

STRATEGY FOR EXTERNAL ACTION

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY





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A necessary reflection

The world is undergoing rapid, far-reaching change, and a new strategic environment for Spain and for the European Union is being created. This change is the outcome of various trends that are bringing about a new international community, one whose precise contours are still unclear.

In itself, this profound reshaping would be sufficient cause for adopting a new course in our external policies. But there are a further three reasons for reflecting on this question. Two are of a domestic nature: the exhaustion of the former strategy and the consequences of a particularly devastating economic crisis. The third lies halfway between domestic and external affairs, and concerns the need to recreate and re-establish the European Union in the coming years.

1. The exhaustion of a model of external projection

The 1978 Constitution marked a historic change in our relations with the rest of the world. With its political transition, returning to a democratic system, Spain projected itself towards the world with self-confidence and a clear purpose: to form part of an integrated Europe and to regain its place in the international community. This was a comprehensive strategy approach, one that permeated all our external action, in the public and the private sectors, as a challenge participated in by all elements of Spanish society. This strategy was unwritten, implicit in the ambitions expressed and decisions taken, but endowed with enormous strength and clarity.

The goal was amply achieved. Spain not only rejoined the international community, but soon became a country of reference in its own right. It returned to Europe, and just fifteen years later, the idea of the European Union without Spain was inconceivable. It was reunited with Latin America

and created an Ibero-American community which has since then continued to flourish. The country looked towards the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, with new and fruitful plans. It began to look towards Asia and the Pacific, seeking new challenges in the region destined to drive the twenty-first century forward.

The strategy of reincorporation and integration then came to a halt, having run out of goals, all targets having been met. And it did so at the emblematic moment in which Spain, a country that since the eighteenth century had been a latecomer for all its appointments with history, was among the founders of the Economic and Monetary Union. In what seems a paradox, just when Spain was catching up with the world and advancing, together, with the other countries of Europe, there occurred what the Elcano Royal Institute, a Spanish think tank, has described as "... the relative exhaustion, from its own success, of [...] a strategy (never codified but implicitly agreed upon) that sought Spain's full integration into Europe and the world. But once these goals had been achieved the policy direction was left with no clear strategic points of reference". It was also at this time that the first serious cracks appeared in the political and social consensus that had governed, albeit not always smoothly, the formulation of external policy since the transition.

Accordingly, a process of reflection is now needed, giving rise to a strategy that is explicit, clearly-defined and based upon a consensus among all political parties. This consensus is not just a valuable goal in itself, it is at the heart of two more qualities that are fundamental to a well-founded external policy: stability and predictability.

1.1. Spain and the Great Recession: strengths and weaknesses

In this scenario, in which the previous strategy had clearly run its course, there appeared the Great



His Majesty the King Juan Carlos, in the presence of Antonio Hernandez Gil, President of the Cortes, signing the Spanish Constitution on the 27 December 1978.

Recession, which has affected Spain more severely than other countries. In our case, three singular problems – massive borrowing by households and non-financial firms, a housing bubble and a significant loss of competitiveness – combined to produce a more dramatic fall in GDP and employment than in other EU countries.

To address this situation, a programme of action was adopted, which has helped economic recovery, improved productivity, stimulated competitiveness and raised international confidence in the Spanish economy. But the crisis has highlighted the fact that the problem concerned the model, not just the policies adopted. The former model, based on real estate and borrowing, has begun to change, but one that is genuinely new will only come into being through the further internationalisation of the economy and Spanish society. A strategic renewal of external policy will contribute to this change and at the same time place us in the international arena with a renovated national image and project a country that is attractive, robust and reliable. If we are to overcome this crisis - one that is not only economic but also political and institutional - we must take resolute steps to enhance our external projection.

The definition of an external strategy also requires us to be aware of our real situation and to be consistent with our national project and with Spain's real weight in the world. The starting point must be to create a well-defined international identity, that of a country which is as long-standing as international society itself. We must analyse our stren-

gths and weaknesses, with objectivity and clearsightedness, as the only way to define a realistic strategy for external action.

The severe demographic problem, the scarcity of basic resources such as water and energy, the existence of weaknesses in our presence abroad, and similar weaknesses in the preparation of Spanish people to project themselves abroad – these are all realities. But they coexist with our strengths as an advanced democracy, one that enjoys a complex but privileged strategic position, with an open and diversified economy and a cultural heritage based on the second most spoken language in the world. We have therefore a multiple identity that defines us and forms part of our ability to project Spain's image abroad.

2. The globalised world

Today's globalisation is different from the past. Facilitated by advances in information technology, it has produced, as before, an exponential increase in the exchange of goods and services and in capital flows. But what makes this process different is the fact that large multinational corporations can now rapidly outsource manufacturing processes and fragment the value chain. In consequence, countries that need such investments are subject to an entirely new type of relationship with transnational groups. Thus, a truly global economy is giving rise to improvements in the living standards of hundreds of millions of people, while limiting the capacity to act – and to maintain social models – of nation States.

A second aspect of this new globalisation is the leading role played by the financial economy. Managing volumes of capital much greater than those involved in trade, and with a nature that is much more volatile and uncertain than that of the real economy, the world of high finance is one of elevated risk. The key issue to be faced in defining an external policy is that perceptions are of much greater importance in the financial economy than in the real one. Thus, a policy that brings about a predictable, reliable performance, based on resolute, well-managed integration within the international community and participating in all its decisions, will constitute a factor generating trust and underpinning a country's reputation. Our strategy,

therefore, must comply with a crucial requirement: that of acquiring and maintaining trust.

While economic globalisation is a factor for change, the most profound impact of this phenomenon arises from its social, cultural and, ultimately, political consequences. Humanity has never before had such a chance to be "one", in the most radical sense of the word, to the extent that each individual can communicate and interact with others, no matter where in the world they may be. However, negative reactions to this potential, with allusions to real or fictitious fears of loss of identity, are prompting the emergence of extremist groups, in some cases highly violent ones, to present new and very grave threats to us all.

Spain is an open society, and this is the best starting point for coping with the groundbreaking changes associated with globalisation. Moreover, our geopolitical position, as members of the European Union, as the potential gateway to Africa and a bridge to Latin America, makes us well placed to take advantage of global flows. In addition, as the outcome of our own history, Spain has good relations with countries that are politically far removed from the West. Therefore, a new form of strategic thinking must incorporate these elements: an open society, a strategic position and the ability to facilitate understanding.

2.1. A multipolar world

Economic phenomena, especially those of the magnitude associated with globalisation, eventually translate into political change. And the most important political change in recent years concerns the increasing regional and global influence and political power of a number of countries, all of which are geographic and demographic giants. The world, beyond doubt, has become multipolar.

This transfer of power from the West to the emerging powers is accompanied by a second phenomenon, whereby power and influence are becoming relocated, gradually moving away from the nation state, towards non-state actors, and even towards individuals. This phenomenon, which some have termed the diffusion of power, is completely new and, unlike the emergence of new powers and the relative decline of old ones, has no historical precedent. The origin of this new status of individuals and social groups is in technological advances, par-

ticularly the dramatic fall in the economic cost of sending and receiving information.

Finally, another consequence of globalisation is the existence of higher levels of interdependence. Firstly, among States. This is not just an issue of economic interdependence, but is primarily a political phenomenon. It has resulted in a profound change in relationships between the States themselves, which are now obliged, in a world in which real sovereignty is increasingly limited, to work together in order to resolve global problems. Together with this classic interdependence, there is a new form of interconnection, of independence, which takes place between devices and processes, a completely new phenomenon that has been called the "internet of things". It involves a multitude of systems, operating automatically and now interconnected. This new interdependence is changing our strategic environment, and its future is hard to predict.

2.2. The crisis of multilateralism

The third radical change taking place is the crisis of multilateralism. The institutions that have been operating since the end of World War II are increasingly powerless to respond in a satisfactory way to the major challenges of the present.

This crisis presents us with a basic dilemma: legitimacy versus effectiveness. The choice must be made between inclusive bodies, which offer the highest possible representativity within an ever more diverse international community, or entry-restricted, but more operational entities. The G20 exemplifies the latter, but once the first phase of the financial crisis had been overcome, during which G20 showed its effectiveness, it became clear that this framework was not sufficient to respond to the future challenges that the world must face.

The outcome is that although the world is becoming increasingly multipolar, it has not yet obtained multilateral governance mechanisms capable of managing this new reality, that might transform zero-sum policies seeking power and influence into win-win systems based on collaboration and joint satisfaction.

The global financial crisis, the first major crisis of globalisation, has catalysed the above trends, accelerating the transfer of power and influence towards emerging countries. But the increasingly high profile of these countries has not produced sweeping reforms of the multilateral system, and so the crisis of multilateralism has been further aggravated. One alternative that has been proposed, the creation of their own institutions by the emerging countries, is in fact no solution; on the contrary, it would only worsen the problem. The only viable course is for all concerned to jointly design a mechanism for global governance, seeking to achieve the difficult balance between legitimacy and effectiveness. A renewed external policy should locate this goal among its main priorities.

the Union with an economic government can the internal solidity and the external credibility of the European project be definitively established. Spain must be at the forefront of this process of reform, and adapt its strategic thinking accordingly.

3. The reform of the European Union

The fourth reason for reshaping our strategic thinking is the necessary transformation, indeed the refounding, of the European Union. A radical change is now called for, after the experience of a political crisis without precedent. For Spain, this prospect is of major importance; no regional trend is so directly relevant to our interests. Spain must contribute decisively to this transformation of the Union, and therefore must renew and adapt its strategic outlook.

The origin of the problem lay in the creation of an Economic and Monetary Union that failed to live up to its name. This was the cardinal sin of Maastricht. By not creating an economic union in parallel with the monetary union, the dictates of economic logic were violated. And this was done because of political weakness. The model worked relatively well while Europe enjoyed its boom years, although even then the first cracks began to appear, when various countries failed to comply with the Stability and Growth Pact and suffered no consequences and when economic policies were poorly coordinated.

Europe responded weakly to the crisis, because its institutional structure was unprepared for the situation. But the main weakness of the European Union is not economic but political, and lies in its inability to show the rest of the world the political will to jointly defend the common currency and in its political failure to build the necessary institutions for this purpose. The conclusion is clear. Only by strengthening the institutional architecture of

A new strategy

Defining a strategy for external action requires us to establish a set of priorities, of a political nature, to guide our new strategic thinking, to identify goals, to reflect on the human and material instruments needed and on the decision-making process to be adopted for external action.

The principles underlying our action will remain unchanged, as they are derived from our status as a democratic country and from the values of our constitutional system. Thus, the criteria inspiring our external policy will continue to be based on respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, the rule of law and human rights. We shall continue to promote the observance and development of international law, with particular regard to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

4. The priorities of external action

The above reflection highlights four compelling reasons to renew our strategic thinking and also indicates the broad lines on which this renewed outlook should be based. Our analysis highlights the importance of the following three elements:

- 1) We live in a globalised, interdependent world. Rejecting this fact (or attempting to ignore it) is not an option. Indeed, it would be suicidal. Globalisation is the competitive global integration of economies, resources and technological solutions. Throughout this process, there are winners and losers, and our aim is for Spain to be among the winners.
- 2) The consequences of a crisis that has been, above all, a political one, which has highlighted the limitations and weaknesses of our economic model and those of the political and institutional framework of the world, of Europe and of

Spain. As has happened before in our history, and as is inevitable at certain stages in the evolution of all societies and countries, Spain needs to regenerate itself. External action must be one of the instruments of that task, and the greater internationalisation of Spanish society is a highly significant part of the solution.

3) The appearance of new actors, social groups and individuals, for whom the emerging international community presents the opportunity to develop projects – collective, inter-professional and even individual – as if borders did not exist. To do so, they organise themselves into networks, with diverse purposes and variable geometries. An open society such as we have in Spain has much to gain from developments of this type. In this respect, too, our external action should be equipped to take full advantage of the potential offered.

In short, the essential, ultimate goal of strategic renewal is to enable Spain and its citizens to respond to challenges in a world that is becoming more complex, is changing very quickly, and is quite unlike anything we have known before. Moreover, this new world is still taking shape, its contours have yet to be defined and new and traditional elements must be blended.

To achieve the above goal, general strategic priorities must be defined, with political content and significance, to guide our external actions in all settings. Accordingly, the following priorities should be established.

4.1. Coherence, effectiveness and transparency in external action

In an increasingly complex and interdependent world, external action takes diverse forms; it is performed by many different public and private actors and presents itself and overlaps in society in rich and complex ways. If this diversity of external actions is to produce the desired results, our external action must be coherent. This is the only way to make it effective. And this is the only way that citizens' demands for transparency by their public authorities can be met.

Coherence is acquired:

- 1) by aligning the actions of a general nature taken by all the actors involved in applying the external policy defined by the Government;
- 2)from accurate information on all aspects of Spain's external action, made available to all interested parties. Good information and proper transparency will eliminate deceit and contradiction.

External policy should respond positively to public demand for greater effectiveness and transparency. The best way to do so is to apply this policy by means of new mechanisms for decision taking and new tools for action, designed according to criteria of effectiveness and legitimacy, thus obtaining added value in the emerging strategic context. In this respect, the following lines of approach should be taken:

- 1) Work to achieve the full development of the new external policy system, thus enabling better and closer coordination, and incorporating different social and territorial outlooks in designing this policy and its democratic control.
- 2) Redistribute human and material resources, in order to situate our diplomatic, consular, commercial, cultural, scientific and technological networks closer to the new centres of power and influence in the world.
- 3) Enhance the instruments of public diplomacy necessary for a different external policy, one that will manage networks as well as the traditional relationship with authorities and civil society in other countries.

4.2. Promote and project our values and interests

The global projection of Spain is the best way to promote our values and to protect our vital strategic interests. This projection should:

- 1) Contribute to building a model for legitimate, effective global governance. Spain's values and interests will be better protected within a rules-based international community with broad-based, more legitimate organisations.
- 2) Contribute to the economic progress and modernisation of Spain. Both of these goals depend on a greater internationalisation of the Spanish economy, on the full incorporation of its companies, including SMEs, within the globalised world, on greater efforts in scientific research and technological innovation, and on a greater international projection of its executives and entrepreneurs. Only thus can the necessary changes be made to the economic model on which our future well-being depends.
- 3) Make Spain more influential and more secure, enhancing bilateral relations and strengthening our presence in multilateral forums. Promoting the global role of the EU is crucial to this effort. In addition, ties with Latin America should be consolidated and the transatlantic relationship made even more substantive.

4.3. Place the citizen at the centre of external policy

External policy used to be an exception and only partly so, to the ever-stronger orientation of public policies towards the population. This exception persisted when the bulk of its activity was focused on managing bilateral relations with other countries and on participating in multilateral forums in which, again, the State was the only conceivable actor.

However, the world now emerging reflects a progressive loss of State power and influence, which has been acquired by private social groups and, in many cases, individuals. This transformation is imposing a paradigm shift, the consequences of which are only beginning to become apparent. Any renewal of external policy must now place citizens at its heart. This means the following must be done:

1) Encourage citizens to take advantage of the opportunities offered by a world undergoing profound changes, facilitating access to networks and initiatives that incorporate these changes.

- 2) Promote opportunities for participation, to incorporate the wishes and preferences of civil society into our external action, in particular with regard to solidarity and the projection of civic values.
- 3) Provide citizens with as much information as possible, to facilitate the achievement of personal or professional projects that involve living abroad.
- 4) Protect citizens' security, an essential condition for any individual or collective initiative.
- 5) Work to promote the social rights of the two million Spanish citizens working abroad, in countries with very diverse systems of social protection.

4.4. Present ourselves globally as an advanced country

In the emerging international community, the old and the new will coexist. Relations will be based on networks and on complex processes, as well as on traditional alliances and bilateral relations. And all of these relationship models will be interdependent, giving rise to very rapid transformations.

In this context, the ability to influence, to bend wills, goes far beyond what has traditionally been associated with "international power". Military prevalence will continue to be important, but in such a complex international system, power is also derived, and increasingly so, from the capacity to persuade rather than to impose, to influence perceptions, instead of exerting a direct influence. Therefore, external action should be aimed at equipping our country with this quality, the ability to influence. We can improve others' perception of how they see us. The national image is an asset and an instrument of enormous potential, impacting on three areas:

- 1) The political world: Spain should seek to be perceived as a country that is predictable and reliable, which takes its commitments and alliances seriously and is committed to an advanced model of international community;
- 2) The economy: by developing our image as a country that produces quality goods and services; as a country that is competitive, yet committed to a green, low-carbon economy, and is at the forefront of the knowledge economy;

3) Social issues: by fostering the external view of Spain as a cohesive, well-structured society, which is open to the world and prepared to face the enormous challenges to come in the emerging international community.

The most visible and emblematic part of this effort, although by no means the only one, is the Marca España project, an instrument designed to impact directly on the world of perceptions, both at home and abroad, and thereby enhance our ability to influence.

5. The goals of external action

The following goals for external action are set out in the Spanish External Action and Service Act 2/2014, of 25 March.

5.1. Maintain and promote international peace and security

Preserving peace and security should be the first goal of the international community. Nothing can be achieved without this supreme good. For this reason, since December 1988, more than 138,000 Spanish military and civilian personnel have participated in peacekeeping operations and humanitarian aid missions, in over fifty countries. Over 160 military and civilian personnel have lost their lives in performing these duties.

Spain's participation in these missions will continue to be governed by the following basic principles:

- a) Internal consensus, which is secured by three elements: a UN resolution or one adopted by an international organisation to which we belong, or at the express request of the government of the country in question; a decision by the Council of Ministers; and the approval of Parliament. b) Strict adherence to the mandate and to the
- b)Strict adherence to the mandate and to the mission objectives;
- c) Coordination and respect for the undertakings given to our allies.

We intend to continue contributing to peace, especially through operations performed by the United

Nations, the European Union and those which, outside these frameworks, present added value to our security or for the purposes of our external policy. We will also work in conjunction with the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Spain is firmly committed to this organisation, in view of its geographic scope and approach to cooperation on security.

5.2. Promote strong, legitimate multilateral institutions

The international community is faced with the paradox that many of the problems to be solved are global, but the legitimacy to address them and the means available remain national. In the absence of the effective mechanisms of global governance that Spain favours, multilateralism, although it is in crisis, as highlighted in the first part of this document, remains the only instrument for coping with this paradox. Multilateralism is not a goal of external policy. It is a means to achieve higher goals of this policy. It is in this respect that Spain advocates a multilateralism that combines legitimacy and effectiveness.

The epitome of global legitimacy continues to be the United Nations Organisation. But this universal organisation was born and came to maturity in a substantially different world. Therefore, Spain is committed to reforming the UN, to adapt it to new challenges, with particular respect to the following fields:

1) The Security Council. We wish the Security Council to be more effective, representative, balanced and accessible, as well as more accountable and transparent. Its reform should address the five issues that are currently being questioned: the right of veto, regional representation, size and working methods and the relationship with the General Assembly.

Spain is in favour of increasing the number of non-permanent members, in an equitable geographical distribution and with longer-term mandates, with the possibility of re-election. However, we do not believe the number of permanent members should be raised. Neither do we accept the extension of the right of veto; its use should be limited to certain situations in which heinous crimes are involved. The reasons for making use of the veto should be explained

and the number of vetoes required to block a decision should be increased.

- 2) The instruments of preventive diplomacy. Mediation should be strengthened, the concept of the responsibility to protect should be developed and the Alliance of Civilizations enhanced.
- 3) The institutional framework of the United Nations. There must be greater coherence among the various UN agencies, funds and programmes related to development and to other policies such as human rights.

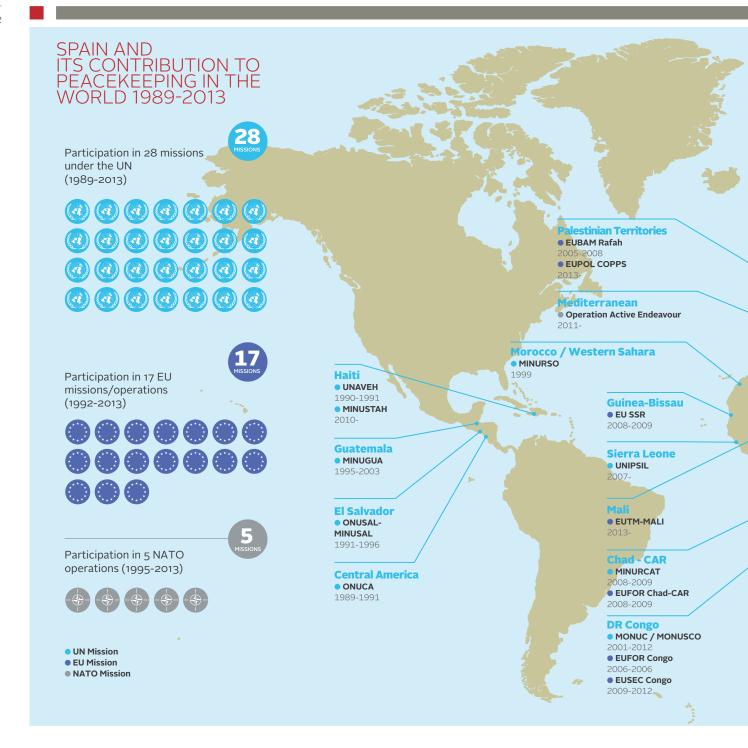
Together with the United Nations system and its specialised agencies, the globalised world uses various forums to address global problems more effectively. These include the G20, which we believe should focus on its role as the premier forum for international economic cooperation, but also discuss other global issues, going beyond the purely economic sphere, as a prior step towards broader decision-taking frameworks.

In the regional context, we attach special importance to the Council of Europe, which oversees a number of conventions of the utmost importance to Spain, and to the OSCE, which must carefully balance the three dimensions of which it is composed in order to realise its full potential.

Finally, the question of Spain's representation within international organisations is a matter of constant concern. To increase this representation, a global action plan will be drafted, taking into account the particular characteristics of each international organisation.

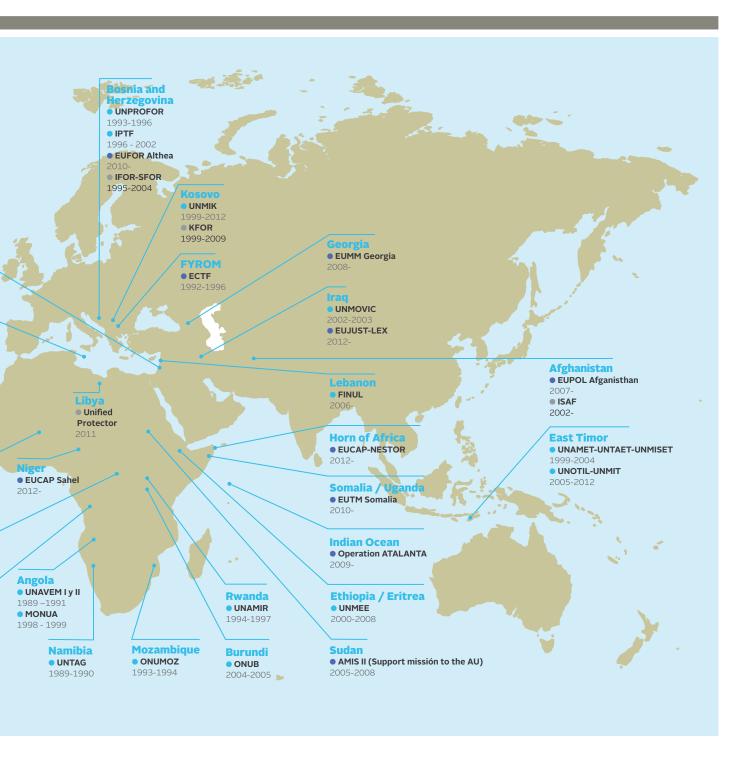
5.3. Promote the rule of law, fundamental rights and civil liberties

Promoting democratic political systems based on the rule of law is a fundamental, almost natural, reflection of our constitutional model as part of our external policy. It transmits the conviction that democracy is the best possible system of government, and the one best suited to meet the aspirations of the citizens of any country, regardless of their cultural identity. It also reflects the conviction that an international community made up of democratic systems is one that is more stable, more peaceful and more secure.



Using external policy as a means of promoting the democratic ideal is a long-term task. There is no question of applying "institutional engineering", the experience of which over the last two decades has proved to be futile, if not actually counterproductive. Essentially, it means providing resolute support for the construction of democratic systems where this is the choice for the citizens of a particular country. And it means offering our institutional support and counsel in situations of transition towards democracy.

In parallel, but clearly separate, is the question of Spanish external policy regarding the promotion and defence of human rights. This is quite a different question from the promotion of democracy. In this case, we are considering particular human beings and the belief that these rights are universal, and should be respected, regardless of the constitutional choice of the political system in which they live.



Therefore, the promotion and defence of human rights are included in our external policy for a two-fold reason: ethical and political. On the one hand, external action projects an identity, which in our case is based on the conviction that human beings and their inherent dignity are inviolable. On the other hand, experience has shown that situations of systematic violations of basic rights usually degenerate into violent conflict and endemic instability. In other words, the promotion of respect for these rights within the international community

promotes our own security, prevents and anticipates crises and armed conflicts, and, ultimately, enhances our own situation by enhancing that of others.

The concept of human rights has evolved considerably since the adoption of the Universal Declaration in 1948. Spain's external policy reflects this evolution and, together with the promotion and protection of basic rights, sets out the following priorities:

- Opposition to capital punishment;
- Action to combat discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation and gender identity;
- The rights of persons with disabilities;
- The human right to drinking water and sanitation;
- Companies and human rights. Business activity generates wealth, creates jobs and is an element of social progress. But to fully implement this role, companies must also be socially responsible, particularly in transnational business. Spain has drafted a National Plan on companies and human rights, in line with the provisions of the European Union in its 2011-2014 Strategy;
- Defenders of human rights. These individuals, groups or institutions protect and defend universally recognised human rights. They often face threats and attacks and deserve our respect, admiration and solidarity. Accordingly, Spain manages a programme to assist them when threats are made or situations of high risk encountered.

5.4. Combat poverty and act in solidarity with developing countries

Poverty affects more than 2.2 billion people. It is the world's major problem and is at the heart of many of the challenges facing humanity. Poverty is not only an economic concern; it is, above all, a political one. For a country to emerge from poverty, conditions of peace, security and good government must be created, in order to promote education, health and empowerment and thus enable the emergence of a middle class, which is the cornerstone to inclusive social and economic development.

In 2000, the UN member countries pledged that by 2015, specific targets, termed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), would be achieved. The member states are currently negotiating the post-2015 Development Agenda, which includes new goals, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which will replace the MDGs. These are expected to be approved by the General Assembly in September 2015.

In this context, Spain is committed to an ambitious, balanced agenda that seeks to reconcile human development and comprehensive sustainable development, with the ultimate goal of

eradicating poverty and ensuring environmental sustainability.

Spain has made a key contribution to this new agenda, emphasising the issues that Spanish society holds especially dear: human rights, gender equality, food security, water and sanitation. At the same time, we have advocated the idea that continuing efforts should be made to meet the 2015 Millennium Development Goals, even as the new agenda is being established. Only thus can real, comprehensive sustainability be achieved.

Policy on development cooperation

Development cooperation is both a public policy in itself and one of the most important instruments of external policy. It expresses the Spanish people's desire for solidarity and the ambition to achieve a fairer world, an ambition that underpins our external policy. For development cooperation to be fully effective, it must be integrated into the framework of Spanish external action through a principle of policy coherence.

Our policy on cooperation should be:

- based on consensus, i.e., on principles and elements that are accepted by all parties;
- comprehensive and coherent;
- coordinated with external partners, i.e., EU, OECD and other institutions of which Spain is a member;
- at the same time, coordinated regarding the internal dimension, taking into account the work of the Autonomous Communities, local corporations and private initiatives;
- structured around three themes: environmental sustainability, corporate social responsibility and good governance.

As stated in the Fourth Master Plan (2013-2016), the ultimate aim of cooperation is to contribute to human and sustainable development, the eradication of poverty and the full exercise of rights. This aim is expressed in eight areas of attention:

- 1. Consolidate democratic processes and the rule of law;
- 2. Reduce inequalities and vulnerability to extreme poverty and crises;
- 3. Promote economic opportunities for the very poorest;
- 4. Foster systems of social cohesion, emphasising basic social services;

- 5. Promote women's rights and gender equality; 6. Improve the provision of global and regional public goods;
- 7. Provide a quality response to humanitarian crises;
- 8. Foster a global citizenry committed to development.

These objectives are promoted bilaterally with the partners of Spanish cooperation, with preferential attention to Ibero-America, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Philippines. In addition, Spain will continue to cooperate effectively with international organisations, prioritising results-based development, aid effectiveness, transparency, accountability and evaluation.

5.5. Protect the environment and biodiversity and fight climate change

Among other objectives, Spain's external policy must include environmental protection and the fight against climate change, in order to work for the global public good, which by its very nature, is the responsibility of the whole international community. These are global challenges and an adequate response can only be found in the global context.

If sustainable social and economic development is to be achieved, an effective response must be made to environmental challenges. The fundamental framework in which to do so must be that of the United Nations, through its programmes, conventions and other international instruments. Thus, sector by sector, problems associated with the protection of biodiversity, air quality, waste management, water supply and distribution, etc. can be addressed. Our aim is to promote effective compliance with the environmental commitments made within the United Nations. In this regard, Spain must act within the context of the European Union, which is currently spearheading international negotiations on environmental issues.

Climate change – its causes and effects – is the paradigm of the global challenge facing us. The main framework for action in this respect, once again, must be the UN and in particular its Framework Convention on Climate Change. One of the cornerstones of European and Spanish policy to reduce emissions is the development of international

carbon markets. Setting a price on the emissions of greenhouse gases and relating this to reduction obligations, is a useful and effective means of encouraging emissions reduction.

Accordingly, Spain has made use of international carbon markets in order to reduce the overall balance of our emissions. In return and in cooperation with various international financial institutions, we have promoted "green projects" in third countries.

5.6. Arms control: eliminate weapons of mass destruction and limit conventional arsenals

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) – nuclear, chemical and biological – and their delivery systems poses a major threat to international peace and security. This proliferation is at the root of many conflicts and intensifies their danger. By definition, WMD constitute a global risk, threatening the world's order and stability.

The threat posed is characterised by its complexity and its ability to self-transform in response to actions taken by national governments. This adaptability is the result of factors such as technological developments and the possibility of making dual use of materials and technologies. Accordingly, a global, regional and national strategy of response must be established. Spain's external policy is an essential element in efforts to resist and combat the proliferation of WMD and of conventional weapons.

The international architecture of the non-proliferation regime is based on international treaties, UN Security Council resolutions and the UN General Assembly. In the regional arena, the EU has adopted two specific strategies.

Spain is actively engaged in international forums and systems for arms control and disarmament and participates in structures created to control the transfer of weapons and other defence equipment and of dual-use products and technologies. Spain is also party to various international conventions to eradicate weapons that violate international humanitarian law and human rights.

From a domestic standpoint, Spain's National Security Strategy policy document views the proliferation of WMD as a major threat to national security.

Strategic goals

The main aim of Spanish external policy in this area is to prevent the proliferation of WMD and to promote disarmament and arms control. To achieve this goal, three strategic goals have been identified:

- 1.) To prevent the proliferation of WMD, to prevent terrorist access to chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear materials and to protect the population.
- 2.) To promote the creation and implementation of treaties and other international instruments for disarmament and weapons control, including that of weapons that violate international humanitarian law.
- 3.) To reinforce systems of arms control and disarmament in regions of strategic importance for Spain.

5.7. Build a Europe that is more integrated, more legitimate and a global figure of authority

The European Union is our natural vocation, the best way to make Spain more prosperous and secure. This is why Spain should actively contribute to building an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe.

Within the Union, this priority is reflected in our endeavours to make Europe more integrated, more legitimate, more approachable and more accountable to its citizens. The process of European integration also requires the Union to become a global player. Tomorrow's world will be a better one with a Europe that is united. In the coming international community, any European country acting alone is predestined to irrelevance – although perhaps seeking comfort in the belief that all is "relative". Only by ensuring that the Union becomes a truly global player, with political weight and world influence, will we be able to make a difference in the world to come.

The final outcome of our process of European integration should be political union, a federal union, the United States of Europe, and not a mere union of sovereign states. This process is one to be carried out in phases or stages, but the ultimate goal must be clearly defined at the outset.

Each of these phases calls for important reforms. Some may be made in accordance with the legal basis established under the existing Treaties, while others will require changes to primary legislation. But what is most important now is not whether the treaties should or should not be reformed. The crucial point is to reach an agreement on the process, the timing and the pace of reform, and to maintain sufficient flexibility to respond appropriately to changing circumstances.

In any case, we have already advanced so far that backtracking is not an option. Few dispute whether or not we should integrate more; the real debate revolves around how and when. In this respect, the following areas must be addressed:

1) Strengthen the Economic and Monetary Union

The economic crisis in Europe has also been a political one, a crisis of confidence. And we will only be able to prevent such crises in the future if we finalise certain capital projects that have only got half way, such as the Economic and Monetary Union, in order to make Europe work and to become seen, once again, as a source of prosperity.

Henceforth, the process should proceed in three respects, to be addressed in successive phases:

- Eliminate past excesses and establish monitoring and control mechanisms to ensure that such excesses are not repeated;
- Create financial mechanisms and an economic agreement that would allow a limited degree of solidarity, strictly conditional on the existence of control mechanisms to ensure fiscal and budgetary discipline.
- Establish a genuine fiscal and economic union governed by an economic body endowed with real powers.

Reinforce the role of the European Central Bank

The main goal of the European Central Bank is to ensure price stability. In the medium term, and without prejudice to this main goal, the ECB could assume the role of lender of last resort, under similar conditions to those applied by other central banks, in order to support "the general economic policies contributing to the achievement of the Union's objectives as laid down in Article 3 of the Treaty on European Union" (Art. 127 TFEU).

An integrated financial framework

European financial markets must become more efficient in the allocation of credit and in making resources available to businesses and families. Therefore, steps must be taken to improve the performance of these markets and the first of these steps is to achieve a genuine banking union.

An integrated budgetary framework

In recent years, important measures have been adopted to reinforce budgetary discipline and to correct macroeconomic imbalances. What is now needed is to ensure their proper implementation and in the case of the Macroeconomic Imbalances Procedure, to ensure, moreover, that it is a true early warning mechanism, alerting us to the risk of future imbalances.

A very appropriate instrument for reinforcing budgetary discipline has already been established, by which the European Commission reviews budget proposals before they are sent to national parliaments and may request the inclusion of additional measures if there is a risk of non-compliance with fiscal targets. It would be desirable to ensure the proper implementation of this coordination mechanism and its uniform application to all countries in the eurozone, without distinction, to maintain the effectiveness of the Pact.

An integrated framework for economic policy

The only way to overcome the fundamental flaw of the EMU – that of monetary union without full economic union – is through greater coordination. A new framework for coordination, convergence and the application of structural policies could be based on contractual arrangements, backed with financial support to implement the reforms.

More effective governing institutions for the Economic and Monetary Union

Such a major extension of the Economic and Monetary Union must be accompanied by greater effectiveness and legitimacy. In this respect, we have two proposals:

- It would be desirable for the currency of the entire Union to be the euro and for its parliament to be the European Parliament. Any future EMU architecture should recognise that this is where ultimate responsibilities must reside.
- However, if a decision is to be applied only to the eurozone – and to other member states that choose to participate in it – we must seek ways to involve the parliaments of these States

in the decision, and this must be done whilst maintaining full respect for the integrity of the Union and of its Parliament.

Once strict budgetary coordination has been achieved, then the expression of financial solidarity through the issuance of euro bonds can be considered. Advances in this respect should in any case be progressive and conditional on the existence of stringent fiscal controls to prevent countries with slack fiscal discipline benefiting unfairly from the solidarity of others.

2) Improve the EU's capacity for internal and external action

After overcoming the euro crisis, the next challenge is to make the EU function better and one aspect of this challenge concerns the actions of the Union in the world.

Europe, a global player

The Union makes use of instruments such as trade policy, development aid, enlargement policy, neighbourhood policy, the management of migration flows and policies regarding the environment, climate change and energy. These are all internal policies but they also have an important external dimension and therefore can have a major impact on the Union's external action. But we must make them more coherent and view them as tools with which the EU can increase its influence in the world.

Moreover, the coordination of external policy must be enhanced, by increasing the frequency of informal meetings in the Gymnich format, ensuring greater interaction with the European Council and dedicating a biannual meeting of the European Council to external policy.

The Common Security and Defence Policy should be more ambitious than the simple "pooling and sharing" of capabilities. We must take advantage of all the possibilities offered by the Lisbon Treaty. To do so:

- The institutional structure of the CSDP should be complemented by the creation of a permanent system for the planning and conduct of military operations, similar to that employed for civil missions.
- Crisis management should be enhanced, through the more effective combination of civil and military mechanisms.

• Capabilities must be developed, in areas such as improving tactical groups and enhancing the role of the European Defence Agency within the defence industry.

In short, with respect to the external policy and the security of the Union, Spain has the same level of ambition as it has expressed with regard to all other policies for European integration.

Reinforce internal policies

If Europe wants to be a global player, in a new global order, it must go further in other policies, in aspects such as the following:

- Phase out barriers to intra-Community trade, the regulatory, administrative and even physical barriers that hamper the internal market.
- Create a true internal energy market with infrastructures designed for the European space, achieving interconnections, greater energy efficiency and a common European definition of external energy relations.
- Pay more attention to SMEs, providing them with more flexible access to European funds.
- Place job creation, especially for young people, at the centre of all Community policies.
- Go further to create an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers.
- Promote a comprehensive plan to address the severe demographic problem affecting Europe, one that is placing our future at risk.

3) Enhance the effectiveness and democratic legitimacy of the institutions

Institutional reforms

In the short to medium term, our actions should be based on two principles: inter-institutional balance and respect for the Community method.

European Parliament: Numerous proposals have been made to make the Parliament a real space in which the problems that concern citizens can be addressed. Among them, we favour creating single European lists, holding elections to the European Parliament on the same day in all Member States and naming the candidate of the majority political group, when approved by Parliament, as President of the Commission, as was the case with Jean-Claude Juncker.

The Commission: in the short term, it is urgently necessary to reinforce the principles of collegiality and independence so that the Commission can perform its role as the driving force of the Community method. In the medium term, a decision must be taken on reducing the number of Commissioners, for implementation in 2019. In this context, the President of the Commission should have greater autonomy to form his/her cabinet.

The Council of the European Union and the General Affairs Council: an important step would be to expand the number of areas in which decisions can be made by qualified majority. In the long term, the EU must have an effective system of separation of powers, so that it may acquire the necessary democratic legitimacy. We have three proposals in this regard:

- Combine the responsibilities of the President of the European Council and those of the President of the Commission, to be performed by a single person, who is directly elected and who may appoint the members of the College of Commissioners.
- Introduce a single reading procedure for legislation.
- Constitute two parliamentary chambers: the Council, representing the Member States, and the European Parliament, representing the citizens.

Multilevel governance and the Committee of the Regions: the coordinated action of the EU, the Member States and the regional and local authorities, based on the principles of subsidiarity, proportionality and association, facilitates proximity to society and thus grants greater legitimacy to the institutions. In this framework, we favour the active participation of the Committee of the Regions and greater support for its activities.

5.8. Strengthen the Ibero-American Community of Nations

"Spain is an American nation", said the Prince of Asturias (now, King Felipe VI), in a speech at Harvard University. The reality of America cannot be fully understood without its Spanish presence, and Spain's identity, too, is bound up with its Ibero-American background. This historically strategic relationship is extraordinarily important to Spain and to all the countries making up the Ibero-American Community of Nations.

But Spain cannot limit its relations with Latin America to the regional context. Spain has concrete, very specific ties with every one of these nations. Therefore, strategies must be defined for each one, taking into account its own special characteristics.

Today, more than ever, Spain must make use of its comparative advantage and added value as a natural gateway to the European Union and to North Africa and reinforce its status as a reliable, lasting partner for all the nations of Ibero-America.

The changes that have taken place in Spain's relations with Latin America have long called for corresponding changes to be made to the Ibero-American Summits, which began in 1991, to bring them into line with these new times. Accordingly, a change was initiated at the Cádiz Summit in 2012; this reform process was continued in Panama in 2013 and completed in Veracruz. Among other innovations, the Summits will be held every two years, more time will be allowed for informal meetings of Heads of State and Government, the annual policy declarations will be replaced by a brief statement summarising the discussions of the Heads of State and Government and more attention will be provided to the issues of knowledge, culture, social cohesion, economy and innovation, which are the major aspects of cooperation that best define the Ibero-American condition.

Language, culture, science and innovation

In cultural and linguistic terms, no region in the world is as homogeneous as Latin America. The countries of Ibero-America should jointly present their language and culture to the world. The rise of the Internet and of new technologies have brought new opportunities to promote our language and common culture. The Cervantes Institute should remain the flagship of Spanish language and culture and continue its work as an outstanding example of the ties between Spain and Latin America.

Economic relations

Trade relations between Spain and Latin America are less important than is commonly believed and, beyond a shadow of doubt, less important than they should be. In contrast to the scant importance of these relations, Spain's investments in Latin America are extremely significant and represent almost 30% of our total external investments. Spain is second only to the USA as the largest investor in the region.

Economic relations among the countries of the Ibero-American Community have changed in recent years. In the 1990s, the economies of Latin America attracted foreign investment, including considerable Spanish investment. However, the dynamic role now being played by Latin American multinationals has made the relationship more symmetric.

In order to further strengthen the economic relations among the countries of our Community, the document coordinated by Ricardo Lagos suggests promoting cooperation by actions such as creating technology platforms to boost competitiveness and productivity, mobilising support to establish Latin American multinationals, especially SMEs, and creating an Ibero-American system of commercial arbitration.

Development cooperation

Development cooperation with Latin America is of special importance and presents certain unique characteristics. The Fourth Master Plan highlights this region as the preferred geographic area for Spanish cooperation. Beyond the obvious logic of this fact, a reflection as to how and why Spain's cooperation policies have evolved is very illustrative of the changes that have taken place in the region and of the maturity that has been reached in this relationship. As observed in the Lagos report, almost all Latin American countries are now classified as middle income countries and this fact has significantly reduced the asymmetry that existed ten years ago. What is now an issue is how we can work together to resolve common problems and build a shared future. This development has changed perceptions of the relation between security and development. With regard to the content of cooperation programmes, the fact that some Latin American countries are now financially stronger means that cooperation with them is less weighted toward the transfer of financial resources and more toward scientific research, the circulation of knowledge and support for institutional transformation, together with assistance in the design of public policies, in respect of which support for R&D&I should play a leading role to favour development.

In summary, economic progress has given Ibero-American cooperation a unique feature that distinguishes it from the traditional ways in which cooperation is administered: its projects are selected, managed and financed by the member countries, the principles that shape the architecture of European security.

5.9. The security of Spain and its citizens

The National Security Strategy specifies external policy as a priority area for action to preserve the security of Spain and its people. This consideration is based on two convictions: that the boundaries between internal and external security have become so blurred as to be almost unrecognisable; and that the security of Spanish citizens sometimes begins very far from our own borders.

External action with respect to security issues takes place within two main areas: the EU and NATO. For our external policy, these institutions are complementary with regard to the priority objective, the security of the Spanish people. Equipping the EU with an effective security and defence policy is a direct outcome of the European project and in this context, our long-term goal is to create a European defence force.

NATO represents the transatlantic dimension without which our security cannot be preserved in the new world that is emerging. NATO is not only crucial to the security of the region of which Spain forms part, but also represents its resolute will to play a significant role in addressing international conflicts. In a new and increasingly unpredictable international environment, NATO symbolises the will of Europe and North America to defend our values and way of life through an integrated system of defence that ensures an effective response will be made, wherever and whenever necessary. In this respect, Spain has the following goals:

- 1. To continue the renovation and transformation of the Alliance, completing the reforms to its structures and capabilities, as announced.
- 2. To renew the associations of the Alliance and in particular the Mediterranean Dialogue, which is of the utmost importance to the allies' security. This Dialogue should be enhanced; it is a path to cooperative security and also substantially benefits the security of our southern neighbours.
- 3. To promote the return of Russia, which should be NATO's most important strategic partner, to

5.10. Assistance and protection for Spanish citizens abroad

The promotion and defence of Spanish interests abroad is a fundamental objective of external policy. Over two million Spaniards live outside our borders and some ten million travel abroad each year. Some have been living abroad for decades, while others have recently acquired Spanish nationality or have moved abroad recently as a result of the internationalisation of the Spanish economy, or are in search of new job opportunities. In addition, millions of Spaniards travel abroad every year as tourists or for short stays. All of these persons require our embassies and consulates to provide a useful, modern and effective service.

Actions

- Continue to improve and modernise the management of the services provided by government bodies abroad.
- Continue technological modernisation and make greater use of e-administration in the Consular Registry and in the issuance of documentation.
- Regarding Spanish citizens' exercise of their rights abroad, take further measures to ensure the greatest number possible can exercise their right to vote.
- Promote relations between Consular Offices and Spanish Residents' Councils and reinforce collaboration with associations of Spanish overseas residents and with care associations operating within our communities abroad.
- Pay special attention to individuals and groups who are especially vulnerable, by reason of age or health, and to all those in situations of difficulty or emergency.
- Improve communication and the provision of information to citizens needing assistance and protection, particularly in situations of special difficulty. For this purpose, the capabilities of the Consular Emergency Unit and of consular response mechanisms to emergencies will be enhanced.

WHAT ARE CONSULAR SERVICES?



Protection and **assistance** to Spanish people abroad



Notary and registry functions



Support to **businessmen** in their commercial relations in other countries



Visa applications for foreigners who wish to travel to Spain

CONSULAR SERVICES IN FIGURES



280.776
Travel document
applications (ordinary
and provisional
passports and letters

of safe-passage)



1.803 Spanish prisoners attended to



183
Consular offices
abroad are those
in charge of lending
these services



2.025.960
Applications
of visas
for foreigners

September 2014 Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación

5.11. Promote Spain's economic interests abroad

With respect to economic issues, trade, finance and support for internationalisation, external action has a dual effect. On the one hand, the External Service is employed in support of Spain's economic interests, and on the other, economic benefits are derived from Spain's political relations, influence and presence in most countries of the world. These two aspects are complementary. Ultimately, the aim of this action is to defend and promote our economic interests in order to boost growth and job creation. And this will be achieved by enhancing and extending the internationalisation of our companies and by attracting foreign investment.

A crucial element of the Strategy for External Action with respect to economic issues, trade, finance and support for the internationalisation of the Spanish economy field is the Strategic Plan for the Internationalisation of the Spanish Economy.

Spain's economic weight in the world has increased exponentially in recent years. Our companies, which only two decades ago had a very limited international presence, have expanded their international activities significantly both in volume and in geographic extension. This activity requires strong, constant support from our External Service. Whether they are bidding for public works and services contracts, or investing abroad to develop activities there through subsidiaries and branches, businesses require the assistance of our external network. Moreover, the intense flow of business travel generated by this activity makes special demands on the external network, which is also called upon to promote tourism, another important resource for our country. Providing adequate resources for this network is a task that will be among our major concerns in the coming years.

The defence of Spain's economic interests abroad, furthermore, requires constant endeavours by our external representatives to preserve and enhance the image of our country and its perception. Obviously, a country's image is an important factor in its competitiveness and can positively or negatively affect the exports of goods and services, the entry of foreign investment, tourist arrivals, access to international funding and the ability of our companies to obtain contracts for the provision of works and services abroad.

6. Actions

Our priorities and objectives will be achieved by putting into practice a series of actions in diverse fields. Spanning the entire range of government activity, these actions are addressed in the corresponding sections of the Spanish External Action and Service Act. The breadth and variety of the actions highlights the complex nature of external action today and the need for a new strategy framework. The text of the Strategy examines, in great detail, external actions in various fields. In many of these fields, in accordance with the territorial structure of the State, these actions are carried out in collaboration with the Autonomous Communities.

7. Geographic spaces

Bilateral relations are and will continue to be a fundamental pillar of external policy and make a decisive contribution to achieving the priority goals established for this policy. The nature of these relations is changing with the appearance of nongovernmental and non-administrative centres of power and influence and with the need to establish new forms of association with countries or groups of countries to act in other regions of the world. The numerous, intricate relations that Spain maintains with other countries worldwide, in which it has invested considerable human and material resources, must be adapted to these changing circumstances.

7.1. Europe

Bilateral relations with our EU partners are an essential element of our greater goal of European integration. Therefore, these relations will be further strengthened, with special regard to countries with which we already have important strategic relations, i.e., Germany, France, Italy, Poland, Portugal and Romania.

These relations have a long, intense historical background, extending beyond the public realm and far beyond the official framework, making our respective societies true engines of mutual interaction. Relations such as those we have with the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and the other EU Member States have a legal framework that is incomparable with that of any other bilateral relation. They may require the drafting of plans to address an issue of common interest, such as that of interconnections

with France, but there is no need for a specific external policy strategy to address them. For some time, the best strategy has been to allow European societies, including that of Spain, define their preferences in mutual relations. Beyond EU borders, the European continent has countries and regions that are highly important to Spanish external policy.

Russia is the EU's most important neighbour. In recent years, Moscow has acted in a way that has made it difficult to fully realise the potential of a relation that should be strategic for both parties.

Spain wishes to have a relation with Russia that enables us to take advantage of the enormous potential for mutual benefit. To achieve this, each party must have a basic understanding of the other's attitude, especially regarding the neighbourhood we share. For Spain, the only acceptable model is one in which the legitimate interests of all concerned are respected, in which the fundamental priority is the progress and welfare of all countries in the region. We will continue to work in this line, to improve relations between Russia and the EU.

Ukraine is a significant neighbour, the most prominent member of the Eastern Partnership and a country with which Spain wishes to increase the quality and content of its bilateral relations.

We have a strategic relationship with Turkey on political and economic levels and we support its process of accession to the European Union. In line with the Spanish position on accession, the support for Turkey's admission is based on strict compliance with the conditions established under the Copenhagen Criteria and on the progress reports made by the European Commission.

We will continue to firmly support the European perspective on the Western Balkans in the framework of the criteria established at the European Council meetings held in Copenhagen in 1993 and in Madrid in 1995 and in that of the Stabilisation and Association Process adopted at the European Council meeting held in Thessaloniki in 2003.

With Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia and Moldova, members of the Eastern Partnership, we have been intensifying contacts and promoting their greater proximity to Europe, in an approach that respects the choices made by each country regarding its relationship with the Union and implemented in the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy.



King Juan Carlos together with the President of Russia Vladimir Putin, in the Russian State Prize award ceremony, the most prestigious in the country, awarded to the King in 2012 for his humanitarian deeds and his role during in the Spanish Transition.

The Gibraltar dispute is an anachronistic remnant of the dynastic conflicts of the Ancien Régime, which must be resolved through bilateral negotiations between Spain and the United Kingdom, as urged by the UN continually since 1965. Negotiations on sovereignty, as corroborated by the UN, are the exclusive responsibility of the Governments of Spain and the United Kingdom, although obviously the interests of the people of Gibraltar and of Campo de Gibraltar must be taken into account.

As well as bilateral negotiations on sovereignty, we are working to reach an agreement with the United Kingdom on a regional cooperation plan, focused only on issues that directly concern cooperation between the populations of either side of the Fence. In addition to the national authorities of Spain and the United Kingdom, this new plan provides for the participation of the local authorities of Gibraltar and of the local and regional Spanish authorities competent in each case.

7.1. The Mediterranean and the Near East

The Mediterranean area is more fragmented today than it has ever been before. Apart from the revolutions of the Arab Spring and their effects in countries such as Egypt, Libya and Tunisia, the whole Levant region and all the lands watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates are undergoing severe tensions, which aggravate, often deliberately, sectarian schisms, especially those between Sunnis and Shiites. The most dramatic events in this respect are those occurring in Syria and Iraq.

The importance and significance of these events and their geopolitical impact must not be underestimated, even if we cannot yet determine their specific effects in the medium-long term. Three elements that are fundamental to any political architecture, namely national borders, the role of government and the balances that preserve regional stability, are all being questioned at the same time. In such a vast, diverse region, each new source of instability has specific causes, but they also share common elements.

First, population. In the Middle East and North Africa, the youth population, those aged 15-24 years, make up about one-third of the total population. Many of these young people have no prospects within the system, controlled by a political class that does not reflect their interests and concerns.

The second common element is the manifestation of identity exclusion. The question of identity is largely the result of the political manipulation of social demands, which have nothing to do with religious or cultural differences and have been exploited to ward off the possibility of change. Accordingly, the sectarian drift has now reached levels that pose a major threat to the future of the region and which are shaping a political culture in which consensus is highly problematic.

Thus, the region is submerged beneath an immense wave of instability and presents the greatest potential for conflict since the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Sykes-Picot agreement and the border re-drawing that took place after the First World War. The centralising power of the states then created is now in retreat, giving rise to porous borders and territories that are powerless to resist the actions of sectarian groups.

The Maghreb

North Africa and the Maghreb in particular, is a priority strategic region for Spain's external action. Its geographical proximity, political and cultural significance and economic and commercial potential, together with the presence of important North African communities in Spain, make the stability and prosperity of the southern rim of the Mediterranean a matter of crucial importance to our country. We must be involved and be present, in the unswerving conviction of the need to achieve

solutions that benefit and are acceptable to both the north and the south.

Our policy is aimed at encouraging reform, fostering stability and achieving solid, meaningful relationships with every country in this region. Another of our regional objectives is to promote the Spanish language, which is receiving increasing interest among our southern neighbours. In the framework of the European Union, Spain wishes to apply a neighbourhood policy that promotes inclusive development.

Morocco is our closest neighbour to the south

and an essential partner, with whom we intend to further enhance and extend our already excellent bilateral relations. Fully aware that close vicinity and sometimes conflicting interests may provoke disagreements, our shared goal is to further strengthen the texture of our relations and to address any disputes that may arise with restraint, avoiding harmful effects on the overriding relationship. Spain views Algeria as a strategic partner in political, security and economic matters. Accordingly, we intend to maintain the same pattern as in recent years and to continue intensifying our exchanges of views and consolidating new areas of

Tunisia is responding in exemplary fashion to the legitimate democratic aspirations of its population, despite the internal and external obstacles it must overcome in this process. In response to the new situation and to the political valour of the Tunisian authorities, Spain intends to enhance our bilateral relationship, fostering political dialogue and reaching sectoral agreements.

cooperation. This endeavour will benefit from the

regular convening of high-level meetings.

Spain was one of the first to support Libya when its transformation began in 2011 and will remain committed to the international effort to stabilise the country.

Mauritania is a stable and reliable partner, with whom we shall continue to benefit from our shared history and traditionally good relations. In addition to continuing our political dialogue and maintaining the currently excellent degree of cooperation on migration and security, Spain intends to contribute to the development and economic growth of this country.

The regional integration of the Maghreb and the development of the Arab Maghreb Union will con-

tribute to peace and prosperity in the region. For this reason, Spain will continue promoting this integration, by means such as the Western Mediterranean Dialogue, bringing together the five Maghreb countries and the five countries of the northern shores of the Mediterranean: Portugal, Spain, France, Italy and Malta.

Middle East

Spain's policy toward the Middle East is to seek constructive, meaningful relations with the countries of the region. For this purpose, the first need is to help address the complex problems facing the region. But beyond this area, there is space and opportunity to explore highly promising areas for bilateral relations. These two aspects are mutually beneficial; the satisfactory resolution of these conflicts is inextricably bound up with developing the enormous potential offered. In this respect, the countries of the Middle East have dynamic markets, they have achieved significant levels of prosperity, ambitious plans for development are being laid and thousands of talented, hard-working young people are carrying out personal and business projects. Our natural framework for action to resolve the conflicts afflicting this region is that of the European Union and that of all countries of good will.

In Syria, our strategy is based on three principles: commitment to the democratic aspirations of the Syrian people, urgency in alleviating the human tragedy and the conviction that only a political solution can bring peace and reconciliation. Following these principles, we will work with our EU partners to promote an inclusive dialogue to create a new, democratic order.

A similar thinking underlies our strategy toward lraq: only when the country is united, stable, sovereign and fully independent will it be able to play the moderating role in the Middle East for which it is traditionally suited, as a great Arab nation, with all the potential acquired from its diverse society and vast territory, rich in natural resources.

We will continue to support political stability, institutional strengthening and social coexistence in Lebanon, which is currently sheltering a large number of Syrian and Palestinian refugees.

Our traditional friendship with Jordan, based on a close relationship between the two royal families, will continue to be cultivated and will underpin

WESTERN SAHARA

The question of the Western Sahara is close to Spain's heart, interests and values. Our external policy must take account of this fact and of the framework built by the international community to resolve the situation. Spain remains firmly committed to finding a just, lasting and mutually acceptable political solution that provides for the selfdetermination of the people of the Western Sahara, in the framework of the United Nations Charter. As a member of the Group of Friends, we defend the pre-eminent role of the UN in resolving this conflict and we support the work carried out by the envoys of the UN Secretary General. Spain is the leading bilateral donor of humanitarian aid and will maintain its commitment of solidarity with the Saharawi population.

Spain's support for Jordan to address the serious challenges now facing the country.

The solution to the Palestinian question, with two States living side by side in peace, seems apparent to all; and yet, negotiations stall again and again. Spain has always maintained that only the parties themselves can bring about a lasting agreement, but also that the so-called "peace process" cannot be prolonged indefinitely. Spain will continue to encourage the parties to persevere with their dialogue, but given the unjustified perpetuation of the process, we will not hesitate to support, in consultation with our EU partners, initiatives to deter the parties from adopting unilateral actions that could jeopardise the goal of a negotiated solution, with two States co-existing in peace and security.

Furthermore, we aim to extend and enhance our bilateral relations with Israel in the political, economic and cultural spheres, thus strengthening the ties between our country and the people of Israel and in particular with the Sephardic communities. Highlighting the Sephardic aspect of our own identity is an act of historical justice, one forming a new basis for relations with the dynamic society of Israel and with Jewish communities elsewhere.

The stability of Egypt is a fundamental and inalienable objective. However, this stability will only be lasting if it is accompanied by measures enabling all citizens to participate in political life. At the same time, it is a matter of priority to help Egypt achieve a level of development and a rate of growth sufficient to ensure a better future for a young, large and growing population.

We will take advantage of constructive opportunities to pay special attention to relations with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council – Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, UAE, Kuwait and Oman, with which Spain maintains very cordial relations, inspired by the bonds of friendship between our respective royal families. The international outlook and technological quality of Spanish companies ideally complement the development plans of these countries. But we wish to go further and explore all areas of bilateral relations: political, economic and trade, and those concerning cultural, scientific and university cooperation. Our ambition is to further consolidate these broad-based, solid relationships.

Yemen is suffering a combination of political crises and conflicts that are hampering the process of national dialogue. Nevertheless, Spain will continue to support this process.

Regarding Iran, we will continue to provide political backing in the search for an agreement to prevent nuclear proliferation. We wish to take part in the progressive normalisation of Iran's relations with the rest of the world. An Iran that is fully reintegrated into the international community would contribute to stability and would again be an important economic partner for Spain.

At the regional multilateral level, our efforts will continue to be directed at making the Mediterranean less a frontier and more an integrated space. However, this will only be possible with the active participation of the European Union. Therefore, our first task will be to continue defending and strengthening the southern dimension of the EU Neighbourhood Policy. The creation of the informal group of foreign ministers of the Mediterranean European countries, (the MED group), provides a useful framework for consultation in this respect.

The Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean, after concluding a far-reaching institutional renewal, has become well established as an opera-



Conference on Stability and Development in Libya, held in the Palace of Viana in Madrid in September 2014.

tional tool for project development and as a platform to coordinate synergies and complementarities with other institutions and frameworks for cooperation.

Together with Morocco, Spain will continue to promote an initiative for mediation in the Mediterranean, which is among the objectives of the UN and of the Group of Friends of Mediation. The UN Secretary-General has issued reports recommending that regional mediation be promoted. A culture of mediation is particularly necessary in this troubled region.

In addition, we will continue to work in favour of NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue, that of the Council of Europe and the OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation initiative, as frameworks for building confidence and promoting stability, peace and security in the Mediterranean basin.

7.3. Latin America and the Caribbean

Latin America is a region with a promising future; it is politically stable, economically prosperous and seeks to play a significant role in the emerging world. Its energy, dynamism and strong integration within the world's economy and trade give it enormous potential. Moreover, diversity and heterogeneity have always been the norm in this continent, which gave the world the term mestizo and made mestizaje (mixture) its ideal.

Now that South America's dictatorships have disappeared and the civil wars in Central America

have come to an end, the continent has undergone a staggering transformation. Democracy is solidly established in virtually all countries, election results are respected and anti-democratic processes are firmly and unanimously condemned.

The global role played by the region is changing and to reassert its voice on the international stage, Latin America is advancing rapidly towards regional and subregional integration, using various formulas, but with the common denominator of respect for the identity and diversity of each country. Long-established groupings such as the Organisation of American States, Mercosur and the Central American Integration System (SICA) have been joined by more recent ones, including the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) and the Pacific Alliance. These associations are shaping a situation of variable geometry, incorporating both ideological affinities and processes of a pragmatic nature.

Within this general framework, Spain has made qualitative advances in what is now a permanent, fluid political cooperation with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, as is reflected in frequent institutional contacts.

The bilateral relationship with Mexico is the most fully developed institutionally and is channelled through a Binational Commission. Numerous official visits are made, in both directions, by high-ranking officials.

Brazil requires an individualised strategy. Despite the intense economic interdependence between the two nations, the situation in the field of political relations is somewhat deficient and has yet to reach its full potential.

Strategic partnerships with six countries in the region – Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru and Mexico – have served their original purpose, that of strengthening bilateral relations, and should now constitute a framework for political cooperation on regional and global issues and for global projection. Our joint efforts will target specific objectives, emphasising new aspects of the relationship (such as innovation, strategic economic sectors and talent mobility). Strategic Partnership Agreements should encompass all aspects of our relations and obtain the active participation of all government departments.

Uruguay is an important partner in the new scheme of cooperation with the countries of the region and our bilateral relationship should be further developed.

In Venezuela, the presence of an important population of Spanish origin and our historical, cultural and economic ties, make it necessary to maintain a fluid political dialogue in order to enhance our bilateral relations and resolve differences.

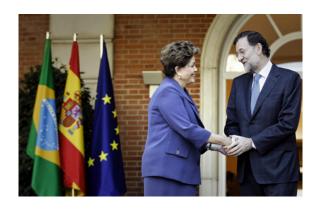
In Paraguay, the significant presence of Spanish companies and the good state of our bilateral relations provide ideal circumstances for further enhancing our political relationship.

Relations between Spain and Cuba are particularly important to both countries and this relationship presents an internal dimension that goes beyond the arena of external policy. Many Spaniards take a personal interest in the situation in Cuba and in our bilateral relationship. Dialogue with the Cuban people, with the authorities and with the political opposition has always been fluid and should remain so in the future. Economic relations will strengthen in the coming years as the general situation of the island improves.

We intend to intensify our political dialogue with Bolivia and to cooperate in multilateral forums. Human relationships are crucial in bilateral dialogue, and so Bolivia's ratification of the Hague Convention on the international recognition of foreign public documents will streamline procedures to legalise the situation of Bolivians living in Spain.

Ecuador wishes to move on from traditional cooperation to a relationship that is more focused on knowledge transfer, and the necessary agreements should be concluded to facilitate this transition. We hope that Ecuador will negotiate and conclude an association agreement with the European Union. The Ecuadorian community is the largest Latin American population in Spain and we will keep good channels of communication open in order to respond appropriately to its specific problems.

The recent entry of the Dominican Republic into SICA, its proximity to the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and its membership of the group of countries classified as African-Caribbean-Pacific: all of these factors make the Dominican Republic a country that calls for special attention in our bilateral political dialogues.



The Spanish Prime Minister greets the President of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff, during her official visit to Madrid in November 2012.

In Central America, Spain remains committed to encouraging and promoting regional integration, by instruments such as SICA and the Central American Security Strategy (ESCA). The Spain-SICA Fund will remain operational and we will seek to obtain observer status for Spain within SICA. Central America will continue to occupy a preferential position in the work of Spanish cooperation, especially the three countries of the 'Northern Triangle', Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras.

Nicaragua also remains among the priorities of Spanish cooperation. Costa Rica and Panama enjoy high rates of economic growth and the presence of Spanish companies in these countries is rising and becoming increasingly consolidated. Our relationships with these two countries, which are scheduled to join the Pacific Alliance, should be of greater political significance and address aspects such as talent mobility.

7.4. The transatlantic relationship

The transatlantic relationship is the second dimension of our natural priority, the Americas. We have a profound, extensive bilateral relationship with the United States. This relation is also expressed in the framework of the EU, with which an economic dimension has been achieved that is unparalleled in the international community. Furthermore, attitudes and actions on security issues are coordinated both in our bilateral relationship and within the NATO framework. Therefore, the transatlantic relationship will continue to be of crucial importance in a context of changing global circumstances. US-European relations are increasingly balanced, but



The President of the United States talks with His Majesty the King during a meeting held in New York in September 2014.

THE ATLANTIC SPACE

Although the Pacific is attracting much attention, due to its economic strength and dynamism, the Atlantic basin is also a central scenario of globalisation and one in which Spain can play an important role.

The Atlantic space, with its four shores connecting Europe, North America, Africa and Latin America, is a subsystem with a growing interrelationship. Trade and investment flows exceed those of the Pacific basin; moreover, the countries of this space possess a high degree of political cohesion based on a shared commitment to democracy. It is also a unique space as an area for North-South encounter and increasing South-South interaction. Challenges that are common to all four shores are environmental issues, poverty, trade, energy and the fight against drug trafficking.

Spain should make good use of its strategic position in this space; we are present in the leading institutions of the North and at the same time, in close cultural proximity to the South. Thus, we are ideally placed to contribute to the development of cooperation within a comprehensive Atlantic framework and to encourage the South-South cooperation necessary to ensure growth and stability throughout the region.

Spain can and should contribute more in all areas of this relationship.

a) Transatlantic ties.

Spanish external action has the following aims:

- 1. To enhance political relations to reflect the strength and depth of the bilateral relationship.
 2. To reinforce economic relations by increasing cooperation on the protection of intellectual property; by promoting educational, scientific and technological cooperation; and by collaboration in the field of energy security, with particular respect to renewable energy.
- 3. To extend and improve relations in defence issues.

For the EU, its most important strategic relationship is with the United States and this is perceived by the international community as one of its firmest reference points of peace, security and international cooperation. Therefore, we must continue to strengthen this relationship. Of particular importance, in the medium to long term, is the conclusion of a treaty creating a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership.

A privileged, substantial relationship between Spain and the United States is the perfect complement to this relationship. Both countries can gain significant benefits from an economic and trade partnership between the EU and the USA. Such a link would also benefit from already-existing relations with other free trade areas, such as the North American FTA (between the US, Canada and Mexico) and that between the EU and Canada.

b) Hispanic communities

Our goal is to promote Spanish language and culture within a country that is open to our cultural actions, taking into account that Spanish is the second language of the non-Hispanic population in the USA. Today, 16% of the US population is Hispanic and this ratio could reach 30% by mid-century.

In addition, we seek to promote relations with the Hispanic community in the US, promoting awareness of and greater proximity to this heterogeneous population.

7.5. Sub-Saharan Africa

900 million people, a dramatic transformation is taking place. Increasing attention is being drawn to this region for reasons very different from those traditionally encountered, counteracting the prevailing negative images of violence, hunger and irregular migration.

Certainly, these African countries are still among the world's least developed, according to the Human Development Index, and many conflicts in this region remain unresolved. But there is a new African reality. Many countries are in transition, presenting strong economic growth and acquiring democratic governments. There is renewed political, economic, commercial and investment interest in the continent among major actors in the international community. Among the international media, in a single decade, Africa has risen from being considered the "hopeless continent" to become the "emerging continent".

Most Sub-Saharan countries are now turning towards democratic systems and the African Union is firmly resolved to oppose coups d'état and unconstitutional regimes. Sub-Saharan Africa realises it must control its own destiny and is increasingly assuming the responsibility for its present and future. In a broader context, every country in Africa wishes to ensure its own peace and security, and an African Peace and Security Architecture has been constructed to this end. Furthermore, Africa is actively promoting its continental and regional integration.

The natural resources of this region constitute a strategic asset with which Sub-Saharan countries are attracting both trade and foreign direct investment. However, its main resource is the population, the people of Africa. In an ageing world, this continent has the youngest population of the planet and one that is increasingly well prepared. If we were to name just one reason why the future will belong to Africa, this would be it.

And Spain's own future is linked to that of Africa, at least in part. We have a long-standing commitment, entered into many years ago with many of the countries in the region, in many cases since their independence. This commitment is constantly evolving, in line with the transformations taking place in our own country and, above all, those in Africa itself.

Our relationship with Africa is based on three fundamental goals:

- 1. To respond to the need for peace and security, in support of African solutions to African conflicts;
- 2. To contribute to the advancement of democracy and human rights;
- 3. To promote an economic partnership between Africa and Europe in which all the instruments deployed, from development cooperation to trade and investment, will be aimed at increasing the prosperity of the African people.

Goals

In West Africa and particularly in the Sahel, we are working for stabilisation and development, through the intensive involvement of the European Union collectively and of Spain individually.

In the Gulf of Guinea, we will contribute to the fight against piracy, terrorist groups and illegal trafficking networks that are generating chronic instability.

In the Horn of Africa, too, our main concern is to consolidate the security architecture of the region, strengthening the capacities of coastal countries, especially Somalia.

We wish to intensify political, economic and cultural relations with Equatorial Guinea.

South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Nigeria, Ghana and Ethiopia are becoming increasingly important, in regional terms and in some cases in global ones, and this evolution should be reflected in more tightly meshed bilateral relations. There are many opportunities in these countries for Spanish companies, and these opportunities must be seized.

We will continue to support processes of African regional integration, in particular the African Union and ECOWAS, which are excellent instruments for peace, security and development in the continent.

On migration policy, we will further develop the present comprehensive approach, fighting against irregular migration, promoting legal migration and fostering migration and development policies.

The European Union has a comprehensive programme of relations with Sub-Saharan Africa which includes areas of great importance for Spain, such as peace and security, development, inclusive and sustainable growth, trade and ener-



Crew of the frigate "Cristobal Colón" participating in NATO operation "Ocean Shield" in Somalia in March 2014.

gy relations, regional integration, migration, the environment and climate change. Our aim is for this commitment to be renewed and to acquire greater ambition and effectiveness.

7.5. Asia-Pacific

The Asia-Pacific region is returning to the central position in world affairs that it once held for centuries; it is now one of the centres of gravity of the world economy. Since 2000, Spanish policy toward this region has been guided by its Asia Plan. Today, the Plan has amply fulfilled its two main objectives: in the region itself, to lay the foundations for a firm Spanish presence; and within Spanish society, to highlight the importance of Asia-Pacific for our country. Accordingly, now is the time to reorient our external policy on Asia-Pacific, adopting a less centralist attitude and presenting greater adaptability to the changes that our increasing presence is making ever more frequent and complex.

Goals

- 1. Increase the Spanish presence in the major countries of the region.
- 2. Promote mutual understanding.
- 3. Promote trade and mutual investment.
- 4. Strengthen the role of the EU as a strategic player in the region. Spain's concerns regarding security and its strategic influence in this region coincide with those of our European partners.
- 5. Encourage and participate in the emerging Latin America-Asia-Europe triangle. Spain already has observer status in the Pacific Alliance and is well located to participate in these developments.

The diversity of Asia means that we must prioritise these general objectives according to the area and the country in question. In this respect, five areas and certain specific countries warrant particular attention:

- 1. Central Asia. The five Central Asian countries, which form a region of great geo-strategic importance, are members of the OSCE and are attracting growing interest from the European Union and Spain. The existence of a prosperous, stable and democratic Central Asia would contribute enormously to global stability.
- **2. In Southern Asia**, Spain will seek to increase its presence in India, in all areas of activity, in view of the outstanding significance of this country.
- **3. East Asia:** Relations with China form part of the EU-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership. Our priority is to intensify regular consultations at all levels, establishing a permanent dialogue and progressively balancing our bilateral economic relations.

The Partnership for Peace, Growth and Innovation between Japan and Spain, covering a broad spectrum of fields, was created in 2013 and represented a quantum leap in the intensity and depth of our relations.

The Republic of Korea is a democracy that has become the fourth largest economy in Asia. Following the intensification of our political and economic relations, we must make good use of the entry into force of the first free trade agreement between the EU and an East Asian country.

4. Southeast Asia: In the Philippines, in addition to our historical and cultural ties, various new factors are spurring an increasingly diverse bilateral relationship.

Indonesia, the most populous Muslim country in the world, plays a key role in ASEAN and has a thriving economy. Our interest is to strengthen political ties, to enhance coordination in multilateral forums on the basis of issues of common interest, such as interfaith dialogue, the reform of the global financial architecture in the framework of G-20, to strengthen cooperation in the field of defence and to increase business cooperation.

As a result of the Strategic Partnership with Vietnam, established in 2009, relationships are being



Opening of the VII Spain China Forum with the presence of the Minister of Industry, Energy and Tourism and the Vice President of the Consultative Conference of China, Ma Biao, in 2013.

strengthened and new areas of cooperation opened up.

5. Pacific: Spain and Australia have a strategic partnership, under the 2010 Action Plan, that is favouring closer political and business relationships, with regular contacts, and has led to increased coordination in defence, with close cooperation between the two navies.

8. Instruments

A great variety of instruments are employed in our external action, ranging from the traditional exchange of visits or the work of the intelligence services, to opening up our universities to foreign students. Other instruments, related to the new reality of international relations, provide additional value. Four such instruments should be highlighted: Marca España, public diplomacy, diplomatic information and digital diplomacy and parliamentary instruments.

Marca España

This instrument typifies "soft power" and forms a fundamental part of our global projection. The Marca España (Brand Spain) project encompasses diverse aspects of Spanish life, including cuisine, cultural heritage, business capabilities and sporting excellence and is intended to bridge the gap between the reality of Spain – its human capital and generous civil society – and the external image, often based on stereotypes.

Public diplomacy

In addition to Marca España, other instruments of public diplomacy are employed in order to influence and persuade, with the aim of projecting a global image that is more consistent with our reality.

These instruments are widely varied and include powerful channels such as the Cervantes Institute, diverse Cultural Ministries, the Carolina Foundation and the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation. Three of them are having a particularly strong impact: the six international cultural organisations (Casas), the Council Foundations (Fundaciones Consejo) and the Ideas Centres (Centros de Pensamiento).

The six Casas – focusing on the Americas, the Arab world, Asia, Africa, the Mediterranean and the Sephardic community – provide a link between Spain and the respective civil societies and have become an international point of reference.

Council Foundations are instruments of publicprivate partnership that very effectively promote Spain's interests in the countries in which they operate.

Tomorrow's world is destined to be, above all, a knowledge-based society, one in which influence is obtained from the power of ideas. Spain has its own, well considered, outlook on this world and is excellently placed to contribute to the global strategic debate. In part, this situation arises from the excellence of our Ideas Centres. To make best use of their high quality, independent assessments, we shall seek their cooperation and incorporate their conclusions into our external policy planning.

Diplomatic information and digital diplomacy

An external policy can only be effective and coherent if it is properly communicated; we must not only explain what we do and why we do it, but also achieve the overall goal of diplomatic information, that of providing Spain with an identifiable, well-defined global identity.

Accordingly, we will enhance our relations with the media, fostering analysis of Spain's presence in foreign media and providing a public information service, both from Spain and via our diplomatic missions abroad.



Information file produced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation with the title "Spain, country of technology".

In recent years, a new factor has appeared, of great present and even greater future significance: the internet and other new information technologies now constitute crucial instruments with which to address external policy goals. Digital diplomacy presents opportunities to channel Spanish influence, addressing large audiences and receiving their opinions and suggestions, all with great vividness, high frequency and immediacy. In the present Strategy, we recommend the even greater adoption of information and communication technologies, focused especially on enhancing our interaction with citizens and with civil society.

Parliamentary diplomacy

Spain's external policy must reflect all facets and priorities of Spanish society. In this context, parliamentary diplomacy is a very useful tool, incorporating the defence and projection of Spain's interests and at the same time reflecting diverse social and political perspectives. We will work with Parliament to ensure that these roles are fulfilled.

9. The external policy system: resources

In this Strategy, we have examined the changes in focus that need to be introduced in certain policy areas (issues-based or geographic). In addition, we have emphasised the need for a more intensive use of certain instruments that are particularly well suited to the new emerging context.

However, and looking beyond these actions, it is imperative to carry out two reforms that are more substantial.

First, some elements of the decision-making process must be reformed, in order to reinforce the coordination of external action and to strengthen the role of the Prime Minister and the quality of democratic control over external policy.

Secondly, the human and material resources at the service of external action must be redeployed to bring them closer to the new centres of power and influence in the world.

Strategic planning

In a world that is becoming more uncertain and complex, the strategic planning of external policy is more important than ever. To do so on a sound footing, we will strengthen the resources made available for this and for coordination with the Ideas Centres.

The Council for External Policy

The increasing complexity of our strategic environment and the enormous variety of external operations conducted require closer, continuing and effective coordination, together with greater involvement by the Prime Minister, who has ultimate executive power. As in other advanced democracies, the more prominent role of the head of government in international relations is a logical and desirable consequence of the greater importance now attached to external relations with respect to national welfare, security and stability.

The most appropriate body to translate these concepts into action is the Executive Council for External Policy, which the Spanish External Action and Service Act defines as "The collegiate body responsible for providing support and advice to the Prime Minister, in performance of his/her functions of direction and coordination of external policy".

This body, together with the Executive Council for External Policy, is an invaluable forum for debate and reflection and for taking the most important decisions in Spain's external policy.

Evaluation and democratic control of external action

To improve efficacy, objective criteria will be formulated to evaluate the external actions conducted. These criteria will be presented in the next annual report.

As observed above, a stable, predictable and reliable external policy must be one that is determined by consensus. And majority support can only be achieved as the outcome of close collaboration between Parliamentary forces and from constant monitoring of the Government's actions in this matter. Accordingly, Spain's new external policy is based on a commitment to provide more regular accountability to the competent bodies within the Congress of Deputies and the Senate.

Furthermore, the new situation in which citizens are situated at the centre of external policy means they must play a larger part in the process of determining Spain's outlook towards the world. To achieve this goal, we will work with political forces, NGOs and ideas centres to define appropriate proposals.

Human and material resources: a new deployment

One of the greatest assets of Spanish external policy is its deployment abroad, especially that of the 6000 persons at the service of Spanish citizens beyond our borders. The professional quality and dedication of these public servants and their incorporation in diplomatic missions, some with a centuries-old tradition in their respective local societies, constitute the most valuable aspect of our external action.

Changes in the international community make it necessary to conduct an appropriate redeployment of our human and material resources. This reform will take place in addition to the qualitative change in the diplomatic work carried out, which is now aimed as much at the coordination and control of networks as at maintaining traditional relationships with authorities and civil society.

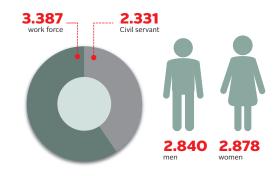
This redistribution of our resources will be performed according to criteria of efficiency and impact. Objectives such as our presence and activity in megacities and the particular emphasis to be placed on a given element of external action (for example, cultural, commercial or consular assistance) will also be taken into consideration, in addition to the necessary support for bilateral relationships.

PERSONNEL OF MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND COOPERATION

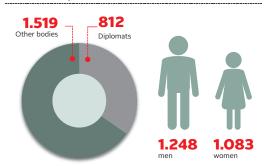




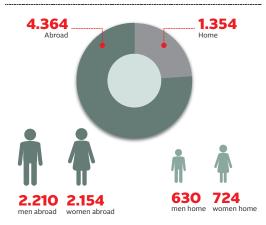
Distribution between work force and civil servant



Civil Servant personnel



Distribution between home and abroad





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