

Security Cooperation Between Spain and the Americas

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Introduction

It is a great honor for me to deliver a lecture on “Security cooperation between Spain and the Americas” at this renowned Education and Research Center, one that brings together outstanding civilian and military professionals interested on Security and Defense of the Americas and “beyond” (as its Director usually emphasizes in the Center’s interesting publications).

Within this shared interest, the purpose of my lecture is to analyze the Spanish Defense Policy context, making a special emphasis on our bonds with this hemisphere.

In particular, I will refer to:

- Spain-US relations and our common scenarios of action.
- The relations of Spain and Ibero-America.
- Contributions to hemispheric security.
- Final Conclusions.

Spanish Defense Policy

Let my introductory words serve to present before you the framework in which Spain conceives its security and defense.

In particular, Spain advocates for treating the issues affecting international peace, security and stability, as well as its own defense, through a system of shared security and collective defense, while maintaining its own defense capability.

Upon the entry into force of the 1978 Spanish Constitution, and in a progressive manner, Spain has consolidated its participation in international security and defense organizations, so that today we can say that we are in the “hard core” of security. This integration, along with the changes undergone in the geopolitical and geostrategic context, has affected, over time, how to conceive our Security and Defense.

Thus, several National Defense Directives were enacted, as well as the *2000 White Paper on Defense*, and the *2003 Strategic Review*. All of them have served as reference for the preparation of the two documents which form the basis of our current defense policy.

These are the National Defense Law 5/2005 and the National Defense Directive 1/2008, drawn up within the framework of the Inter-ministerial Commission, examined by the National Defense Council and signed by our President of Government on December 30th, 2008.

Subsequently, on May 30th, 2009, the Minister of Defense, Carme Chacón, signed the Defense Policy Directive 1/2009. This Directive started a new cycle of Defense Planning, set the general lines of action, and provided the specific guidelines so that the competent authorities—the Defense Chief of Staff (JEMAD), the Secretary of State for Defense (SEDEF) and the Under Secretary of State

for Defense (SUBDEF)—could initiate a four-year period military and resources planning. It also reflects the commitments undertaken with international organizations in which Spain participates.

I would like to emphasize four aspects of the National Defense Directive:

- First, this directive is designed to make a comprehensive approach to security and defense in which, the unique action of the state, is synonym of the whole Government's involvement in the defense of our interests and values, and the confluence of civilian instruments together with military, public and private ones. As for the Armed Forces, this Directive provides specific guidelines on the contribution of the Defense to National Security and vice versa.
- On the other hand, this directive stresses the need for the defense policy to have a strong social and parliamentary support so that it will be a genuine State policy. It also shows Spain's commitment to the defense of international peace and security, while fully respecting international law and the exercise of multilateralism, as a means towards concerted action and conflict resolution.
- Furthermore, it is the first Directive that is not drawn up within the exclusive domain of the Ministry of Defense, but within the Defense Interministerial Commission, working body of the National Defense Council, with the collegial effort of Presidency of the Government, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and the Ministry of Economy and Finance, as well as with the National Intelligence Center (CNI), the Chief of Defense (EMAD) and the Army, Navy and Air Force Chiefs of Staff.
- Finally, it contains a guideline for Defense to cooperate in the drawing up of a Spanish Security Strategy, which includes the values and interests on which it is based; analyzes the risks, threats and vulnerabilities, as well as their causes; establishes action frameworks and contains the foundations of national interests, ensuring the respect to constitutional values and international treaties subscribed by Spain. This process, which has been led by Javier Solana, is already finalized, pending the definite approval of the President of Government.

Hence, among the fundamental axes which define our defense policy in the international field, our relations with the countries of this Hemisphere and this regional area as a whole, are envisaged in 5 of the 10 directives provided by the National Defense Directive 1/2008. These are:

1. Support to the Spanish contribution to peace and humanitarian operations within the framework of the UN Security Council.
2. Boost to Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP).
3. Active participation in the initiatives of an extended and transformed NATO.
4. Reinforcement of EU-NATO relations.
5. Contribution to increasing security in the Mediterranean.
6. Privilege of a solid and balanced relationship with the US.
7. Closer relations with the countries of the Ibero-American Community of Nations.
8. Contribute to the promotion of peace, prosperity and stability in the African continent.
9. Continuous support to the efforts carried out by the International Community in the stabilization and reconstruction of Afghanistan.
10. Enhancement of defense diplomacy.

1. Spain-US Relations

Among all the directives, the enhancement of Spain-US relations is pivotal to our country.

This relation, based on unquestionable historical and cultural bonds, is being strengthened in the past few years in a robust and balanced manner, on the basis of mutual respect, as it was expressed by the Defense Minister before the Congress Defense Committee in her first parliamentary appearance of this legislature on June 30th, 2008.

However, from a political viewpoint, our bilateral cooperation in the defense field goes back to the first agreements signed in 1953. Currently, this cooperation is ruled by the Agreement on Defense Cooperation of December 1st, 1988, revised by the Amendment Protocol of April 10th, 2002, in force since February 12th, 2003. This Protocol is valid for 8 years, that is, until February 12th, 2011, and it may be extended automatically for one-year periods.

In fact, my visit to this beautiful city of Washington, takes place on the occasion of the meeting of the High-Level Bilateral Defense Committee, established in 2002. This Committee is the body responsible for carrying out political consultations in the defense field between Spain and the United States. Its Executive Body has already met in 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008 and 2009.

In this context, besides the important support that Spain offers to US operations in Europe, Africa and the Middle East, through our Moron and Rota Bases, there are many other scenarios where we work together to bring peace and prosperity to different regions in the world. This joint effort reflects both the excellent relationship between our countries, and that we are on the same wavelength.

On Afghanistan

Both, Spain and the US, share the lines of NATO's new strategy for Afghanistan, which are based in the progressive "afghanization," the reinforcement of Afghan Security Forces, and the development of the country. Also, we consider that the regional approach is key to the success of this mission.

Particularly, Spain is carrying out an important effort in the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Our contingent is about 1,500 (1,477) military personnel of the more than 130,000 from 48 countries, which contribute to the improvement of Afghanistan's security conditions, its development and governance.

All the allies, including the US, Canada and Spain, among them, and many other allied partners, currently work to fulfill the agreements announced at the last NATO Lisbon Summit: map the transfer of responsibilities to Afghan authorities from ISAF, although we are fully conscious, as our President of Government has pointed out, that *"the deadlines for the transfer are purely indicative, while the objectives are unrenounceable."*

On the piracy problem off Somali Coasts

On the other hand, Spain and the US support NATO's engagement in this scenario, through the OCEAN SHIELD operation, in close coordination with the actions of other international actors.

In particular, the EU is carrying out the ATALANTA operation in the region. This operation is being led again by Spain, and the Spanish Rear Admiral Juan Rodriguez Garat, took over the force command last December 14th.

Hence, our countries are showing a firm commitment with the freedom of the seas, in this case in the Indian Ocean, as the UN Secretary General, Ban Ki-Moon, acknowledged during the recent visit of our Defense Minister to the United Nations in New York.

Likewise and complementarily, Spain leads in Uganda the European Union Training Mission to Somalia, EUTM-Somalia, thus contributing to tackle on land the fight against piracy and organized crime, which we have been carrying out at sea for the last two years. In this case, Colonel Ricardo Gonzalez Elul is the EU Chief of the Mission and EU Force Commander for the operation.

1. On Haiti

Immediately after the earthquake occurred, Spain sent urgent emergency aid, including the first deployment abroad of our Emergency Military Unit (UME). Likewise, we deployed a Tactical Group on board the ship Castilla with logistic support, engineering and medical capability.

Within the framework of the Spanish EU Presidency, we boosted the establishment of an EU coordination cell in Brussels named EUCO-Haiti, to facilitate both the exchange of information among Member States and donations, according to the requirements requested by the UN.

Currently and due to the dire humanitarian situation in the country, as a result of a cholera outbreak and after hurricane Tomas, Spain continues providing additional bilaterally aid by means of the Spanish Agency of International Development Cooperation (AECID), through multilateral mechanisms and NGO's.

Ultimately, I can state that Spain-US relations in the defense field, established over fifty years ago, are quite fluid and, nowadays, are excellent, since they are based, as the Preamble of our Agreement affirms: *"on full respect for the equal sovereignty of each country"*, as it could not be any other way.

In this context, the Agreement on Defense Cooperation has become an important tool to strengthen our relations, being the High-Level Bilateral Defense Committee, the instrument that brings national positions closer on issues of common interest for our Defense.

Our joint and coordinated action in different scenarios shows the common commitment to advance in achieving peace, stability and the development of regions, which continue suffering the consequences of conflicts or natural disasters. Thanks to the presence of our Armed Forces in these regions and the ongoing work of nations such as the US, Canada, Spain and other international partners, we are convinced that these people will progressively hold the reins of their own future and fully participate in a fairer and safer international order.

2. Spain and Ibero-America relations

As I have mentioned before at the beginning of my lecture, the promotion of relations between Spain and Ibero-America, is rightly at the top of our political agenda.

Ricardo Lagos, former president of Chile said that a pendular movement has always played a significant part in the history of both sides of the Iberian-Atlantic, when it comes to building a fairer, freer and more open world.

But in the last few years, this movement seems to have a clear orientation on both sides of the Atlantic: to engage more and more Ibero-America in regional and international peace and security issues, overcoming previous periods of "strategic isolation".

In this field, I would like to highlight that our National Defense Directive 1/2008 refers to Ibero-

America as a region with which we intend to serve as a focal meeting point and interchange between both shores of the Atlantic, intensifying our bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation relations. In particular, we are working to:

- Promote the combined participation of national contingents in peace operations.
- Further tighten our military cooperation in all areas, and
- Cooperate more closely in the reform and modernization of the security and defense sector.

This does not imply that previously Spain has been absent from the Ibero-American scene. On the contrary, we have participated in several national reconstruction and peace-keeping processes, such as UN Missions in ONUCA, Central America; ONUSAL, in El Salvador; MINAGUA in Guatemala, and ONUVEH and MINUSTAH in Haiti.

Although, it is true, that we have been diversifying our relations to progressively expand and consolidate the bilateral cooperation in the defense and security field with the countries that belong to the Ibero-American Community of Nations.

At the bilateral level, we have been frequently holding Ministers of Defense bilateral meetings and we maintain ten Joint Defense Committees. Furthermore, we have subscribed Memoranda of Understanding and other agreements (cooperation protocols) with many Ibero-American countries.

On the other hand, our Ministry of Defense is currently focused on two main fields with countries of the region: education and peace missions:

- In the education field, I am pleased to mention that our Military Instruction Cooperation Program has reached a high level of development. During the academic year 2009-2010, 2,192 Ibero-American students from 17 countries have lived and received training at Spanish Training Centers in the last 20 years. Within this area, I would also like to highlight the important role played by the High Strategic Studies Course for Ibero-American Senior Officers (AEEOSI) to intensify the knowledge and personal relations among professionals of the Army, Navy and Air Force of our countries. In fact, this year we celebrate the course's 10th Edition, which will be held between February 14th and April 1st, 2011.
- In the field of peace missions, Spain is promoting the participation of Armed Forces from different Ibero-American countries in peace-support operations, working side by side with our Armed Forces. For example, militaries from El Salvador are part of the Spanish contingent in Lebanon, under the UN flag. We are also working to integrate Colombian Forces in the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in this country. In my opinion, one of the main reasons for the huge transformation of the Spanish Armed Forces has been caused by Spain's participation in Peace Keeping Operations, after its entry into NATO and the EU. Therefore, we offer this type of cooperation to Ibero-American countries so as to generate that exchange process and pooling of enriching experiences in both directions. This will reinforce transformation, interoperability and modernization of our Armed Forces.

Thanks to all these commitments taken on by our Nations, we can affirm that there are more countries which contribute to extending peace and stability to other regional areas, thus, showing a high degree of solidarity with the development and pacification of other countries.

At the Ibero-American level, I must highlight another cooperation scheme that has been gradually finding its way in the difficult world of multilateral relations.

I am referring to Ibero-American Summits, which bring together Heads of State and Government of those countries in America and Europe whose language is Spanish and Portuguese.

From my point of view, these Summits represent a key element in the consolidation of the Ibero-American Community. Over the last few years, they have consolidated as a framework for dialogue and consensus, where we can find valid formulas to jointly tackle the political, economic and social challenges that we are facing.

In this way, we are working to create an Ibero-American Community of Nations by means of the achievement of common objectives.

Not in vain, we share a huge geographical area, very rich in history and culture, where as much as six hundred million people from 22 countries live together.

Thus, the 1st Ibero-American Summit held in Guadalajara (Mexico) in 1991 produced the first lines of action to jointly act in the international scene. This also demonstrated the commitment to continue working in order to establish the foundations of a solid and democratic peace in the whole region.

In this respect, the celebration of the 500th anniversary of America's discovery marked the anchoring of democracy in the Latin American continent and, accordingly, the principles upon which our Ibero-American Community is being based, bolstered by Spain and Portugal.

By then, we were both members of the European Union, and were determined to promote a closer relation between both regions in order to jointly tackle the great challenges facing us.

Today we can affirm that we keep an ongoing dialogue and intense and close cooperation relations with all countries of the region, both in the political, economic, social, scientific, educational and cultural field and in development cooperation, defense and security areas.

Through the Summits, we are advancing towards a shared security vision to promote respect for democratic values, the preservation of human dignity and fundamental rights, the promotion of social cohesion and the observance of international law in conflict resolution. This should be carried out in order to make Ibero-American space an area of lasting peace and security.

I would like to recall that, although the security and defense issues have not been included in its different agendas, Spain proposed to incorporate in the Final Declaration of the 17th Ibero-American Summit held in Chile in November 2007, a special mention to the "*shared vision of human security*". In particular, the Action Program of this Summit included an initiative in the field of education. This initiative was designed to favor permanent contacts between Ibero-American Defense Colleges, drawing on the advantages provided by the virtual net and the new information technologies.

To this end, the Ibero-American General Secretariat (SEGIB) was commissioned to study the establishment of a Permanent Center for the Management of Documentation and a Studies Coordination Body that would allow advancing towards the establishment of a Virtual Ibero-American Center for International Peace and Security Studies.

In this context, and in the framework of the Conference of Ibero-American Defense College Directors, held in Santo Domingo on October 8th, 2009, 10 countries agreed to set up an Ibero-American Defense College Association, as a prior step to the setting-up of the Virtual Ibero-American Center for International Peace and Security Studies. Likewise, they agreed to establish a Board of Directors, a Department for Academic Coordination and a Coordination Board for the Association,

in addition to the launching of the Association's internet portal, as a working tool.

The idea was to arrive to the Ibero-American Summit held in Estoril in 2009 with a proposal to definitely start-up the Virtual Center, as it has proven to be the case. In this respect, the Lisbon's Action Program addresses in task 40 thereof, the following commitment:

Continue encouraging the setting-up of the Virtual Ibero-American Center for International Peace and Security Studies, pursuant to what was agreed at Santiago de Chile and San Salvador Summits, in order to favor transparency of information, studies and academic experiences and the permanent contacts among Ibero-American Defense Colleges, drawing on the advantages provided by the virtual net and the new information technologies.

The recent Declaration of the Ibero-American Summit of Mar del Plata held in Argentina from December 3rd-4th under the heading "*Education for social inclusion*", has opted for the development of innovative strategies to incorporate information technologies into the teaching/learning process and into the initial and further teacher training (par. 24).

In this context, we are advancing on the Virtual Portal project. We have already bought the domain www.asociacioncolegiosdedefensaiberoamericanos.org, and four stages have been designed for its definite implementation (conceptualization, technical design, construction, and implementation and tests).

With these and other measures, we are preparing for the 22nd Ibero-American Summit that will be held in Spain, and that will commemorate the 200th anniversary of Cadiz Constitution, with a greater Ibero-American cultural heritage inspired on common principles, values and actions in cultural, social, educational and security areas.

Since we are approaching these dates, allow me to welcome the commemoration of the Bicentenaries of the national Independence of Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela, and those that will shortly take place.

3. A contribution to hemispheric security

At the hemispheric security level, Spain has intensified its relations with other Ibero-American countries through its participation both in the Organization of American States (OAS) - with an observer status since 2006 - and in the Inter-American Defense Board (IADB).

In order to boost the relations of the Ministry of Defense with both American institutions, General Benito Raggio Cachinero, has been appointed Defense Counselor and Advisor for Hemispheric Security Issues before the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Defense Board (IADB).

I am very pleased to announce that Spain's practical cooperation with these hemispheric institutions is now emerging, particularly in the area of humanitarian demining, as a result of a letter exchange between the Secretary General of the OAS, Mr. José Miguel Insulza and our Minister of Defense.

Spain fully shares OAS' concern over the eradication of anti-personnel mines. Our action in this field is focused on two fronts: on the one hand, in prevention, awareness-raising, demining, and destruction of ammunitions and explosives actions by our contingents deployed in operations, and, on the other hand, in delivering training courses in the International Demining Center of Hoyo del Manzanares. We have gained in this field quite an amount of expertise over the years.

Thus, our country has agreed to the Secretary General's request to contribute to the training of civilian and military technical personnel from the Armed Forces of different countries and of the Comprehensive Action Program of the OAS.

During my visit yesterday to the Organization of American States (OAS), I had the opportunity to share ideas on this and other matters with the Secretary General.

On the other hand, from an academic point of view, we consider that the Inter-American Defense College (IADC) also plays a significant role in the exchange of knowledge and professional experiences between civilian and military from all countries of the Hemisphere. In the course 2007-2008, a Spanish female representative participated for the first time, and likewise, we hope to consolidate the excellent and close cooperation between the IADC and the Instituto Universitario General Gutierrez Mellado (IUGGM) in the development of its curriculum.

Conclusions

In short, the cooperation on security and defense with the countries of this Hemisphere is present at every level of the relationship between our peoples.

This is because we understand that we have common interests on which to base a well defined cooperation policy, which is at the same time coherent with the values we all share.

From my point of view, all the initiatives I have mentioned before, are contributing to promote dialogue, understanding and trust at political level, and also, between the officers of our Armed Forces and the societies they belong to. This fact becomes one more asset for the creation of a stronger and more solid Community of Nations fully integrated in the International Community.

Spain, on its part, will continue keeping alive its European and Atlantic vocation, acting as focal point for joining up and exchange between our two shores.

Octavio Paz said that "*each Ibero-American is part of ourselves.*"

I daresay that "*every American of the Hemisphere*" is also part of ourselves."

The sum of all of us is what gives the Democratic Community of Nations – our Security Community- the necessary strength to be a major player and to have the weight it deserves in a world, where all nations maintain a more stable, balanced, fairer and solidarity relationship.