

Politics
And
International
Studies



079-052

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1 March 1993

Dear *Marcelino*,

Please find enclosed some chapter outlines prepared by Jonathan Story, which I hope you will find useful. They are somewhat provisional: a project planning meeting is to be held at Warwick in May and we will circulate final guidelines after that.

We have a preference for the papers to be presented in English, since that will help us to arrange for the final volume to be published in English and Spanish. However, if this presents real difficulties for any contributor, they should produce their paper in Spanish.

The next circular which you receive should be from Fernando Rodrigo as host of the workshop at CERI.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Richard'.

Richard Gillespie

THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC SPAIN: 1975-1992.

This is just a short note with a view to drawing up the main points for each chapter as envisaged by the editors. Obviously, each author may elaborate on his or her subject as they see fit. What follows is more in the form of the editors' guide in order to provide a broad overview of where we are heading.

Each chapter should be about 10,000 words in length, with adequate annotation. It would be helpful to close each chapter with a suggested reading list. Please place notes at the end of the chapter, rather than in brackets or at the bottom of the pages. Chapters should commence generally around 1975, though authors may go back further if they feel it is necessary.

Sections.

1. Introduction: a Framework for Analysis.

This chapter deals with the broad subject of external relations, while drawing on previous works dealing with the specific case of Spain.

- * the culturalist perspective
- * realism and interdependence
- * domestic origins and societal constraint
- * bureaucratic politics and state autonomy
- * embedded liberalism and the internationalisation of business
- * modernisation and regime change, a probabilistic approach.

PART ONE: Domestic Roots.

2. The History of Spain's External Relations, 1898-1975.

This chapter should provide the reader with a broad overview of Spain's external relations, starting perhaps with the Spanish-American war and dividing the subject into time periods. What follows is by way of suggestions:

- * 1898-1936: Hispanismo, Africa, neutrality, The League of Nations.
- * 1936-1945: Civil War and Europe; Franco's diplomacy
- * 1945-1957: United Nations, USA, the Vatican, Europe.
- * 1957-1975: A second best diplomacy (non-entry to EC/NATO)
- * 1975-1986: Entry to the EC and NATO.

3. The sources of Contemporary Spanish Foreign Policy.

This chapter should be more of an intellectual history of the key strands in the making of contemporary Spanish external relations:

- * the geopolitical perspectives
- * culturalist perspectives
- * legitimacy and international organisations
- * economic relations
- * Spain's identity and Europe.
- * Universalist strands in Spanish thinking.

4. The Political System and External Relations.

This chapter looks at the making of Spanish external relations essentially from an internal perspective. In order

to delimit the subject, its focus should be on policy-making in Madrid. The regions are dealt with in the next chapter. Let's assume an input/output flow through a black box called "process", as an organisational device. That leaves two parts to the chapter.

- *The organisation of external relations
- the traditional actors: head of state, prime minister, Foreign Minister
- the economic policy departments: Treasury, BoE, Industry, Agriculture
- Problems and means of coordination in the microcosm
- Political parties, and parliament.
- Corporate interests, unions etc.
- *The domestic process of foreign policy 1975-92.

5. Basques, Catalans and Andalusians in the International Arena.

This chapter elaborates first on the process of regionalisation, its introduction, implementation and effects. It then looks at the international dimension.

- The Constitution of 1978.
- The broad process of implementation
- The particularities of the three key regions.
- * their politics and external links.
- * their economic structures and relationships.
- Their governments' external relations
- *in the EC
- *in the global market for foreign investment
- Their perspectives on the Maastricht Treaty
- *Committee of Regions
- *The disintegration of multi-ethnic states.
- How the above affects their relations with Madrid.

6. The Political Economy and External Relations.

This chapter is central to an analysis of Spain in the contemporary world. Time covered is from about 1975 to the present. The chapter should cover both policy and performances.

- *External context of Spain in the world economy.
- *The economic policy institutions (content discussion)
- *Para-Public and private corporations.
- *Adjustment, privatisation, restructuring
- *Development of the social market economy
- *Problems of public finance
- *Unemployment, training, inequalities etc.

PART TWO: Spain in Europe.

7. Spain in the European Communities.

As mentioned in the outline, this chapter analyses the complex bi-multilateral process of negotiating entry, and the use to which membership has been put since 1986.

- * Brief overview of the 1975-93 period.
- * Prior business: domestic transition 1975-82
- * Eurostagnation and the French veto
- * The politics of overcoming the French veto 1983-86.

* The central functional issues (farm, fisheries, transition periods..)

- * Being in the "lead group": the SEA, and internal market
- * Spain and the Maastricht Treaty.

8. Spain and European Political Cooperation.

- * EPC and the Spanish transition.
- * EPC and the entry negotiations.
- * Spain's special contributions to EPC.
- * Effect of EPC on content of Spain's relations.
- * The experience of the Presidency.
- * Spain and the CFSP.

9. Spain and the Structural Funds.

A central focus of Spain's relations with the EC has been as leader of the group of poorer countries for an increase in the structural/cohesion funds. There are two aspects to this: what is the domestic sources of these demands, and how have the funds been allocated, to whom and for what purposes? What has been the diplomacy deployed by Madrid to secure them in the negotiations for entry, on the SEA, and during the Maastricht negotiations? Up to 1990, Germany played the role of Europayer. It is much less able to do so by 1993. This chapter may usefully trace the Kohl-Gonzalez relationship from 1982-3 to the present, as a major strand in Spain's external policy.

PART Three: Spain's Global Relations.

10. Spain and the United States.

- * US support for the transition.
- * The 1976 Treaty, and NATO entry.
- * The US, the Mediterranean and the Gulf.
- * The US impact on Spain (cultural, FDI etc)
- * Spain's relations with the US after 1986
- * Spain, the US and the end of the cold war.

11. Spain and Central and Latin America.

- * The Constitution and Hispanic America
- * Political and cultural links.
- * Regime change in Latin/Central America
- * ETA, Central America, and anti-terrorism
- * Spain, Latin America and the "Anglo-Saxons"
- * Spain, Latin America and Europe.

12. Spain, the Maghreb.

- * History: colonial era and decolonisation.
- * Population pressures, trade, fisheries.
- * Algerian radicalism and domestic politics.
- * Morocco, the monarchy, France.
- * Spanish military planning and the Straits.

13. Spain and the Middle East.

- * Franco, Israel, and Islam
- * Spain, the Netherlands and Israel (EC).
- * Oil diplomacy and Israel.
- * EC, NATO and Israel.
- * Spain's Arab-Israel policy.

PART FOUR: Spain and International Security.

14. Spain and NATO.

- * Franco and NATO.
- * The 1976-1982 Atlantic option.
- * The reform of the armed forces.
- * Policy on nuclear weapons
- * Technological implications
- * NATO reform 1990-93
- * Spain, NATO and "out-of-area" rules of engagement

15. Spain and the CSCE.

- * The roots of Spain's support for CSCE:1969-75
- * Spain 's policies from détente to second cold war
- * A Mediterranean SC
- * Disarmament and the CFE
- * The centrality of the EPC
- * The CSCE: the Paris Charter, law and its limits.

16. Spain in the United Nations.

The United Nations played a central role in Spain's foreign policy in the Franco years, and was then eclipsed with the focus on the transition and entry to the EC and NATO. Since the end of the cold war, the United Nations has been granted a new lease of life, as the world gropes for a substitute to the structures of the cold war. How does the United Nations feature in the formulation of Spain's policies after the cold war?

17. CONCLUSION.

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Thank you very much for
your letter. I am
happy you come to
I would be delighted to
join you in your discussion
in April if I am in
Madrid. But wish

Sr. D. Marcelino Oreja
Partido Popular

17 de Junio de 1992

Dear Sr. Oreja:

I am terribly sorry about what happened last month. Your fax, in response to mine of 7 April 1992, either was not received well by our departmental machine, or was somehow mislaid without its message being passed on to me.

I hope that it will be possible to interview you again in the future in relation to my own research project on Spanish policy in the Mediterranean region. Perhaps we will coincide in Madrid some time next year.

As for the essays I have been commissioned to write for the *Biographical Dictionary of the Makers of European Institutions*, I think I probably have sufficient information concerning your career, obtained from the EFE press archive. However, I would find it very useful if you could summarise for me in writing what you consider to have been the successes and the disappointments of your time as the General Secretary of the Council of Europe.

I was also hoping to talk to you last month about a collaborative research project which I am co-organising with Jonathan Story (INSEAD, Fontainebleau, author of *The New Europe*, forthcoming) and Benny Pollack (University of Liverpool, former Chilean diplomat at the UN, author of *The Paradox of Spanish Foreign Policy*). The project is entitled "The External Relations of Democratic Spain, 1975-1992" and its aims are contained in the enclosed outline (although please note that the sectional structure is to be amended slightly).

I mention this to you because, as you will see from the list of participants, in addition to a strong team of academic experts, we have invited a few political personalities to join in the discussions. Jordi Pujol's adviser on external activities is to join us, as is Fernando Morán. Due to your own valuable experiences and in order to establish political balance, we would be very pleased if you would agree to participate in the project.

Obviously, a lot will depend on the timing of the meetings, but an expression of interest in participating would be much appreciated. We are trying to organise a workshop in Spain for next April, and then a second one at Warwick or in Fontainebleau a year later. The project will culminate in 1995 with a conference at the new Centro Español de Relaciones Internacionales which is being established in Madrid by the Fundación Ortega y Gasset and the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence. The revised papers will be published in a book, hopefully in English and Spanish.

I hope to have details of the first meeting within a few weeks time.

With all good wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Richard Gillespie'.

Richard Gillespie

THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC SPAIN:1975-1992.

1. *Introductory Comments.*

Spain's domestic transition from a personal dictatorship to a constitutional monarchy, initiated around the time of the Franco regime's referendum on the Organic Law in December 1966, and culminating in the turbulent years of 1975-82, has been abundantly covered. The election to government in Madrid of the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE) in October 1982 is generally taken as the end of the period of domestic transition. There have been fewer studies on the regime's foreign policies, and even less on the transformation in Spain's external policies since the advent of Juan Carlos to the throne. There have been hardly any on the linkages between the domestic transition and the changes in world affairs. There have been none analysing the "new diplomacy", as Susan Strange has called it, between the institutions of the Spanish state and multinational corporations.

This gap in the literature on Spain's external relations, and the links into the country's domestic evolution, stands in contrast to the numerous studies over the past decades on the other major European countries. Germany, France and Great Britain have received abundant scholarly attention, though for distinct reasons. In Germany, the country's division forged a direct link between the domestic political and market domains, and relations between Bonn, its partners in the European Community, in the Atlantic alliance and western policy towards the Soviet Union. Scholarly studies abound on Great Britain's retreat from world status, and France's compensation for colonial empire through the redeployment of its energies into creating a western oriented European coalition. The foundations of Italy's post-war policies emphasising the "scelta Atlantica" and membership in the European Communities have been well covered, though the literature thins remarkably as Italy's weight in western counsels has risen.

Spain's external relations have been studied, but in piecemeal fashion. The period of the civil war, and of Franco's diplomacy during the world war, is well-ploughed territory. Interest then falls away during the years of Franco Spain's isolation, to pick up again with the regime's conclusion of the Concordat with the Vatican and the base agreements with the United States in 1953. Whitaker's "Spain and the Defense of the West: Ally or Liability" indicates the thematic approach, and was accompanied by impressions by French or American journalists of life in Spain. Occasionally, foreign ministers or senior diplomats, such as Castiella, Lopez Rodo, or Fernando Moran put pen to paper to explain their action *ex post*, or to lay out a foreign policy for the future. Alongside the volumes written on the Spanish domestic transition, the only studies available on the external relations of Franco, and then of the monarchy

are those by Armero. Benny Pollack and Graham Hunter's book, "The Paradox of Spanish Foreign Policy", is unique as a study on the continuities between the external policies of the regime and the constitutional monarchy.

Two questions spring to mind: why the piecemeal approach to the study on Spain's external relations, and what is the justification for undertaking the task now that the European Union is on the way to developing its own foreign and security dimension, in the aftermath of the Maastricht summit?

A brief answer to the first question would emphasise the internal orientation of discussions about Spain, as exemplified in the abundant literature on the transition. The predominant strands of thought on the Spanish transition tend to assume that the domestic evolution shaped external relations. The latter receive only the barest mention. A much less extensive group of writers have focussed on the external determinants of Spain's development, such as its geopolitical significance in the cold war, its vulnerability to oil shocks, or its position in world capitalism. The approach to be applied in this proposed study requires the elaboration of a framework for analysis that integrates the domestic and external approach, within the changing context of a world state and market system.

An answer to the second question requires reference to the literature on the European Communities. Whether analysing the EC from the realist or idealist tradition, all authors concur on the particularities of the policies pursued by the member states. Wessels and Bulmer in their study of the European Council have coined the term "cooperative federalism" to describe the mixture of intergovernmental cooperation and federalist practices within the workings of the Communities. The term is particularly applicable to relations of member states with third parties in that the "reserved domains" of member states' ties to non-EC member states remain significant, but have been buttressed by cooperation among member states towards the rest of the world or by a surrender of state powers to the federal elements within the EC constitution. At the same time, the member states preserve their network of special bilateral relations with the rest of the world. Spain is no exception. Its external relations thereby alter and are conditioned by membership in the European Union.

There is another answer to the query about whether it is worthwhile undertaking a study of one state's external relations, rather than focussing on the wider matter of the European Union. There is no certainty that the European Union will survive the transformation of the world political and market system from the familiar structure of the period from 1949-1989, to whatever emerges in its place. The Maastricht blueprint for a united Europe towards the end of the decade must run the

gauntlet of ratification in all twelve member states, the deep recession in the world political economy, the ramifications of the Soviet Union's disappearance, the exacerbation of nationalist sentiment within Europe resulting from the collapse of the party-states or the populist reaction to immigration from the South.

Spain has sought actively to promote European Union with a view to ranking among the lead states, and to ensuring the continued flow of funds southwards. But good will is not sufficient, and the funds are no longer readily available, as Germany is burdened by the cost of reconstruction in the five new regions, and faces a lengthening list of demands and challenges from its eastern neighbours. As the international system continues to be based on the principle of self-help, Spain must fend for itself as best it may. It prefers to do so within the European Union. But it must also consider that its preferences may not be attainable. It remains worthy of a study in its own right.

2. *The Research Project.*

The project's purpose, then, is informed by the ambition to make a case study out of Spain's domestic structures and processes, and its relations with Europe and the rest of the world. Those external relations, involving changing interactions between third parties and the evolution in the world state and market system, in turn impinge on domestic structures and processes. The organising concept is the relations between the two outward and inward linkages in the context of world politics and markets over this century, and in particular in the years since 1975.

The introductory section provides a framework for analysis. It seeks both to review the literature on Spain's external policies, and to place them within a discussion of theoretical approaches to external policies and international relations. The focus is on external rather than foreign relations, as the former concept incorporates a wider range of players than the latter and its important, but restrictive concern with the policies of foreign ministries or prime ministers. It also covers the discussions on regime change and modernisation, both pertinent to the subject of Spain's external relations.

The study is divided into four parts. PART ONE deals with the *domestic roots* of policy.

Spain's external relations from 1898 to 1992 serves as a starting point. The section introduces the broad sweep of Spain in world affairs from the war with the United States through to the celebratory year of 1992. Over most of this period, Spain's influence on the world stage was marginal, but the course of Spanish experience in the world played a significant part in domestic Spanish

affairs. Only since the early 1980s has Spain begun to fashion its own external environment effectively in a purposive fashion.

The sources of contemporary Spanish foreign policy requires a treatment of the debates within the Franco regime and during the formative years of the transition (especially 1982-86) about Spain's position in the world. This has involved differing views on Spain's history, on alliances with the world's maritime or continental powers, on relations with the Moslem neighbours and Latin America, or on the nature of the regime and attitudes towards international organisations. The section defines the central strands in the prevailing consensus, while pointing towards possible further modifications.

The political system and Spain's foreign policy has only been dealt with from the perspective of the Foreign Ministry or the debates in parliament and the media. But a country's external policies inevitably involves a variety of different functional ministries in international negotiations. Coordination of policy across ministries, including the central bank, becomes a central task. Within the political system, interests are mobilised and organised to represent, relay or block ministerial policies. The chapter broaches both the demand and supply of policies, identifying the network of relevant institutions, as well as the implementation of policies within Spain or the sharing of policy design and implementation in the international arena, through Spain's membership in international fora.

The political economy and external relations is central to an analysis of Spain in the contemporary world. The chapter introduces the context of Spain in the world economy, identifies the key economic policy institutions, (finance ministry, central bank, ministry of labour, business interests, farm representatives, trade unions etc), reviews the central market actors in the Spanish polyarchy (state or para-public corporations, multinationals, the banking sector and Spanish firms), and the country's performances within the global and European economy. A vital aspect of Spain's future competitiveness is population balance, and general access to and esteem for education and training.

PART TWO covers *four key bilateral aspects* of Spain in Europe.

Four sections are devoted to bilateral relations with Germany, France, Britain and Italy. Duroselle has pointed out in his book "Tout Empire périra" that any bilateral relationship holds twelve interacting dimensions, which may be portrayed in the form of a parallelogram, the four sides of which comprise diplomatic and transnational relations, and the relevant demands or supplies of policies within either state. In addition, societal or governmental actors will seek to appeal across boundaries

to allies or partners in the other country. This complex set of interactions is significantly modified by the existence of third parties. For instance, France might have indefinitely blocked Spain's entry to the EC, had it not been for the sea-change in French policy on Europe and towards Germany at the time of the missile crisis, and the crucial realignment of the franc in the ERM in 1983. Spain's relations with Italy, as another example, cannot be analysed without reference to the United States position in the Mediterranean, or the two countries' often competing relations to Latin America.

PART THREE covers *two aspects of the linkages between Spain's domestic and European relations.*

Regional dimensions of foreign policy are significant for a number of reasons. The three key regions are the Basques, Catalans and Andalusia. All three run their own foreign and economic policies, while complaining that Madrid is taking back central responsibilities as a result of membership in the EC. That has not prevented Andalusia- the PSOE's stronghold- running a vigorous promotional strategy for the region's development, nor has it discouraged Catalonia from mounting its own foreign direct investment service, in order to attract investors in the world market for multinational corporate investment. A central battle since 1983 has been Spain's demands for structural funds to compensate for the costs of entry to the EC. This has involved Madrid in the heart of EC budgetary politics, making Germany as the main contributor a vital partner. In fact, the EC funds flowing to Spain from the EC are a fraction of the inward flow of corporate investment: Spain's integration involves first and foremost the provision of public services promoting private business activities.

PART FOUR deals with *Spain's relations with non-European states or regions of significance in world affairs.*

Spain's relations with non-European states or regions crucially contribute to an understanding of its policies within the EC, while its position within the EC has tended to reinforce its standing in global affairs. The Spanish state is particularly sensitive to the significance of achieving status and recognition in the world hierarchy.

The United States remains the world's central power, making the bilateral relation with Washington a crucial consideration for Madrid from all perspectives- military-diplomatic as well as market-diplomatic. It is difficult to exaggerate the significance of this strand of policy over the past forty five years. The United States played a central role in supporting the political transition under Juan Carlos, and wanted an early entry of Spain into NATO. The United States has left a strong imprint on Spain's cultural evolution, and on its economic development. The section analyses changing Spanish

perceptions of the United States and U.S. perceptions of Spain's position in its global policy.

Spain's relations to Central and Latin America have been conditioned in part by entry to the EC as well as by relations to the United States. But they also have their own content, which conditions Spain's external relations. Though the direction of Spanish interest has been to gain a footing in the First World at the expense of economic and even cultural relations with the region, Spain is particularly sensitive to developments there. Its promise to bring the region's concerns into the counsels of NATO and the EC has borne precious little fruit, not least because of France's prior clamp on EC policy towards Africa or Germany's present and growing concern with the transitions in central-south eastern Europe. The significance of the relationship is therefore essentially political, all the more so in that Spain's own transition stands as an example to follow while its Hispanic sensitivities bring the region into the domain of EC foreign policy.

Spain's position at the entry to the Mediterranean, and its historical relations with the peoples along its littoral, make the Maghreb, and the Middle East conditioning factors in Spain's external policies. The complex of relations covers all aspects. The military-diplomatic relations with the United States and NATO have modified Spain's policy under the PSOE governments towards recognition of Israel, without abandoning established relations with the Moslem world. Moreover, Spain has defined its own specific national interests within and about the Straits of Gibraltar. Entry to the EC has created trade diversionary effects in the Maghreb countries, and prompted market liberalisation policies there to circumvent the disadvantages. The Maghreb's population growth rates ensure that immigration will remain a crucial matter in shaping Spain's labour market policies, as well as its position on the EC's immigration stance.

Japan is the world's second economy, investing four times more per annum in new plant and equipment than Europe's champion, Germany. Indeed, Japan's emergence presages the volcanic development of Pacific Asia, which within fifteen years is anticipated as having an economy larger than that of the United States and as large as the whole of western Europe. Paradoxically, this emergence of Japan and the Pacific has weighed ever more heavily on world affairs, at least since the late 1960s, at a time that Spanish public consciousness became absorbed with Europe. The section therefore addresses two questions: how do the Spanish perceive Japan in the broader scheme of Spanish global policy, and how does Japan conceive of Spain as the most developed state of the Hispanic speaking world, and as a member of the EC?

PART FIVE deals with *Spain's participation in the main international organisations.*

The section on Spain in the European Communities analyses the complex bi-multilateral process of negotiating entry, and the use to which membership has been put since 1986 by relevant public officials and with what results. The central feature here is the greater autonomy this provides them with respect to introducing more market friendly policies in Spain. Public officials use membership in the EC to override interest opposed to policy, or conversely aggregate domestic interests in order to reinforce their bargaining position in the EC. Spain's ambition has been to count among the lead states in moving European towards Union. EC entry has transformed the domestic legislative and regulatory framework, and acted as a goad for market-inspired reforms.

The section on Spain and NATO deals with the transformation of the bilateral defence relationship with the United States, and—since 1970— with France to the multilateralisation of security policy. A strand running through the whole period of the transition from 1975 to 1986, culminating in Spain's membership with Portugal in the WEU, its signing of the NPT and its strategies on military matters and nuclear weapons, has been modernisation of the armed forces and the development of ties with Europe's principle security organisation. The section deals with the entry negotiations, and the transformation of Spain's security policy.

Spain has been active in the CSCE discussions launched in 1969 and running through to the Paris summit of November 1990, laying out the Charter of general principles, which—it is hoped— are to act as standards for behaviour across the new Europe. The section traces Spain's activity in the various conferences, in favour of human rights and détente, but also analyses the thinking in Spain about the events of 1989-92, leading to Europe's transformation. One interpretation is that the CSCE's purpose of moderating, then overcoming Europe's division has been fulfilled, and it has limited ability to deal with the new challenges facing Europe, following on the collapse of the party states. The collapse in fact alters the geographic and market structures of Europe, placing Spain once again on the periphery. This, at least, is the fear.

The United Nations has been a permanent factor in Spain's relations to the rest of the world since 1945. The section analyses the history of Spain's activities in the main institutions of the U.N., as well as the way which they have fashioned Spanish policy. Spain's trade and financial policies have been shaped within the context

provided by the IMF and the GATT. Spain became embroiled in the workings of the decolonisation committee in the years 1960-1975, but has actively supported decolonisation in southern Africa since. It subscribes to the U.N., and particularly to the European Convention on Human Rights. Spain has pursued its path in the General Assembly in line with the changing orientation of foreign policy from the Third Worldism of Franco, to cooperation with European foreign policy in the 1980s. Spain first became a member of the (enlarged) Security Council in 1969. What is Spanish policy on the U.N.'s role after the cold war?

The final section provides an analysis, oriented towards the future, of how and why the successive governments of the constitutional monarchy have tied together the multiple strands of Spain's external policies. The main theme of the whole project is to elaborate on a comment made by Felipe Gonzalez at a crucial moment in the redefinition of Spain's external relations to the effect that *"everything is tied into everything else in international affairs"*. In particular, the conclusion seeks to identify the specificities of the Spanish case, the constant paradoxes and ambitions of a key European state in a world state and market system, now embarked on a prolonged period of transition from one structure to an as yet unknown alternative.

THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC SPAIN: 1975-1992.

Sections.

1. Introduction: a Framework for Analysis.

PART ONE: Domestic Roots.

2. The History of Spain's External Relations, 1898 -1992.

3. The Sources of Contemporary Spanish Foreign Policy.

4. The Political System and Foreign Policy.

5. The Political Economy and External Relations.

PART TWO: Spain in Europe.

6. Spain and Germany.

7. Spain and France.

8. Spain, the United Kingdom, Gibraltar, and Portugal.

9. Spain and Italy.

PART THREE: Regional Dimensions in Foreign Policy.

10. Basques, Catalans and Andalusians in the International Arena.

11. Spain and the EC Structural Funds.

PART FOUR: Spain's Global Relations.

12. Spain and the United States.

13. Spain and Central and Latin America.

14. Spain, the Maghreb and the Middle East.

15. Spain and Japan.

PART FIVE: Spain in the international organisations.

16. Spain in the European Communities.

17. Spain and NATO.

18. Spain and the CSCE.

19. Spain in the United Nations.

20. CONCLUSION.

CONTRIBUTORS

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**DELEGACION DEL PARTIDO POPULAR
EN EL GRUPO DEL PPE**

Génova, 13
28004 MADRID
Telephone: +34.1.4101143
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DATE:.....29 de Junio de 1992.....

TO:...Professor Richard Gillespie..... **FAX:**.....203-524221.....

FROM:...D. Marcelino Oreja Aguirre.....

SENT BY:...Blanca Flores.....

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING HEADER:...¹.....

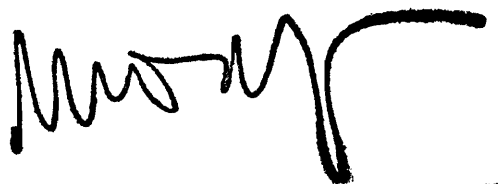
OBSERVATIONS:

Dear Professor,

Thank you very much for your letter. Let me know when you come to Spain.

I would be delighted to join you in your discussion in April if I am in Madrid on that date.

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'M. Oreja', written in a cursive style.



AOL.

! 8 Mayo.
Posible.

Sr. D. Marcelino Oreja
Partido Popular
C./ Génova, 13
28004 Madrid
Spain

7 de Abril de 1992

Estimado Sr. Oreja:

Como la entrevista que me concedió en Febrero, tratando de la política mediterránea de España, fue tan útil y interesante, le escribo para pedirle una segunda entrevista, para hacerle las preguntas para las cuales no había tiempo en esa ocasión.

También me gustaría preguntarle acerca de sus actuaciones europeas, dado que estoy comprometido a escribir unos ensayos sobre varios españoles, usted incluido, que han aportado a la construcción de Europa. Es para un libro que será editado por Edward Elgar Publishers, con el título (provisional) de *Biographical Dictionary of the Makers of European Institutions*.

Voy a estar en Madrid entre el 10 de Mayo y el 4 de Junio. Durante mi visita mi número de teléfono será Madrid 766 6933, pero como quiero organizar todo un programa de entrevistas, le ruego que me conteste por fax (203 524221) si le resulta conveniente.

Muy cordialmente,

(Dr) Richard Gillespie



Sr. D. Marcelino Oreja
Congreso de los Diputados
Madrid
Spain

3 de Enero de 1992

Estimado Sr. Oreja:

Soy profesor de ciencia política de la Universidad de Warwick en Inglaterra y actualmente estoy dedicando un año sabático a una investigación académica sobre la política exterior de España en relación con la región mediterránea, con el objetivo de escribir un libro sobre este tema. Me interesa principalmente el período desde la muerte de Franco hasta ahora.

Le escribo para pedir una entrevista tratando de su actuación como antiguo ministro de asuntos exteriores, y sobre todo las relaciones entre España y el Magreb en estos años, y el acuerdo de Lisboa sobre Gibraltar.

Voy a estar en España durante todo el mes de Febrero. Durante mi visita mi número de teléfono será Madrid 766 6933, pero como quiero organizar todo un programa de entrevistas, le ruego que me conteste por fax (203 524221), si le resulta conveniente.

Le deseo un feliz año nuevo.
Muy cordialmente,

(Prof) Richard Gillespie

*Tendré mucho gusto en recibirle durante
un estancia en España. Le ruego telefoni
a mi secretaria para fijar la hora
cordialmente M. Oreja*



Diputado
del Parlamento Europeo

Madrid, 24 de Enero de 1992

Sr. D. Richard Gillespie
Profesor University of Warwick
COVENTRY CV4 7AL

Estimado Sr. Gillespie:

En relación a su carta del día 3 del presente mes, tendré mucho gusto en recibirle durante mi estancia en España.

No obstante, le ruego se ponga en contacto con mi Secretaria llamando al nº de teléfono: 410.11.43 de Madrid para poder fijar la hora.

Sin otro particular, le saluda cordialmente,

Marcelino Oreja