



Military Studies in a post-truth society: Challenges and perspectives

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2. The Armed Forces and the Society in a Spain in crisis: Cospedal's policy of security and defense (2016-2018)

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In this paper we will analyze the security and defense policy developed by the new and inexperienced Minister of Defense, María Dolores de Cospedal, between 2016 and 2018, that is, in the last two years of the seven-year period of the government of the conservative leader Mariano Rajoy. One of the topics we will study is the relationship between Spain and the rest of the NATO members, which, like the European Union, was (and has been) seriously affected by the election of the president of the United States, Donald Trump, in the elections of 2016. He questioned the Allied defense and, in addition, ostensibly demanded of the rest of allies (in particular, Germany, but also Spain) a minimum of 2% of GDP in military inversions.

As we have just pointed out, Trump's election also had a more than remarkable impact on the European Union, which, as a result, began to take firmer steps towards a true Europe of defense. Precisely, one of the elements that a priori draws attention in Cospedal's policy of security and defense was its clear Europeanism, perfectly compatible with the Spanish-centric nationalism characteristic of the time when Rajoy was in the government.

Another of the key issues of the security and defense policy throughout the story of the Spanish democracy is the obscurantist military spending. Associated with this, another aspect of required analysis will be the stock and industrial policy, also strongly interlinked, so much so that one can perfectly speak of a military-industrial mini-complex in Spain, with an added element of politics and even of trade unions. From the perspective of a post-militarist theory, it is clear that the rearmament policies are framed within the "culture of armament".

During the two years Cospedal was in charge, there were still incidents that could be framed within the aforementioned post-militarism or even a neo-praetorianism originated by General Mena and his pre-coup in January 2006. However, we will also find episodes that undoubtedly have more to do with the preservation of an anachronistic and unconstitutional military-Catholicism within the Armed Forces than with anything else.

However, the great event at the end of Rajoy's seven-year government of Rajoy was undoubtedly the so-called Catalan independence referendum on October 1, 2017 and the events that took place before and afterwards, which are part of the process (in Catalan, "procés") of Catalan independence. Contrary to what could have been predicted, neo-praetorianism was practically absent during the weeks (and even months) before and after October 1. More than an intervention of the military in politics, what happened was, let us be ironic, an intervention of politicians in the militia. Finally, from the perspective of national security, one of the most striking aspects of the "process" was Russia's intense intervention in it.

3. Can you pronounce pronunciamento? Success or failure of military take-overs and Civil-military relations in Portugal and Brasil (1889-2019)?

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Finer made the point that what is amazing is not how often the military takes-over power, but how rarely it does, given how powerful it is in organization and capabilities. The turbulent past century in Portugal and Brazil have led to many appeals to and many attempts of military take-