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**Spain's Arab and Mediterranean
policy.**

Abstracts.

ABSTRACTS

Spain in the Mediterranean: between Spanish-Arab Relations and Recognition of the State of Israel

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This article focuses on the impact which, in Spanish-Arab relations, caused the birth of the State of Israel in the context of Spanish foreign policy. The international isolation imposed by the United Nations on the Franco regime after the end of the Second World War influenced the recognition of the new State and Spain's establishing of diplomatic relations up until 1986. This historical view helps to explain why relations with the Arab world became a priority for the successive Spanish governments which sometimes out of a conviction of the existence of an historic debt to the Arab governments, sometimes through a mythification of the possible consequences of recognising the State of Israel, sometimes out of political convenience for one side or another resulted in almost three decades of disagreements between the two countries, Spain and Israel, which in turn also share historical links.

Key words: Spain, foreign policy, history, Arab world, Israel

Spain's Mediterranean Policy: between the Barcelona Process and the European Neighbourhood Policy

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This article analyses the evolution of Spain's position with respect to the two main cooperation initiatives in the Mediterranean space: the Barcelona Process and the European Neighbourhood Policy. Firstly, it shows Spain's role as a driving force, both in the launching of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership in 1995 and in the impetus provided 10 years later by the holding of the extraordinary Euro-Mediterranean Summit. Secondly, the article examines the progressive adaptation of Spain's discourse towards the European Neighbourhood Policy, trying to maximise Spain's preferences with respect to its neighbours without this endangering the survival of the Barcelona Process. Finally, the authors identify some of the proposals recently set forth for Euro-Mediterranean cooperation, such as the Advanced Statute for Morocco and the French proposal of the Mediterranean Union. In the light of these possible future scenarios, Spanish diplomacy must guarantee its influence within the EU's Mediterranean policy.

Key words: Spain, Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, European Neighbourhood Policy, Europeisation, Morocco.

The Partido Popular and Spain's Policy toward the Maghreb Region

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As an actor in Spain's foreign policy toward the Maghreb region, in the years following its founding, the Partido Popular did not have a clear model to follow on the issue, as a result of which the party adopted the general lines of the Socialist party's approach and discourse on the promotion of economic development and stability in the region. The initial continuism of José María Aznar's governments in this field was also driven by an economics-inspired pragmatism. The turning point took place in the final stretch of Aznar's second term of office, with the international repercussions from the September 11 attacks, the crisis with Morocco, Aznar's increasing presidential style of government and the ideologisation of the government's foreign policy. After losing power and moving over to the opposition, both the PP and its social environment experienced a certain bifurcation between the discourses of an eminently realist sector and another sector that was more influenced by US neo-conservatism.

Key words: Spain, Maghreb, foreign policy, Morocco, political parties

Cooperation in Terms of Defence between Spain and the Countries of the Maghreb Region

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Cooperation between Spain and the Maghreb states in the area of defence represents a sphere that includes long-term historical links (for example, with Morocco) with other relations that have been developing in recent years, and at varying rates of intensity. The progressive normalising of the situation in Algeria since the 1990s, the raising of the UN embargo against Libya and the rise of what are called “new dangers” (all kinds of illegal trading and a style of terrorism that is increasingly transnational and lethal) has led the states together with Mauritania and Tunisia to call for aid and cooperation from members such as Spain. Meanwhile, the revitalisation of the 5+5 group, even though it does not involve greater sub-regional cooperation in the Maghreb region, is encouraging North-South links which had until then been bilateralised, and since December 2004 the group has included the issue of defence on its agenda.

Key words: Maghreb, Spain, cooperation, defence

Spain in the Construction of the Euro- African Migrations Scenario

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During 2005, several events took place on the external borders of the European Union that caught the attention of the media and brought management and control of these borders onto the EU political agenda. Having acknowledged that a global approach to migrations is required, the EU has stated the need for its immigration policy to possess a coherent external affairs dimension, and recognises that both the Mediterranean and Africa have become priority regions. In December 2005, and in the Conclusions of the Presidency of the Council of Brussels, the Union acknowledged the growing importance of the phenomenon of migration within its territory, and highlighted the need to find a global

approach that would signify, at the very minimum, increased dialogue and cooperation with the African nations and with all the countries within the Mediterranean space. To this end, the Euro-African Conference on Migrations and Development, held in Rabat in 2006, was the first and the most visible gesture toward a consolidation of the acknowledgment that the management of migration flows requires the participation of the countries of origin, transit and destination; that is to say, the countries of Europe, North Africa and the sub-Saharan region. The aim of this article is to reflect on the role that Spain has played in the political organisation of the Euro-African migrations scenario.

Key words: Migration policy, migration flows, CAJI, external relations, European Union, Mediterranean, sub-Saharan Africa.

Spain and Mediterranean Security Governance: Neighbours, Spaces and Actors

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The 1999 Tampere Summit marked the start of the development of the external dimension of the European Union's policy of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA). This external dimension has been reflected in the inclusion of JHA in agreements with third countries, and particularly with Mediterranean countries. Furthermore, the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), in addition to bilateral and multilateral programmes, confirmed the transformation of the JHA policy into one of the EU's foreign policy objectives. In the light of this evolution, this article examines Spain's role in the development of the Mediterranean dimension of the JHA policy: firstly, it covers the stance of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's government toward the JHA policy and its external dimension; secondly, it explores the new parameters of governance in the area of security and the Spanish case through three main factors: the neighbours, spaces and actors that define this governance. Lastly, and within a context of a multiplicity of governance actors on security, it focuses on the Canary Islands, which have acquired a central importance with respect to the management of borders and the policy of development for Africa. The analysis of this period helps to explain the new security perceptions that define Spain's policy in the Mediterranean.

Key words: Spain, European Union, Justice and Home Affairs (JHA), European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), Mediterranean

Spain and the Western Sahara: the Political Party Dimension

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Since the Spanish army's hasty withdrawal from Western Sahara in 1975, the two main parties since Spain acquired its democracy have differed over what stance should be taken with respect to the Sahara issue. The aim of this article is to establish to what extent this is the result of the opposing government/opposition dynamic and how far it is a result of the parties' own stances, by analysing the evolution of their attitudes and approaches with respect to the Sahara issue. The hypothesis is that the Spanish parties' position with respect to Algeria and Morocco was initially very much determined by their view of the Sahara issue, but that there has been an inversion of this attitude. Thus at present, opposing stances on the Sahara issue are mainly the result of different views on Spain's interests in the Maghreb region and, above all, of different ideas about which country Morocco or Algeria should benefit most from bilateral relations.

Key words: Spain, Western Sahara, Algeria, Morocco, foreign policy

The Image of Spain and Morocco in the Moroccan and Spanish Press during the Incident of the Islet of Perejil (Leyla)

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The article analyses a total of 1,133 news items published in the Francophone Moroccan press (*Le Matin du Sahara et du Mahgreb*, *Maroc Hebdo International* and *L'Économiste*) and the nationally-distributed Spanish press (*El País*, *ABC* and *El Mundo*) during the territorial dispute over the isle of Leyla/Perejil in July 2002. The authors embark upon an analysis of published discourse, structuring it according to the distinction between the principles of pro-conflict and pro-peace journalism, as developed by Jake Lynch *et*

al. (1997). The researching authors obtained high indications of pro-conflict journalism, and from both sides: i.e. paying priority attention to armed action, polarisation, narrative hyperbole, orientation towards elites, propaganda, and even dehumanisation. Even so, there was also the occasional example of pro-peace journalism: a sense of humour, playing down the importance of the incident, and monitoring the declarations from both sides, sometimes extensively.

Key words: Spain, Morocco, media, conflict

Spain and the Promotion of Governance in Algeria

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This article examines the reasons why Spain which possesses a consolidated democratic regime continues to promote democracy and even good governance in certain countries in such an uncertain, ambiguous manner. Recent events, such as the impact of international terrorism, have meant that there is an even more urgent need for providing democratic assistance to the neighbouring countries of the Maghreb region. In spite of its initial limitations and slants, the very concept of governance would represent a non-intrusive promotion of democracy. Nevertheless, Spain's actors in the field of foreign policy and cooperation with development (as the case of Algeria illustrates perfectly) have been clearly reluctant to commit themselves to this course of action. Spain's patent energy dependence on Algeria (a fact that is often put forward as the main explanatory reason) is called into question, with an argument based not only on the evidence of Spanish action in other countries in regions (such as Tunisia and Latin America), but also in an analysis of the discourses and instruments of Spanish foreign policy. As an alternative explanation, it is suggested that practices that have long been used in Spain's "Arab" foreign policy, the pending reform of the external service, the Europeanisation of external action and the "second-player syndrome" (i.e. second to France), provide a better explanation of Spain's ambiguousness and of its slow abandonment of policies that favour the *status quo*.

Key words: Algeria, governance, Spain, democracy, governability, international relations, foreign policy

Spain and the Hamas government

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Since the restoration of democracy, Spain's successive governments have been noted for their favourable stance toward the issue of Palestine and their support for the creation of a sovereign independent state in the territories that Israel occupied during the Six-Day War. Yasser Arafat's visit to Spain in the time of the UCD, the holding of the Madrid Conference during the term of government of the PSOE and the designation of Miguel Ángel Moratinos as the EU's special envoy for the Peace Process during the Partido Popular's term of government are some of the landmarks that have expressed this exemplary relationship between the Spanish State and the Palestine question. However, the victory of Hamas in the legislative elections of 25 January 2006 radically changed the situation, as it led to Rodríguez Zapatero's government joining the international boycott of the new Islamist executive; even so, the Spanish government clearly maintained its support for restarting the Peace Process, in the form of its backing for Mahmud Abbas, the President of the Palestine Authority. The armed conflict in Gaza in June 2007 which led to the Islamists retaking the Gaza Strip and the formation of a new government in the West Bank led by the technocrat Salam Fayad served to normalise the situation, given that it encouraged the raising of international sanctions and a return to normality in Spanish-Palestine relations.

Key words: Spain, Palestine, Israel, foreign policy

New Conceptions of Security in Spain: the Case of Hezbollah

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The interview that Miguel Ángel Moratinos held with Hezbollah's second-in-command, Naim Qassem, in July 2007, opened the doors to new ways of formulating relations with

political groups in the Middle East, as well as to a new way of promoting Spain's foreign policy, based on dialogue, cooperation and regional security. The two actors (Spain and Hezbollah) may achieve many benefits from this meeting, which has also been strengthened through subsequent trips by the Spanish Foreign Affairs Minister and by his French and Italian counterparts. In spite of this, owing to the unstable situation that the region is suffering from, this new policy may also result in a total failure that would delegitimise Spain as a valid interlocutor in the area. Depending on how Spain manages the situation, many benefits may be achieved, though also, depending on how the many actors in the region interact, possible failure may generate more threats and fractures, and not only for Spain but also for Europe and the international community.

Key words: Spain, Lebanon, European Union, cooperation, security, political movements, terrorism

Spain's Commitment to Lebanon: a New Role for Spain in the Near East?

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In summer 2006, Lebanon suffered the consequences of the open warfare between Israel and the Shi'ite organisation Hezbollah. Within this context, the Spanish government, together with the governments of some of its neighbouring countries, made an attempt to resolve the conflict. This commitment also became consolidated during the months following the period of military conflict, and through three lines of action: a large-scale military contribution in the context of the UN Security Council's Resolution 1701, the sending of economic aid to help rebuild the country and, finally, by intensifying political relations with Lebanon. This shift in policy is significant if we bear in mind the previous weakness of relations between the two countries; however, we can see that this deployment of resources did not have so much to do with Lebanon itself as it did with Spain's own interests. In this sense, we can understand that the crisis has been turned into a platform for the practical application of the main lines that determine the socialist government's external action.

Key words: Spain, Lebanon, Middle East, foreign policy, cooperation, peacekeeping, EU

The Junta de Andalucía's External Action in Morocco: the Case of International Cooperation for Development

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After 25 years of experience, International Cooperation for Development has become an important instrument for external action among many of Spain's autonomous communities. This is not only a result of the accompanying ethical and humanitarian dimension, but also of the social legitimacy that it provides in an area of external influence, where action has traditionally been monopolised by the State Government. This article analyses the Junta de Andalucía's external action toward Morocco through the case of the policy of International Cooperation for Development.

Key words: Spain, decentralized cooperation, Morocco, cooperation for development

Cooperation of Spain's Local World in the Euro-Mediterranean Space

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The growing participation of Spain's regions, provinces and municipalities in international cooperation has had and continues to have a particular importance in the Mediterranean area, though this has not always been sufficiently acknowledged and supported by the relevant Mediterranean and European authorities. In this cooperation space, two key elements are conjugated: firstly, the process of regional integration in the European space and, secondly, the promotion of a common area around the Mediterranean. At a time in which foreign policies and classic means of cooperation have shown signs of limitation in terms of the way in which they operate in the region, it seems a suitable moment to reflect on the role that public decentralised cooperation organised by Spain's local governments could have in the framework of the EU's new European Policy of Neighbourhood and Association.

Key words: Spain, Mediterranean, foreign policy, decentralized cooperation, EU