

Вартумян Арушан Арушанович
[Vartumyan Arushan Arushanovich],
Карданова Марьяна Лионовна
[Kardanova Mariana Lionovna]

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ВНЕШНЕПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ ВЕКТОРЫ В СТРУКТУРЕ СОВРЕМЕННОЙ ИСПАНСКОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ

FOREIGN POLICY VECTORS IN THE STRUCTURE OF MODERN SPANISH POLITICS

Пятигорский институт (филиал) СКФУ (Пятигорск) E-mail pragpu@mail.ru / Pyatigorsk
Institute (branch) of NCFU (Pyatigorsk) E-mail pragpu@mail.ru

Аннотация

В статье рассматривается многовекторный характер современной испанской внешней политики. Рассматривается стратегия внешних действий, в которой европейский вектор является ключевым и воспринимается правительством Испании как естественная основа ее политического и экономического развития. Представлен североамериканский и латиноамериканский вектор внешней политики. Смена власти в США и Испании продемонстрировала устойчивую поступательную динамику в испано-американских отношениях. Обозначенные векторы внешней политики образуют триаду, но усиливается влияние еще четырех внешнеполитических выборов: американского, средиземноморского, ближневосточного, азиатско-тихоокеанского.

Ключевые слова: стратегия внешних действий, институт Элькано, Евросоюз, «Мадридская декларация», «Атлантическая ось», североамериканские страны.

Abstract

The article examines the multi-vector nature of modern Spanish foreign policy. The article considers the strategy of external actions in which the European vector is the key and is perceived by the Spanish government as a natural basis for its political and economic development. The North American and Latin American vector of foreign policy is presented. The change of power in the United States and Spain has demonstrated a steady progressive dynamics in Spanish-American relations. The designated vectors of foreign policy form a triad, but the influence of four more foreign policy choices is increasing: American, Mediterranean, Middle East, Asia-Pacific.

Key words: External Action Strategy, Elcano Institute, European Union, Madrid Declaration, Atlantic Axis, North American countries.

Introduction

In the 21st century, Spain stepped up its foreign policy, which acquired a stable multi-vector character, which was naturally reflected in the documents of the Spanish Foreign Ministry. The first Strategic Plan for the Foreign Policy of Spain was presented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs back in 2000 and marked the end of the transition period that took the last quarter of the 20th century. and associated with the overcoming of Spain's foreign policy isolation, and the beginning of a new stage, characterized by Spain's search for its place in the world, taking into account its available resources and foreign policy ambitions

[1]. By 2008, there was a situation where the vast majority of analysts from the Spanish scientific community, the so-called "think tanks" and representatives of state structures began to advocate the doctrinal formulation of the foundations of Spain's foreign policy, highlighting its priorities, vectors, goals and means.

Analysis methods. Work in this area continued for six years and ended with the adoption of two basic documents:

- Law "On the activities and international service of the state" (signed by the King of Spain X. Carlos II on March 25, 2014) [11];
- Foreign Action Strategy (approved at the meeting of the Council of Ministers of Spain on December 26, 2014, includes the Foreign Policy Strategy itself and the Foreign Policy Action Plan for 2015-2018) [2].

These documents reflect the main vectors of Spain's foreign policy and substantiate their significance for it. In particular, in the Strategy for External Actions, the seventh section is devoted specifically to the territorial dimension of Spanish policy, it highlights the subsections "Europe", "Mediterranean and Middle East", "Latin America and the Caribbean", "Transatlantic relations", "Countries of Africa south of Sahara" and "Asia-Pacific region" [3]. Let us consider which foreign policy vectors stand out in Spanish politics at the present time and how they correlate in terms of importance with each other.

The main part of the study. The European vector in Spanish politics is the key one, which is confirmed by the data of the Elcano Royal Institute, according to which European countries account for 61.1% of the total Spanish economic, military-political and socio-cultural presence in the world (for comparison, the share of Latin American countries is 13.6%, North America - 8.4%, Middle East and Maghreb countries - 7.2%, Asia-Pacific region - 7%, Sub-Saharan Africa - 2.7% [4]. This rating takes into account the total exports and imports of energy resources, all types of goods and services, investments, the presence of the armed forces and military equipment of Spain on the territory of other countries, data on migration, the scale of cooperation in the fields of culture, tourism, sports, information, technology, scientific and educational exchange, on the participation of Spain in regional development programs [5]. The European vector is realized through the participation of Spain in the work of institutions within the European Union, aimed at consolidating a stable and united democratic Europe, endowed with its own voice in the international arena.

For Spain, European integration is of exceptional importance, it is the cornerstone of its foreign policy and a guarantee of the security of its citizens. Spain clearly prefers the European Union as a platform for integration into the global world. In 2015, Spain celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on the Accession of Spain to the European Union, which was achieved by the Chairman of the Spanish government, A. Suarez. In June 1991, Spain acceded to the Schengen Agreement, in December 1995, while presiding over the European Union, it achieved the approval of the single European currency "Euro", becoming one of its founders.

Spain has repeatedly chaired the European Council: twice during the work of F. Gonzalez (1989 and 1995), the third - in 2002 under J.M. Aznar and the fourth - in 2010 under H.L.R. Zapatero, using this post to strengthen political and economic integration within the European Union and use its mechanisms to promote Spanish interests in the world. Spaniards led the European Parliament three times: E. Baron (1989-1992), J.M. Gil-Robles (1997-1999) and J. Borrell (2004-2007); since 1999, for a decade, the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU (CFSP) was the representative of Spain, J. Solana; Spaniards M. Oreja, P. Solbes, L. de Palacio, A. Matutes, M. Marin, J. Almunia and – from November 1, 2014 – M. Arias Cañete worked in the European Commission [6]. The importance of the European vector for Spanish politics is also evidenced by the fact that J. Borrell, who previously led the European Parliament, was appointed Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs in June 2018.

Spain has historically played and continues to play an active role in the construction of the European project, participating in the negotiations on the treaties of Amsterdam (1997), Nice (2001), the failed Constitutional Treaty (2004) and Lisbon (2009), regularly submitting and supporting regional programs in areas such as citizenship policy, cohesion policy, support for cultural and linguistic diversity in European countries, cooperation between law enforcement and judicial authorities, the fight against terrorism, and also acts as a mediator and representative of the European Union in matters related to the implementation of European policy, focused on Latin America and the southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

The European vector has been and remains the leading one in Spain's foreign policy due to the fact that the European Union is perceived by its government as a natural basis for its political and economic development. However, the 21st century was marked by the isolation and / or intensification of Spain's external relations within the framework of several more foreign policy vectors, among which the North American and Latin American vectors are somewhat less significant than the European one and of equal importance in comparison with each other.

In this context, the North American vector means, first of all, the strengthening of a comprehensive multi-level strategic partnership between Spain and the United States, since its cooperation with Canada, although carried out and positively assessed by both parties, nevertheless, is not so comprehensive and much less large-scale. (it covers cooperation in sectors such as aerospace, agriculture, seafood, pharmaceuticals, information and communication technology and financial services; Spain mediates trade agreements between Canada and the European Union; Spain and Canada cooperate in the field of innovation through the National Research Council of Canada (NRC) and the National Research Council of Spain (CSIC); more than 100 agreements have been signed between these two countries to stimulate academic mobility and promote educational exchanges) [7].

The United States is regarded by Spain as a friendly country, a military-political ally and a strategic partner in foreign policy, issues of strengthening defense, security, economic and technological development, with which there are strong historical, cultural and linguistic ties, common democratic values and geostrategic interests. The Hispanic community in the United States has already reached 57.5 million people and currently accounts for 17.4% of the population (by 2060, the United States will become the world's leader in the number of Spanish speakers). The Spanish community living in this country is also growing and surpassing 100,000 people who occupy prominent positions in the business, scientific, technological, educational, cultural and sports fields of American society [3]. Spain has nine consulates general in the cities of New York, Boston, Miami, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Juan in Puerto Rico and Washington, DC.

Spanish-American bilateral ties have been developing intensively since the signing in Washington in 1976 of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the United States and Spain, and their strengthening was greatly facilitated by Spain's accession to NATO in 1982 and the European Union in 1985, the signing in 1988 of the first version of the Defense Cooperation Agreement between the United States and Spain, which was subsequently amended three times (the last one on June 17, 2015). This new foreign policy vector led Spain, in 1995, the year of its Presidency of the European Council, to launch a new transatlantic agenda to stimulate relations between the European Union and the United States.

The terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001 gave a new impetus to bilateral relations between Spain and the United States, which was interested in the fight against terrorism, as a result of which, in December 2001, the heads of the foreign ministries of the two countries, H. Piqué and M. Albright, signed the historic Joint Declaration (t .n "Madrid Declaration"), which provides for the deepening of bilateral ties not only at the political level, but also in the field of defense and security, support for economic, financial, scientific, industrial, technological and cultural cooperation. In subsequent years, important agreements were reached regarding cooperation in the field of justice, numerous exchanges of

visits at the highest and high levels were held. The "Atlantic Axis" officially became the second of the main vectors of Spanish foreign policy in 2012, which in practice manifested itself in the form of an intensification of bilateral political ties with the United States: a meeting of the two leaders took place in Washington in January 2014, the ministers of foreign affairs and trade of the two countries exchanged multiple visits and held talks on all areas of cooperation, culminating in the historic visit of the King of Spain to the United States in September 2015 [8].

The change of power in the United States in 2017, the accession of President D. Trump had a positive impact on the dynamics of bilateral relations between Spain and the United States: at the invitation of D. Trump, Spanish Prime Minister M. Rajoy paid an official visit to the United States in September 2017, Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Dustis visited this country three times in 2017 and chaired the XXII Spanish-American Forum in Williamsburg, Virginia. These visits confirmed the commitment of the parties to the development of cooperation in the area of law enforcement agencies, the joint fight against terrorism and radical Islamism, and the strengthening of trade ties. Thus, the importance of the North American vector in Spanish policy is primarily due to the interests of defense and security: Spain sees the United States as a reliable ally in the fight against terrorism, which regularly affects Spanish citizens.

The Latin American vector in Spain's foreign policy is of comparable importance to the North American one and determines its relations with the so-called. Ibero- America. The value of Ibero-America for the Spanish government is based on the following points [10]:

- Ibero-America has historically been and remains a priority for Spanish foreign policy due to historical, social, cultural, political, economic and linguistic ties;
- Spain's relations with the Ibero-American countries are unique in richness and diversity and are supported by governments in all areas, while Spain maintains a political dialogue with all countries of the region, regardless of the degree of political proximity;
- Spain is one of the main investors in Latin America, with a prominent presence in sectors such as banking, energy, communications, construction and infrastructure management, tourism and services;
- Hispanic culture in Latin America has reached a high level of quality in all its manifestations and enjoys well-deserved popularity throughout the world;
- Spain aims to constantly update its historical relations with Latin American countries, taking into account new challenges and opportunities, it advocates the development of political and economic dialogue and sees this region as one of the engines of global economic recovery.
- Spain's role in Ibero-America is also reinforced by its participation in various Latin American multilateral organizations as an observer and in the Ibero-American Community of Nations as a founding member and participant.

Conclusion

The European, North American and Latin American vectors of Spanish foreign policy form a triad in which the European vector constitutes the first level of significance, while the North American and Latin American vectors can be placed on the second. At the same time, in the 21st century, Spain's foreign policy is not exhausted by these three vectors; the influence of four more foreign policy vectors is increasing in it: the Mediterranean, African, Asia-Pacific and Middle East, each of which deserves separate consideration.

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ОБ АВТОРАХ / ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Карданова Марьяна Лионовна, старший преподаватель кафедры туризма и гостиничного дела Пятигорского института (филиала) СКФУ (Пятигорск), e-mail: mkardanova@yahoo.com

Mariana L. Kardanova, Senior Lecturer of the Department of Tourism and Hotel Business of Pyatigorsk Institute (branch) of NCFU (Pyatigorsk), e-mail: mkardanova@yahoo.com

Вартумян Арушан Арушанович, доктор политических наук, профессор, заместитель директора по научной работе и инновационной деятельности Пятигорского института (филиал) СКФУ (Пятигорск), e-mail: pragpu@mail.ru

Arushan A. Vartumyan, Dc. Sci. (Polit.), Professor, Deputy Director for Research and Innovation of the Pyatigorsk Institute (branch) of NCFU (Pyatigorsk), e-mail: pragpu@mail.ru

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