of parliamentary parties supported him. It was widely believed that international isolation and the dictatorship had been closely connected in recent Spanish history. The European Community was seen as a symbol of democracy and development; this symbol had been very important in the struggle against Francoism. Joining the EEC was believed to be a decisive step for the consolidation of democracy."[41] Foreign policies toward Spain and the prevailing *Zeitgeist* in Western Europe were thus very supportive of democratic transition and consolidation. The diffusion effect was also helpful for Spain. The 1974 Portuguese Revolution encouraged some Spanish proregime leaders to push the democratic transition forward rather than wait for a reaction from below, and the loss of the king's throne in Greece probably encouraged King Juan Carlos to support a regime-led democratic transition.

The political economy of legitimacy is extremely interesting because there is absolutely no doubt that the economic situation of Spain deteriorated sharply during the transition and did not improve until three years *after* consolidation in 1982. Spanish unemployment in the early 1970s under Franco was one of the lowest in Europe, hovering around 3 percent. With the transition to democracy, unemployment rose dramatically—in fact, Spain's 20 percent unemployment rate in the mid-1980s was the highest in Western Europe. Economic growth rates, which averaged over 7 percent from 1960 to 1974 and were among the highest in the world, averaged only 1.7 percent between 1975 and 1985.[42] The hypothesis of a tightly coupled relationship between economic efficiency and political legitimacy would lead

40. Whitehead, "International Aspects of Democratization," 22.

41. Maravall, "Economic Reforms in New Democracies," 16.

42. The Spanish unemployment data are from Banco de Bilbao, Economic Research Department, *Situación: Review of the Spanish Economy*, International Edition, no. 10–11, 1986. The Spanish growth rates are derived from *United Nations Statistical Yearbook*, 1976, 1982, and Economic Intelligence Unit, *Quarterly Reports: Spain* (2nd quarter 1986).

us to predict a corresponding decline in the legitimacy of democracy. Although the polls showed a sharp decline in the belief in the socioeconomic efficacy of the regime, there was a significant increase in the number of citizens who answered affirmatively to the question "Is democracy the best political system for a country like ours?"[43] As with the Dutch in the mid-1930s, the Spanish in the 1980s, despite economic decline, struggled all the harder to make the democratic regime work because no alternative seemed more appropriate. Helped by the fact that Spain had started with a reasonably good economy, the sequence of reform actually followed was first political, second social, and only third, economic.[44]

Our final conditioning variable is the constitution-adoption formula. In the absence of a sultanistic background or an armed conflict within the state, a constitution imposed by a provisional government was precluded. The relative absence of the military in the day-to-day governing process of the old authoritarian regime and the fact that the transition was being led by the regime's civilian leaders meant that the military did not attempt to impose authoritarian prerogatives or confining conditions on the constituent assembly.[45] The civil war legacy, the great socioeconomic changes since the 1930s, and the fact that the Franco government had been in power for forty years virtually precluded a restoration. These factors, together with the constant pressure of the democratic opposition, led the regime's leaders to adopt the free constitution-making formula. Within this formula, Spain elected the consensual as opposed to the majoritarian style of constitution making. The issue of consensus underlying the political process of the transition and above all the constitution-making process was emphasized by Suárez in a speech before the Congress of Deputies on April 5, 1978 in these terms:

> During a constituent process, the Government must limit the reach of its options, maintaining the level of dissensus at levels which are not substantial, because that is the only way to avoid what would be the most grave danger to the body politic: the nonexistence of a concord located in the country at its roots, concerning the basic elements of national coexistence. This transitory situation, characteristic of all constituent periods, conditions all aspects of political action. . . . the Constitution, as an expression of national concord, must be obtained by consensus, for which it is necessary to take into account the diverse political forces now present."[46]

43. We develop this argument at greater length in Stepan and Linz, "Political Crafting of Democratic Consolidation or Destruction: European and South American Comparisons," in Robert A. Pastor, ed., *Democracy in the Americas: Stopping the Pendulum* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1989), 42–48; the quote is from p. 43.

44. The seminal work on the sequencing of reform in southern Europe is Maravall, "Economic Reforms in New Democracies." Given the "simultaneity" problem that all post-Communist polities faced, this sequencing was (unfortunately) not considered seriously in that region. Even in the South American countries, the choice, everywhere but Chile, has been to address deep debt-related problems and political problems simultaneously.

45. On this key point see the excellent dissertation by Rodrigo, "El camino hacia la democracia," 273–77.

46. The distinction between the consensual and the majoritarian styles of democratic policy making is developed in Arend Lijphart, *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarianism and Consensus in Twenty-one Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 1–36.

The result of the consensual approach to constitution drafting was that the constitution was approved in the lower house by 325, with only 6 votes against and 8 abstentions. To get maximum legitimacy for the new constitution, the Spanish leaders chose to have their collective work submitted to a constitutional referendum where, as we saw, it obtained about 88 percent approval.[47] *None* of the other twelve countries we consider in this volume carried out all of these steps. Probably the most significant consequence of the consensual process is that, ten years after the death of Franco, 65 percent of those polled felt that the constitution "was an accord among almost all political parties," whereas only 10 percent felt it was "imposition by one party on the other." In answer to the question, "Whose ideas prevailed in the constitution—'right,' 'left,' 'center', 'everyone' or 'no one in particular'?" the answer "everyone" was agreed to by 57 percent, whereas the next highest was the "center" with 7 percent.[48] The constitution, therefore, was and is an element of popular consensus in the new democracy.

We do not want to leave the impression that democratic consolidation in Spain was overdetermined by our variables. We have acknowledged the delicacy of the question of stateness, the severity of the military threat to Spanish democracy in February 1981, and the indispensability of the skill and imagination of party leaders and the king for success. Nevertheless, in comparative terms, Spain began the transition with very favorable conditions. This would not have been the case had Spain begun the transition from a totalitarian, post-totalitarian, or sultanistic base. However, as we shall see when we examine Portugal, a transition that begins with a coup by a nonhierarchical military confronts vastly more complicated circumstances, even though it shares the same typological origin as an authoritarian regime.

At the time of making final revisions to our book, the Spanish government is in the midst of a serious crisis unrelated to the transition. This crisis is due to revelations of corruption on the part of the head of the Bank of Spain and the first civilian and socialist head of the Guardia Civil, tolerance or support for the anti-ETA terrorism of the clandestine organization called GAL (Grupos Anti-terroristas de Liberación), the cover-up of the death of an ETA member at the hands of the police, and widespread telephone tapping.

A mixture of complexities derived from the constructive vote of no confidence and the interests of the Catalan party—Convergència i Unió—delayed dissolution and new elections. However, no one questioned the democratic institutions, and the response was the calling of early elections for March, 1996. In this case, the quality of democracy does not jeopardize the consolidation of democracy; in fact, in this and other cases, one could argue that the relative invulnerability of democratic institutions to bad government is proof of consolidation.

47. For the votes see Linz, "Innovative Leadership in the Transitions," 185. On the constitution-making process see Bonime-Blanc, *Spain's Transition to Democracy.*

48. "Actitudes y opiniones de los españoles ante la constitución," 50–51.