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### Key Events in Transformation of Spanish Foreign Policy

This article basically reveals some keystone events in transforming Spain's foreign policy as well as representing the multifaceted and complex nature of the Spanish integration process into European Community on the basis of theories of famous figures of political sciences and current political trends. It also seeks to highlight the internal and external dynamics which influence the workings of Spain foreign policy department and its relationship with the rest the world. In the turn of millennia, Spanish foreign policy has centered around four overarching issues: Europeanization of foreign policy; a national security review; external peacekeeping operations; and restructuring European security institutions.

**Key words:** European Union, NATO, security, foreign policy.

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#### Испан сыртқы саясатының трансформациясындағы негізгі оқиғалар

Бұл мақала Испания сыртқы саясатының трансформациясындағы басты оқиғаларды айқындап, Испанияның Еуропалық Қауымдастықпен ықпалдасуының сан қырлы әрі күрделі үрдісін танымал саясаттанушылар мен заманауи саяси ағымдарға негіздейді. Сонымен қатар ол Испанияның сыртқы істер ведомстволарының жұмысы мен оның әлеммен қатынасына әсер еткен сыртқы және ішкі динамизмді бөліп көрсетеді. Мыңжылдықтар тоғысында испан сыртқы саясаты үшін басты төрт мәселеге назар аударылған: сыртқы саясаттың еуропалануы; ұлттық қауіпсіздікті қайта қарастыру; бейбітшілікті сақтау бойынша сыртқы операциялар; Еуропа қауіпсіздік ұйымдарын қайта құрылымдау.

**Түйін сөздер:** Еуропалық Одақ, НАТО, қауіпсіздік, сыртқы саясат.

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#### Основные события в трансформации испанской внешней политики

В статье освещаются ключевые события в трансформации испанской внешней политики, а также многогранный и сложный характер процесса интеграции Испании в Европейское сообщество. В основу анализа положены теории известных политологов и политических школ. Выделяется внутренний и внешний динамизм, влияющий как на внешнеполитическое ведомство Испании, так и на отношения этой страны с остальным миром. На стыке тысячелетий испанская внешняя политика была сосредоточена вокруг четырех общих вопросов: европеизация внешней политики, пересмотр национальной безопасности, внешние операции по поддержанию мира, а также реструктуризация европейских институтов безопасности.

**Ключевые слова:** Европейский союз, НАТО, безопасность, внешняя политика.

The subject of the position of Spain in the world (through history, recent times, and today) has been described by scholars and casual observers by a combination of qualifiers. It is considered paradoxical, unique and influential, riddled with isolation and ambition, resulting in frustration and success. In any event, Spain's record in modern

times has to be considered as below its potential in historical terms, geographical position, culture and world presence through migration and the results of the empire. In any way, Spain deserves to be included among one of about twenty five countries that, for one reason or another, play a role in the overall current global panorama [1].

One of the main objectives of Spain's membership of the EC/EU has been to be able to develop an extensive international voice. To be able to participate as a foreign policy actor in international affairs has been an achievement that brought the end of isolationism in Spain. However, there have been issues of special significance for Spanish foreign policy related to the Maghreb, Mediterranean, Middle East and Latin America. In the above areas, Spain wanted to be the initiator in addition to an expressed interest and participation in common policies. The issues of special significance for Spain were regarded as its privileged areas. In order to achieve its objective, which was to be able to participate effectively in all issues of European foreign policy, Spain had to Europeanize its privileged areas, so as to let other Member States have a say and also to guarantee the EU common action. Spain has only totally Europeanized the three of the four areas mentioned above. In the areas of the Maghreb, Mediterranean and the Middle East, Spain created a pro-Mediterranean lobby in the EU, supported the selection of these areas as liable to joint actions and worked towards the transfer of resources to Maghreb on grounds of conflict prevention mechanism. However, Spain perceived Latin America not as an area of risk but of prestige. Relations with Latin America do not affect Spain's security but rather its identity and values. Thus, Spain pressured the Community to transfer more resources to Latin America, such as the San Jose group efforts, but kept the Europeanization of it in the EC pillar only [2].

Latin America is still an area for primarily bilateral relations for Spain in the issues covered by CFSP. It has never formed an area for CFSP joint action of the EU and most of the EU agreements with Latin American States or groups, like Mercosur, are described as lacking substance, if compared with States such as Central and Eastern European or even Southern Mediterranean States [3]. They express the interest for cooperation and the offering of aid but in the end, they do not provide any structure for the realization of them. The official explanation given by Spanish officials is that Latin America is not significant for European security and therefore there is no reason for it to form part of the CFSP considerations [4]. However, there is another explanation that wants Latin America to be an exclusive privileged domain for Spanish foreign policy because of the close cultural links.

As a result of its great interest in foreign policy

and its remarkable activism and greater international commitment, the Spanish image was given a boost, particularly thanks to its diplomatic skills. After a long period of isolation, Spain participated in the UN peacekeeping forces, became a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council and participated in the commitment, of 'four-plus-one' for Bosnia-Herzegovina [5].

In order to achieve the effectiveness of its participation in EPC/CFSP, Spain restructured its foreign policy administration to adjust it to that of the other Member States. The issues of CFSP are the responsibility of the General Directorate for Foreign Policy headed by a Political Director and assisted by a Deputy Director for CFSP. The significance of CFSP being dealt with by the same General Directorate that deals with the bilateral foreign political relations of Spain as well is that unlike Greece, there is not any artificial separation between issues of national and European concern in CFSP. This has increased both the efficiency of Spanish participation in CFSP and the effective incorporation of the Spanish priorities in the European agenda. Another aspect that reinforced the effectiveness of Spanish participation is the continuity of both the administration personnel in Madrid and the representation in Brussels. After the change of government, in the spring of 1996, the Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar, not only maintained the experienced diplomatic personnel but also demonstrated signs of continuity when he appointed Abel Matutes, the former EC Commissioner, as the new foreign minister. However, there have been growing concerns that the governing Popular Party is changing the manner of Spanish participation in CFSP, perhaps by a different perception of the European common foreign policy.

This Spanish achievement can be explained by four main factors. First, Spain demonstrates an achieved degree of influence and reputation because of its European commitment and constructive participation. This reputation of an institutional player added to the trustworthiness of Spanish politicians and diplomats to lead EU joint actions. The second factor is the existence of what can be described as a positive strategy to achieve these key-positions. However, this is not a formal strategy developed by the Spanish government or the administration. It is more like an informal process of support of any Spanish candidature in Europe regardless of her/his party political origins. That was the case during the socialist government and it is still

the case today. The third factor is the charismatic leadership. Felipe Gonzalez has been a personality of wide admiration and acceptance on the international stage. Gonzalez chose the path of cooperation and constructive contribution in the EC/EU, and this has added to his image as an influential leader and a consensus-builder. Finally, there is also an element of quality of Spanish political culture, particularly in Spanish politicians and diplomats that makes them respectable and adequate for international posts responsibility. This is part of a process of building an advanced political culture, which developed after the start of the democratization process in Spain from the mid-1970s. This process was the one of two objectives that Spain wanted to achieve from membership of the EU. The first was to end its isolationism in world affairs and the second was to start a process of modernization of its political structures. The success of the modernization process is illustrated in the Spanish political culture.

In Madrid, the prospects of creating a pan-European system of security and cooperation considered to be of great importance.

According to the Spanish military and political leadership, the system should be built on the basis of five principles:

- The principle of maintaining the transatlantic cooperation;
- The principle of elaboration and implementation of a common foreign and security policy within the EU and to create a single Western European defense system in the future;
- The principle of filling the «security vacuum», formed by the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, extending the range of Western European security system in the East, but in the interests of Russia;
- The principle of the zone of peace and stability in the Mediterranean region, special attention to this region in modern times, as the most dangerous in terms of possible crisis situations;
- The principle of creating favorable conditions for the implementation of the agreements on arms reduction and nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction [2].

Spain is concerned that with end of the «cold war» confrontation national interests of individual Western European countries began to arise making them more tangible among European countries. If in the past the supranational or collective interests seemed to be the main issue in the face of a common threat from the East, now national egoism is increasingly taking over. At the current stage

of construction of the European security system, according to Madrid, it is extremely important to find an appropriate balance between national and collective interests. End of the «cold war» in Europe has led to a paradoxical result, the weakening of a global nuclear conflict threat was accompanied by an increase in the number and intensity of instability centers.

Thus, some analysts' forecasts are coming true that after the collapse of the socialist camp hovering over the West, the absence of a «historical enemy» might be even more serious danger.

In the conceptual development of a new model of pan-European system of security and cooperation Spaniards consistently identify two key and interrelated elements: the place and role of NATO and European common security and foreign policy in the future of European architecture [6].

According to the Spanish establishment NATO has some certain tasks in modern conditions which would lay a solid foundation for a new European security system. This involves the idea that NATO should urgently develop a strategy for the use of preventive measures to avoid conflicts or reduce their intensity. So, the provision of humanitarian assistance to the conflicting parties, the search mechanisms of interaction with the UN, OSCE and other organizations remain still relevant.

This will require, according to Spain, a radical change in NATO's military structure and understanding the forms of cooperation with non-member countries of the alliance [7].

An important role in the creation of a European system of security and cooperation could be played by the «Partnership for Peace» program. It is believed that with the proper organizational and political filling «Partnership for Peace» can become a bridge between East and West, some prototype of the future system of security and even cooperation within the continent. Spaniards are more inclined to such a model in which the expansion of NATO would be done in close coordination with the EU enlargement and in the overall context of security and cooperation.

Developing this idea, the Ministry of Defense of Spain J. Garcia Vargas stressed that the accession of Eastern European countries to NATO should be gradual so that new countries could smoothly adapt to the new for their organizational, political, and military specifications [8].

Spaniards have consistently spoken in favor of the development of a «European identity» in the

military-political issues, believing that Western European integration cannot be built otherwise. Within the framework of the discussions on the transformation of the WEU Spaniards were supporters of the option for gradual but complete merging it with the EU with the transfer on creating united set of defense along with the objectives set out in the Petersberg Declaration on Peacekeeping Operations, Humanitarian Action and rescue operations [9].

WEU would put in an equal position with NATO, while maintaining the role of the latter as the transatlantic bond. Spaniards understood that at that stage, this position was rather the nature of interrogation, and with the approach of London and Washington, as well as changing the position of Paris, had no chance of being realized in the short

term. Therefore, due to the ambiguity of approaches to this issue in different countries of the EU, the Spaniards began to demonstrate their willingness to accept the formula of the gradual integration of the EU and WEU, while their rapprochement with NATO.

Spanish foreign policy in the past three decades has achieved mixed results. The reformist drive continues, with the expected approval of the EU. The external dimension of the Spanish position on security has improved mainly because of the diplomatic activities in 90s mentioned above. However, there are still some areas to work on because in order to prepare for potential upcoming challenges, Spanish foreign policy must undergo a progressive reorientation towards positions that are more in line with changes in the global set-up.

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