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Morten Heiberg

# Spain and the Wider World since 2000

Foreign Policy and International Diplomacy  
during the Zapatero Era

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## PREFACE

This book is primarily based on interviews with His Excellency Miguel Ángel Moratinos, who served as Spain's Foreign Minister from 2004 to 2010. It also takes into account the precious oral accounts of other ministers, most notably that of Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, vice ministers and key diplomats.

Regardless of the immense historical value of these testimonies, historians much prefer written contemporary sources over later oral testimonies, and whenever there is a disagreement between these two types of sources, they tend to go with the written ones. This author is no exception to the rule. For this reason, I boldly asked a number of the people involved in this book project if they would share with me their personal notes. I am truly grateful to those who did. This material, which is not explicitly quoted in the book, has served the important purpose of qualifying my interviews and ensuring that the direction of my interpretation is substantially correct.

Occasionally, I refer in my footnotes to “private information given to the author”. This information, which was given to me on the premise of anonymity, is by no means vital to my historical interpretation of the Zapatero era, yet it does offer important texture which allows us to better understand how the political processes were shaped and what happened inside “the machine room” of Spanish and international politics. Not to share this insight with readers would, in my opinion, have been to fail. When I have anonymously attributed an exact quotation or a particular view to a specific person, for example a minister or a diplomat,

that information may stem from the person in question or from somebody with an intimate knowledge of the political process.<sup>1</sup> Only on one occasion has this type of private information been of paramount importance to my interpretation, namely in the chapter on the Carmona coup, where I have used one particular anonymous source to strengthen one of my main arguments, namely that Spain and the United States supported Carmona's undertakings as long as they were staged as happening within the formal boundaries of the Venezuelan Constitution. This was of course only done after careful consideration concerning the validity of the information in question. Perhaps future editions of this book can be more explicit about the origin of each piece of information.

Finally, I owe a comment regarding the expression "The Moratinos files", which I have chosen as the title for the author's personal archive which holds the interviews and sources gathered for this book. The name chosen is merely meant to pay tribute to a former foreign minister who finds it important that he and his fellow foreign policy actors from the Zapatero government contribute to scholarship, and more generally, to the historical memory of Spain.

Copenhagen, Denmark  
2019

Morten Heiberg

<sup>1</sup>Cf. the principles for the use of anonymous sources laid out by Bob Woodward in his most recent book. See: Bob Woodward, *Fear. Trump in the White House* (London, New York, Sydney, Toronto, New Delhi: Simon & Schuster, 2018), "Note to the Reader".

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book would never have come into being had it not been for the important initiative taken by Miguel Ángel Moratinos, who in early 2016 kindly asked me if I would consider writing a historical analysis of the foreign policy of the Zapatero government. I was of course honored and profoundly grateful to receive this unique offer. Since then, the many hours we have spent together sorting out the chronology and the inner dynamics of Spanish foreign policy have left me with nothing but keen memories of a man of intellect, dialogue, an extraordinary capacity for work and, not least, a profound will to change the world for the better. Moreover, I'm very grateful for the fact that he never tried to interfere with my interpretations. His only concern was to get the chronology and the facts right, and of course to offer his perspective.

Likewise, I'm very grateful to the distinguished Spanish historian and former diplomat, Professor Emeritus of the Complutense University of Madrid, Ángel Viñas, who encouraged me to undertake this complex endeavor. Throughout the entire process, Viñas patiently commented on the manuscript and on my use of sources, which turned out to be rather complex. To collaborate with him has been one of the greatest privileges of my career. I'm also very indebted to Ambassador Agustín Santos Maraver, who worked closely with Moratinos and from 2008 was his chief of staff. He answered all sorts of questions—at any given hour—besides generously sharing with me his unique knowledge of Spanish foreign affairs.

Whereas Moratinos, Viñas and Santos Maraver may have given the initial impetus to this project, it was the Carlsberg Foundation which generously provided me with a one-year ‘Semper Ardens’ research fellowship, thereby enabling me to spend thousands of working hours in Madrid. I am truly indebted to this magnificent patron of the arts. I’m also grateful to the University of Copenhagen which accepted my absence during more than two semesters, and not least to my dear colleagues in the Spanish Department who kindly covered my teaching obligations during the same period.

Besides Moratinos, I am truly indebted to the following ministers and vice ministers in the Zapatero government who found the time in their busy schedules to talk to me: Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, First Deputy Prime Minister María Teresa Fernández de la Vega and Vice Minister for Development Leire Pajín. I’m further indebted to the former President of the Region of Andalucía, Manuel Chaves, who also served as president of the PSOE and later as minister in the Zapatero Government. Former Foreign Minister of Denmark, Dr. Per Stig Møller, kindly offered me his opinion on the Spanish-UN initiative, the Alliance of Civilizations, and on how Madrid assisted the Danish Government during the so-called Cartoon Crisis of 2005–2006. I would also like to thank the CEO and chairman of Repsol, Antonio Brufau, who kindly offered me his view of the Socialist government and its policies toward Bolivia and Venezuela. Further, I am indebted to Professor Julián Santamaría of the Complutense University of Madrid, who shared with me his unique knowledge of Spanish voting patterns prior to the 2004 general elections.

A number of Spanish diplomats provided me with their expert view of foreign affairs. I’m indebted to the former chief of staff from 2004 to 2008, Javier Sancho, who offered precious insight into the actions of the first Zapatero government. Furthermore, I owe my gratitude to the present chief of staff, Camilo Villarino, who in his former capacity as EU negotiator gave me his personal view of the Spanish bargaining position vis-à-vis the Treaty of Nice and the constitutional treaty. José Eugenio Salarich, former general director of foreign policies for Asia and the Pacific, generously provided me with his insights into the Asian policies of the Zapatero government. I’m also grateful to Juan Antonio March, former ambassador to the Russian Federation, who explained to me the dynamics of the evolving European crisis with Russia. Ambassador José Pons, former general director of foreign policy for Europe and



North America, lent me his sharp reflections on the Gibraltar question. Neither can I easily forget the many times that Moratinos' personal secretary, Ms. Ainhoa Camacho, assisted me and my family during my prolonged stays in Madrid. For this, I am deeply grateful.

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The book is dedicated to Elias and especially Mathias, who at the age of six was unmercifully enrolled in the Italian State School in Madrid in order for his father to write this book. Not even once did you complain. I shall never forget.

Copenhagen  
2019

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