

Spanish Foreign Policy

Code: 101094
ECTS Credits: 6

Degree	Type	Year	Semester
2500259 Political Science and Public Management.	OT	3	2
2500259 Political Science and Public Management.	OT	4	0
2503778 International Relations	OT	4	0

Contact

Name: Francesc Serra Massansalvador
Email: Francesc.Serra@uab.cat

Use of languages

Principal working language: catalan (cat)
Some groups entirely in English: Yes
Some groups entirely in Catalan: No
Some groups entirely in Spanish: Yes

Teachers

Juan Pablo Soriano Gatica

Prerequisites

No previous language requirements needed for this subject. However, although there is an English language group and classes will be provided to it in that language, a basic passive understanding of Spanish will be required, since due to the nature and contents of the subject, a big part of the bibliography and sources to follow it, both primary and secondary, are solely in Spanish. Lack of knowledge of this language will not be accepted as a reason to avoid doing works, seminars or readings.

Objectives and Contextualisation

- To provide students with analytical tools, introductory applied to the study of Spanish foreign policy (mainly in the post-Franco period).
- To put the study of Spanish foreign policy in historical perspective, to find out the factors of change and continuity between the period Franco democratic Spain.
- To analyze the characteristics of the preparation process (values, interests, decisions), enforcement (instruments, shares) and control of foreign policy.
- To identify the most relevant characteristics and evolution of the current agenda of Spanish foreign policy.
- To stimulate discussion among students about the ability of governments to adapt Spanish foreign policy in the recent global changes and the needs of a democratic society

Skills

Political Science and Public Management.

- Applying theoretical and analytical knowledge of International Relations to practical and professional cases, in particular to the areas of conflict and cooperation between actors.
- Arguing from different theoretical perspectives.
- Assessing specific distinctive aspects and conceptual and methodological instruments of the different tendencies and analytical approximations of International Relations.
- Demonstrating good writing skills in different contexts.
- Demonstrating they know theoretical tendencies and classical and recent analytical approximations of International Relations.
- Designing data collection techniques, coordinating the information processing and meticulously applying hypothesis verification methods.
- Distinguishing the discipline's main theories and different fields: conceptual developments, theoretical frameworks and theoretical approaches underlying the discipline's knowledge and different areas and sub-areas, as well as their value for the professional practice through concrete cases.
- Identifying sources of data and conducting bibliographic and documentary searches.
- Interpreting and applying English texts in an academic way.
- Managing the available time in order to accomplish the established objectives and fulfil the intended task.
- Producing and planning researches or analytical reports.
- Realising effective oral presentations that are suited to the audience.
- Synthesizing and critically analysing information.
- Using the main information and documentation techniques (ICT) as an essential tool for the analysis.
- Working autonomously.
- Working by using quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques in order to apply them to research processes.
- Working in teams and networking, particularly in interdisciplinary conditions.

International Relations

- Analyse international society and its structure and understand its importance for real-life problems and professional practice.
- Analyse the production and implementation of public policies related to the international sphere, in particular foreign policy and security and defence policy.
- Apply quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques in research processes.
- Identify data sources and carry out rigorous bibliographical and documentary searches.
- Identify the main theories of international relations and their different fields (international theory, conflicts and security, international politics, etc.) to apply them in professional practice.
- Students must be capable of applying their knowledge to their work or vocation in a professional way and they should have building arguments and problem resolution skills within their area of study.
- Students must be capable of collecting and interpreting relevant data (usually within their area of study) in order to make statements that reflect social, scientific or ethical relevant issues.
- Students must develop the necessary learning skills to undertake further training with a high degree of autonomy.
- Use different tools for analysing the contemporary international system and its functional and regional or geographical subsystems.
- Use metatheoretical data to argue and establish plausible relation of causality and establish ways of validating or rejecting them.

Learning outcomes

1. Analyse processes of decision-making, drawing up and implementing Spanish foreign and security policies.
2. Analyse the historical and comparative roles of the different actors in the large regional areas.
3. Apply quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques in research processes.
4. Applying theoretical and analytical knowledge of International Relations to practical and professional cases, in particular to the areas of conflict and cooperation between actors.
5. Arguing from different theoretical perspectives.
6. Assessing specific distinctive aspects and conceptual and methodological instruments of the different tendencies and analytical approximations of International Relations.

7. Critically assessing the impacts of globalization in several areas: safety, environment, human rights, migrations and peace.
8. Demonstrate knowledge of theoretical trends and classical and recent analytical approaches to international relations.
9. Demonstrating good writing skills in different contexts.
10. Demonstrating they know theoretical tendencies and classical and recent analytical approximations of International Relations.
11. Describing the international order: anarchy versus order, society of states and transnational society.
12. Describing the main characteristic elements of the international society as a whole (1945-2000).
13. Designing data collection techniques, coordinating the information processing and meticulously applying hypothesis verification methods.
14. Explaining the major approximations to the international relations (realism, transnationalism and structuralism).
15. Identify data sources and carry out rigorous bibliographical and documentary searches.
16. Identify the factors of change and continuity and the main trends in Spanish foreign and security policies, and their relationship with the international, European and Atlantic organisations with which they interact.
17. Identifying sources of data and conducting bibliographic and documentary searches.
18. Interpreting and applying English texts in an academic way.
19. Make a brief comparison of national and/or regional cases within the same international and/or regional framework.
20. Managing the available time in order to accomplish the established objectives and fulfil the intended task.
21. Producing and planning researches or analytical reports.
22. Properly using the theory and concepts of international relations (traditions of Hobbesian, Grotian or Kantian thought).
23. Realising effective oral presentations that are suited to the audience.
24. Students must be capable of applying their knowledge to their work or vocation in a professional way and they should have building arguments and problem resolution skills within their area of study.
25. Students must be capable of collecting and interpreting relevant data (usually within their area of study) in order to make statements that reflect social, scientific or ethical relevant issues.
26. Students must develop the necessary learning skills to undertake further training with a high degree of autonomy.
27. Synthesizing and critically analysing information.
28. Use metatheoretical data to argue and establish plausible relation of causality and establish ways of validating or rejecting them.
29. Using the main information and documentation techniques (ICT) as an essential tool for the analysis.
30. Working autonomously.
31. Working by using quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques in order to apply them to research processes.
32. Working in teams and networking, particularly in interdisciplinary conditions.

Content

Bloc I. Analysis of Spanish Foreign Policy

Chapter 1. Conceptual Framework

1. The concept of foreign policy in the twenty-first century: government action in the context of international social relations;
2. Other concepts: foreign policy, diplomacy, paradiplomacy, public diplomacy;
3. Historical development: foreign policy and society of states;
4. Foreign policy vs. domestic politics (two-level game): foreign policy as a relationship between decision makers, international system (structural factors) and domestic context (internal factors).

Chapter 2. Analysis tools

1. Production of foreign policy: agenda (priorities) and decision-making process;

2. Production of foreign policy: values, identity, interests;
3. Execution of foreign policy: objectives, instruments;
4. Instruments (coercion. vs. persuasion): diplomatic, military, economic, cultural.

Chapter 3. Guidelines for reflection in the Spanish case

1. Democracy;
2. Ethics;
3. Multilateralism;
4. Europeanisation.

Bloc II. Spanish foreign policy in historical perspective

Chapter 4. Spain in the twentieth century international society. Pre-Franco period (1898-1936)

1. Impact of 98: Decline of Spain in the international context;
2. The question of Morocco as a center of the agenda (effects on domestic policy);
3. Spanish neutrality and emergent multilateralism (League of Nations);
4. Internationalist Thought (Second Republic).

Chapter 5. Franco (1936-1957): from isolation to reintegration

1. The Civil War in the framework of the great powers policies;
2. Spain during the Second World War: from non-belligerency to neutrality;
3. International condemnation of the Franco regime, with exceptions (Latin America, Arab countries, Portugal);
4. The Cold War and the incorporation of Spain into the international system (UN) (1955);
5. International bases of the regime: Agreements with U.S. and Concordate with the Holy See (1953).

Chapter 6. Franco (1957-1969): the Castiella model of foreign policy

1. Foreign policy as state policy: confrontation between foreign and domestic policies;
2. New principles (autonomy) and new tools (modernization of the Ministry);
3. Agenda: multilateralism (UN, IMF, OSCE) and approach to Europe (EEC);
4. Territorial Agenda: Gibraltar and other issues (Sidi Ifni, Equatorial Guinea);
5. Reformulation of relationship with the United States: failure of the Castiella model.

Chapter 7. Tardofranquismo (1969-1975)

1. Technocracy and economic foreign policy;
2. Relations with U.S.: renegotiating agreements (1970);
3. Establishment of relations with the EEC (1970), and Ostpolitik
4. Sensitive issues on the agenda: Vatican and Western Sahara
5. International condemnation of the Franco regime (executions October 1975)

Chapter 8. Beginning of the transition and foreign policy

1. Legacy of Francoism: "penetrated system" by the U.S., shift policies (Latin America, the Arab world), "isolation syndrome" in Europe;
2. Areas of transition in international relations: normalization (Human Rights) approval by Europe, multilateralism and globalization;
3. Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the United States (1976);
4. Consensus on foreign policy and constitutional process

Bloc III. Foreign policy preparation and control

Chapter 9. The constitutional framework and institutional structure

1. Foreign policy in the Spanish Constitution (1978): Limited Democratization (referendum) and "internationalist deficit";
2. The triangle of external action: government, King, Parliament;
3. Coordination and unity of action in foreign policy: President of the Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other ministries (Defense, Economy, Agriculture);
4. Ministry of Foreign Affairs: organizational structure;
5. Foreign service.

Chapter 10. Parliamentary control

1. Instruments of parliamentary control: legal and political;
2. Parliamentary debate and relevant Committees (Congress, Senate);
3. Parliamentary control and involvement of the Spanish Armed Forces abroad;
4. Europeanization and "double democratic deficit" in the control of foreign policy;
5. Other forms of control: public.

Chapter 11. The role of subnational entities in Spanish foreign policy

1. Paradiplomacy and other concepts (protodiplomacy);
2. The Autonomous Communities in foreign policy: EU, Spanish Constitution and autonomy Estatutos;
3. The case of Catalonia: institutional structure and preferred areas of action;
4. The external action of local.

Bloc IV Agenda and Evolution of the Spanish Foreign Policy

Chapter 12. General considerations on the transformation of Spanish foreign policy under democratic rule

1. New international identity: medium power and prestige (tenth world economy, model for democratization, European added value);
2. Priorities of Spanish foreign policy (Europe, Latin America, Mediterranean);
3. New dimensions of performance: security and defense (from dependence of the United States to autonomous action) and development cooperation (from receiver to donor);
4. Production of foreign policy: Europeanisation, consensus, presidentialism;
5. Stages to explain the Spanish foreign policy: the debate on foreign policy in transition;
6. Change and continuity in foreign policy.

Chapter 13. The foundations of the international insertion of Spanish during UCD governments

1. Standardization and early approval by Europe: Spain's accession to the Council of Europe (1977);
2. Priority goal and basis for consensus: negotiations for accession to the European Communities (1979);
3. Lack of definition and "third way" in foreign policy during the period Suarez: Non-Aligned Movement, CSCE;
4. NATO membership (1982): Fracture of consensus and normalization of relations with the United States in the western area of defense.

Chapter 14. Spain and European Union during González governments; a Spanish model for Europe

1. Accession to the European Communities (1986) and balance of the negotiations;
2. Maastricht: internal consensus and leading role in Europe (cohesion and citizenship);
3. Priority reforms in Spain within Europe: first gear (EMU);
4. Political alliances (Franco-German axis) and bilateral relations (the case of Gibraltar);
5. Adaptation of Spanish Europeanism to a new context: realism in the Europe of 15.

Chapter 15. Spain and European Union during González governments: interaction between Spanish foreign policy and European foreign policy

1. Spanish influence on the European foreign policy agenda;
2. Europeanization of the Spanish institutions and agenda;
3. Convergence agenda between Spanish and European agenda: the case of the Mediterranean;
4. Enhancing the international status of Spain;
5. Europeanist profile of Spain in the formulation of the CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy).

Chapter 16. Security and defense during González governments

1. Definition of the basic policy of peace and security: the Socialist Ten Commandments; (1984);
2. Referendum on NATO (1986);
3. Spanish model of "limited" participation in the Western defense (free rider, reluctant partner): coordination agreements with NATO, agreement with the United States and joining the Western European Union (1988);
4. Europeanization and modernization of the armed forces (Eurocorps, Eurofor, EUROMARFOR);
5. Adaptation of the Spanish political security needs of the post-cold war (Gulf war, 1991, Balkans).

Chapter 17. Spain and the European Union during the Aznar government

1. Continuity among the Spanish priorities: cohesion, first gear (EMU), terrorism;
2. Reorientation of Spain's options; Lisbon Strategy;
3. Reorientation of the Spanish position in the CFSP (Cuba, United States);

4. Reorientation of alliances (UK, Poland);
5. Share of power and negotiating strength: Nice and the European Constitution

Chapter 18. Security and defense during the Aznar government

1. Atlantic Council of Madrid (1996): full integration of Spain into NATO;
2. Reorientation of the Spanish security profile: from Europeanism to Atlanticism;
3. Effects of 9/11: Spanish full alignment with the American model of security (war against, terrorism, preemptive attacks);
4. Split between the government and the political / public opinion: the case of Iraq;
5. Increase and diversification of the Spanish participation in international operations (Africa, Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq).

Chapter 19. Spain and Latin America during González governments

1. From Franco's Hispanidad to the democracy's Latin American community; speech and elaboration of the State policy (the figure of the King);
2. Policy of managing conflicts in Central America and multilateral frameworks (UN, EEC);
3. Policies to promote democracy and Human Rights (prestige of the Spanish transition);
4. Europeanisation agenda and Latin America (Cuba, debt, development cooperation);
5. Political prestige and international influence: iberoamericanización (V Centenario, 1992, and Latin American summits, since 1991).

Chapter 20. Spain and Latin America during the Aznar government

1. Economic bias of the relations: deregulation and Spanish investment in Latin America;
2. From traditional pragmatism to ideologisation in the relations with Cuba;
3. Public diplomacy in Latin America (Carolina Foundation, formation of elites);
4. Spain-US relations and its impact on Latin America (crisis in the relations with Argentina and Venezuela);
5. Contradictions between Europeanization and iberoamericanización in the Spanish agenda: commercial issues.

Chapter 21. Development cooperation and humanitarian aid: new areas of Spanish politics

1. Implementation of a Spanish policy of development cooperation through FAD loans (1977): first instrument and "original sin";
2. Factors limiting the Spanish policy: accession to the EEC, the weight of social NGOs (0.7% campaign) and decentralized (subnational) cooperation;
3. Institutional structure in the MFA (SECIPI, AECI) and other organs and instruments (Cooperation Council, Cooperation Act, Master Plan);
4. Limitations of the Spanish Official Development Assistance (OAD) regarding priorities and coordination;
5. Humanitarian aid: "pending subject" for Spanish cooperation.

Chapter 22. Spain and the Mediterranean region during the González governments

1. Overview of the Mediterranean (Arab friendship) versus bilateral privileged vision (special relationships with Morocco);
2. "Mattress Interest": An approach to the Maghreb;
3. Agenda regarding Morocco: fishing, migration, Ceuta and Melilla;
4. Middle East: recognition of Israel (1986) at the Madrid Conference (1991);
5. Europeanization of the Mediterranean policy: Barcelona Conference (1995).

Chapter 23. Spain and the Mediterranean region during the Aznar government

1. Critical view of the PP, as opposition, and subsequent government action;
2. Conflict in the relations with Morocco: fishing deals;
3. Economization of relations with the Mediterranean: Algeria (gas) and investments;
4. Evolution of the conflict agenda with Morocco: Migration, Sahara, regional issues (Perejil);
5. Management of the Euro-Mediterranean during the Spanish presidency of the EU (2002).

Chapter 24. The Zapatero government's foreign policy: international perspective and internal debate

1. Foreign policy and internal debate: two worldviews (PP and PSOE electoral program, 2004);
2. Crisis in the relations with the United States (withdrawal of troops from Iraq);

3. Multilateralist, speech - European Alliance of Civilizations and Spain in terms of order and international terrorism;
4. Foreign policy as a domestic political arena of confrontation.

Chapter 25. The Zapatero government's foreign policy: agenda and instruments

1. EU: reformulation of alliances, European Constitution, Financial Perspective;
2. Latin America: conflictive issues (Cuba, Venezuela) and iberoamericanism (Salamanca Summit, 2005);
3. Mediterranean: the Middle East agenda, relations with Morocco (migration), Barcelona + 10 (2005);
4. Armed Forces abroad: peacekeeping and humanitarian aid.

Chapter 26. Rajoy's Foreign Policy: agenda and priorities

1. European Union: between cooperation and bailout
2. Latin America: détente in relationship and nationalizations
3. Mediterranean: collaboration on migration issues
4. Security and transatlantic issues: search for integration

Methodology

The methodology of the course consists in a part of approximately 35% of the total hours that the student must dedicate essentially to the assistance to lectures, as well as to group discussions. Also as directed activities there are planned discussions on the readings and seminars in which students will have to evaluate specific parts of the course. In addition, about 10% of the total hours will be dedicated to support supervised tutorials, which are included within the hours of supervision of group work and comments and reviews of assignments and exams. Finally, students should spend about 50% of the hours provided for independent study work, reading and preparation.

Activities

Title	Hours	ECTS	Learning outcomes
Type: Directed			
Reading and supervised preparation of texts	2	0.08	10, 6
Tutorials to comment exams, projects and other activities	45	1.8	12, 7
Writing a supervised group work	4	0.16	17, 18, 27, 32
Type: Supervised			
Reading texts	8	0.32	10, 20, 18, 27, 6
Study of topics	4	0.16	4, 17, 18, 27, 32
complementary activities	3	0.12	5, 13, 23, 29
Type: Autonomous			
Evaluable seminars	30	1.2	13, 20, 17, 18, 27, 30, 29
Lectures and group discussion	17	0.68	13, 21, 20, 17, 30
Reading debate on compulsory and supplementary articles	30	1.2	13, 20, 17, 18, 30

Evaluation

The evaluation of this course consists of following parts:

- An exam of approximately the first half of the program, 30% of the final grade;
- An exam of the rest of the syllabus, 40% of the final grade;
- Two practical works (prácticas), each worth 10% of the final (20% overall);
- Continuous evaluation: participation in class discussions, text comments, and other activities planned by the professors, 10% of the final grade.

Important issues:

In order to pass the course the students should get at least a score of 4 in each of the planned exams. In this sense, students are asked to demonstrate a basic knowledge of theoretical concepts in a balanced way for both parts of the course. Once achieved this minimum grade of 4, final scores shall be made with weighted average grades of all works: when the final note weighted on both sides (exams and prácticas), plus assistance and participation in activities (10% of the end), is equal to or greater than 5 it will be considered than the subject will be passed.

To pass the course, is necessary but not sufficient to obtain a minimum of 4 in both exams. If the student fails one of both tests with less than 4, the course will be not passed. When the student does one of the two exams or has assisted to one of the practical works will mean that this student will be graded with a numeric grade, rather than being qualified as "not present".

The mid-term exam will be held during the course, the day set by the teacher, and will be announced in advance.

The second and final exam will be at the end of the semester, the day set by the Faculty and will be announced in advance.

The dates of practical works and other activities will be specified according to the programming and evolution of the subject (see Campus Virtual).

The licenciatura students who have not passed the first or the second examination (or both exams) will have the chance to benefit from the activities of compensation, ie, eligible to take anew the failed examinations the day determined by the Faculty, at the end of the academic period of the second semester.

Students doing an exchange program have the same conditions as any other student. The practical works cannot be done after the fixed date.

Evaluation activities

Title	Weighting	Hours	ECTS	Learning outcomes
Attendance and participation	10%	0	0	5, 28, 9, 23, 20, 15, 18, 26, 24, 30, 32
Final exam	40%	3	0.12	4, 5, 10, 9, 13, 21, 23, 20, 17, 18, 27, 31, 30, 32, 29, 6, 7
Mid-term exam	30%	2	0.08	1, 2, 4, 3, 5, 28, 19, 8, 12, 11, 16, 14, 20, 15, 26, 24, 25, 27, 31, 22, 29, 6, 7
Seminars	20%	2	0.08	1, 2, 4, 3, 5, 28, 19, 10, 8, 12, 11, 16, 14, 20, 15, 26, 24, 25, 27, 22, 29, 6, 7

Bibliography

This bibliography includes books, chapters in books, articles and websites that should help the student to follow the program. Students will have materials (documents, timelines, articles) for the detailed monitoring of the virtual campus course. The teacher will advise students throughout the course on specific bibliography more appropriate for each topic. For a comprehensive bibliography on Spanish foreign policy, see:

- Pereira Castañares, J.C., "Bibliografía sobre política exterior española" in Pereira, J.C. (coord.), *La política exterior de España (1800-2003)*, Barcelona: Ariel, 2003, pp. 575-607.

Spanish foreign policy (general books)

General contents (some of the chapters can be cited in other sections):

- Calduch, R. (ed.) (1994), *La política española en el siglo XX*, Madrid: Ed. Ciencias Sociales. (not in the library);

- Gillespie, R., Rodrigo, F. & Story, J. (eds.), *Las relaciones exteriores de la España democrática*. Madrid: Alianza Universidad, 1995.

- Gillespie, R. y Youngs, R. (eds.) *Spain: The European and International challenges*, London: Frank Cass, 2001.

- Jiménez Redondo, J.C., *De Suárez a Rodríguez Zapatero. La política exterior de la España democrática*, Madrid, Dilex, 2006.

- Pereira, J.C. (coord.), *La política exterior de España (1800-2003)*, Barcelona: Ariel Historia, 2003.

- Tusell, J., Avilés, J. & Pardo, R. (eds.), *La política exterior de España en el siglo XX*, Madrid: UNED, 2000.

Block I. Analysis of Spanish Foreign Policy

- Hill, C., *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*, New York, Palgrave, 2003.

- Holsti, K. J. *International Politics. A Framework for Analysis*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice- Hall, 1995 (7a. ed.)

- Manners, I. & Whitman, R. (eds.), *The foreign policies of European Union member states*, Manchester: Manchester U.P., 2000.

- Roosens, C., Rosoux, V. & Wilde d'Estmael, T. De (dir.), *La politique étrangère. Le modèle classique à l'épreuve*, Brussels, P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2004.

- Webber, M. & Smith, M., *Foreign Policy in a Transformed World*, Harlow, Prentice Hall, 2002.

Block II. Spanish foreign policy in historical perspective [1]

- Areilza, J. M. & Castiella, F. M., *Reivindicaciones de España*. Madrid: Editorial Nacional, 1942.

- Armero, J. M., *La política exterior de Franco*, Barcelona: Planeta, 1978.

- Balfour, S. & Preston, P., *España y las grandes potencias en el siglo XX*, Barcelona: Crítica, 2002.

- Cordero, J.M., *Relaciones exteriores de España*. Madrid: Ediciones del Movimiento, 1954.

- Cortada, J. W. (ed.), *Spain in the Twentieth-Century World. Essays on Spanish Diplomacy, 1898- 1978*. London: Aldwich Press, 1980.

- Morán, F., *Una política exterior para España*. Barcelona: Planeta, 1980.

- Moreno Juste, A., *Franquismo y construcción europea*, Madrid: Tecnos, 1998.

- Pereira, J. C. *Introducción al estudio de la política exterior de España (siglos XIX y XX)*. Madrid: Akal, 1983.

- Pollack, Benny & Hunter, G., *The Paradox of Spanish Foreign Policy. Spain's International Relations from Franco to Democracy*. London: Pinter, 1987.

- Viñas, A. *Los pactos secretos de Franco con Estados Unidos*. Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1981.

Block III. Foreign policy preparation and control

- AA.VV., *La Constitución española y la acción exterior del Estado*, Madrid: Colección Escuela Diplomática núm. 8, 1998.
- Mesa, R., "El proceso de toma de decisiones en política exterior", *Documentación Administrativa*, núm. 205, 1985, pp.143-162.
- Molina, I. i Rodrigo, F. "Las transformaciones organizativas de la política exterior española", *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, Nº 17, Julio-Septiembre 2002, pp. 173-220.
- Ortega Santiago, C., "La dimensión constitucional de la guerra: Conflictos armados e intervenciones militares en el extranjero", *Real Instituto Elcano Documento de Trabajo* 43/2004, 2004, <http://realinstitutoelcano.org>
- Remiro Brotons, A., *La acción exterior del Estado*. Madrid: Tecnos, 1984.
- Remiro Brotons, A., *Control parlamentario de la política exterior de defensa*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1988.
- Vilariño Pintos, E., "La diplomacia directa, su alcance y valor actual" in *Cursos de Derecho Internacional y Relaciones Internacionales de Vitoria Gasteiz 2000*, Bilbao: UPV, 2001, pp. 293-326.

Regions:

- Aldecoa, F. & Keating, M. (eds.), *Paradiplomacia. Las actividades exteriores de los gobiernos subestatales*, Madrid, Tecnos, 1999.
- Fernández de Casadevante, C., *La acción exterior de las Comunidades Autónomas. Balance de una práctica reciente*, Madrid, Dilex, 2001.
- Freres, Ch., y Sanz, A. (eds.), *Las comunidades autónomas Españolas y América Latina: una nueva dimensión de la conexión iberoamericana*, Madrid: Síntesis/AIETI, 2002. (*)
- Soler i Lecha, E., *La política mediterrània de la Generalitat de Catalunya (1980-2003)*, Col·lecció "el Clip", núm. 28. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Autonòmics, 2004 <http://www.gencat.net/governacio-ap/iea/pdfs/c28.pdf>
- Urgell, J. *Donar protagonisme a Catalunya. Acció internacional i política de relacions exteriors catalana*, Barcelona: Pòrtic, 2003.

Block. IV Agenda and Evolution of the Spanish Foreign Policy

General or transversal references:

- Alonso Zaldívar, C. & Castells, M., *España fin de siglo*, Madrid, Alianza, 1992 (especialmente the chapter "La segunda vuelta al mundo").
- Armero, J. M., *Política exterior de España en democracia*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1989
- Mesa, R., *Democracia y política exterior en España*. Madrid: EUEMA, 1988.
- Morán, F., *España en su sitio*. Barcelona: Plaza y Janés, 1990.
- *Perspectivas exteriores . Los intereses de España en el mundo*, Madrid: Política Exterior- Real Instituto Elcano/Fride,(2002, 2004).
- Preston, P. & Smith, D., *España ante la CEE y la OTAN*, Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1985.
- Roldán Barbero, J., *Las relaciones exteriores de España*, Madrid: Dykinson, 2001.
- Vilar, J.B. (comp.), *Las relaciones internacionales en la España contemporánea*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1989.

Transition and Foreign Policy:

- Aldecoa, F., "La política exterior de España en perspectiva histórica (1945-1984). De la autocracia al estado de derecho", *Sistema*, núm. 63, 1984, pp. 111-131.
- Aldecoa, F., "Las constantes de la política exterior española", *Política y Sociedad*, núm. 2, 1989, pp. 61-78.
- Arenal, C. del, "La posición exterior de España" in Cotarelo, R. (comp.), *Transición política y consolidación democrática de España (1975-1986)*, Madrid, CIS, 1992. (*)
- Barbé, E., "La transición española: Cambio y continuidad en la política exterior y de seguridad", *Papers*, núm. 33, 1990, pp. 103-120.
- Mesa, R., "La política exterior en la España democrática", *Revista de Estudios Internacionales*, vol. 3, núm. 1, 1982, pp. 7-68.
- Powell, Ch., "Las relaciones exteriores de España 1898-1975" a Gillespie, R., Rodrigo, F. i Story, J. (eds.) *Las relaciones exteriores de la España Democrática*, Madrid: Alianza Universidad, 1995, pp. 170-188.
- Powell, Ch., "La dimensión exterior de la transición española", *Revista CIDOB d'Afers Internacionals*, nº 26, 1993, pp.37-65.

Security and Defense:

- Arenal, C. del & Aldecoa, F., *España y la OTAN. Textos y documentos*. Madrid: Tecnos, 1986.
- Barbé, E. *España y la OTAN*. Barcelona: Laia, 1981.
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- Ministry of Defense <http://www.mde.es>
- Parliament (*Congreso de los Diputados*) <http://www.congreso.es/>
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Think-tanks and research centres working on issues on Spanish foreign policy (specifically or linked to international general issues):

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