

THE SPANISH POLICY TOWARDS THE MAGHREB AND THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE ARAB SPRING ¹

Román Reyes ²

President of the EMUI_ EuroMedUniversity

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Abstract.- *To Spain is accused of having changed sides. What does not hold. Spain messages are clear and unambiguous. Something that can be seen in the records that have forced these messages. At both literature and behaviors. EU proposals for dialogue match the values that Spain has defended. His theoretical - ideological position has always been consistent. Coincident with the Euro-Arab community, regional cooperation and integration.*

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To me, Hasan, the son of Mohammed the alamín, to me, Juan Leon de Médicis, circumcised by the hand of a barber and baptized by the hand of a pope, today call me African, but neither Africa nor Europe, Nor of Arabia I am. They also call me the Grenadian, the Fesi, the Zayyati, but I do not come from any country, from any city, from any tribe. I am the son of the road, caravan is my homeland and my life the most unexpected crossing. (Amin Maalouf, Leon the African)³.

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² Román Reyes holds a Bachelor's and Ph.D. in Philosophy, a Bachelor's and PhD in Political Science and Sociology. Professor of Social and Legal Sciences at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, since 1975 explains Philosophy and Social Sciences, and Sociology of Knowledge and Culture. He is a former member of the EMUI_UCM, which has since been in charge of the [EMUI_ EuroMed University \(Union for the Mediterranean\)](#), based in Lecce-Salento (Italy), institution of which is its current Rector. He has published 27 books, including the Critical Dictionary of Social Sciences, 4 vol, Ed. Plaza y Valdés, Madrid-México 2009 ss. And a hundred articles in scientific journals. He founded and since then has been directing the following periodicals: *Nomadas. Revista Critica de Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas*, ISSN 1578-6730, scientific publication of the UCM, Madrid 1999 ss, and *Nomads. Mediterranean Perspectives*, ISSN 1889-7231, Bilingual edition: English with translation into another EU or EuroMed language, Plaza y Valdés, Madrid-México 2009 ss, official body of the EMUI.

³ "(...) My wrists have sometimes known the caresses of silk and sometimes the insults of wool, the gold of princes and the chains of slaves. My fingers have lifted a thousand veils, my lips have blushed a thousand virgins, my eyes have seen agonizing cities and falling empires. By my mouth you will hear Arabic, Turkish, Castilian, Berber, Hebrew, Latin and vulgar Italian, for all languages, all prayers belong to me. But I do not belong to any. I am but of God and of the earth, and I will return to them a day not far off. And you will remain after me, my son. And you will keep my memory. And you will read my books. And then you will see this scene again: your father, dressed in the Neapolitan, in this galley that returns you to the African coast, scrawling like a merchant who takes stock at the end of a long journey. But is not this, in a way, what I am doing: what have I gained, what have I lost, what shall I say to the supreme Creditor? It has lent me forty years that I have been scattering at the mercy of travel: my wisdom has lived in Rome, my passion in Cairo, my anguish in Fez, and in Granada my innocence still lives "(Amin Maalouf, Leon the African)

Spain, the term 'Spain' does not completely cover the protean reality of the Peninsula. It is also a myth, a word that has aged and against which the writer must wage war: an unequal war, a fight against the chimeras, similar to that which the knight Don Quixote fought against the threatening windmills. (Juan Goytisolo, Spain and the Spaniards)⁴

My look is not, nor can be, that of an expert in International Relations. From my position as a critical sociologist and from my status as manager of a EuroMed Superior Center, I use the result of the research of the former, as well as the specialized literature that circulates about it.

My view is nothing more than a sociological and literary-cultural approach to the suggestive panorama that the Mediterranean tension implies and the passions that this tension generates. Respecting mobility and North-South flows, but especially horizontal, in the North or North, with the European Union as a backdrop.

To write this work I have consulted not only with International Relations theorists. It has been enriching to hear the story of the experience of those who, from politics or diplomacy, generate a less filtered perspective, being in contact with the changing reality with which they face daily. Although the register of these is plural, as plural is the perspective of each looking at the same. Which enriches the result.

The Mediterranean is certainly border. But, at the same time, an exclusive pretext for a dialogue or convergence that many consider impossible. I, however, think that the basis for this dialogue already exists.

The protagonists are not only the governments involved and the varied interests they represent. The policies that these governments design and apply would not have legitimacy without that recurrent pronouncement of citizenship, which manifests itself in the most plural and heterogeneous forms possible.

The language, the languages and especially the speaking, the use of these languages and the interpretation of the speeches in which they are propped up, is not *the problem*. Not even an apology to postpone dialogue and

⁴ (...) "And yet, the myth exists: there it is, fruit of the laborious elaboration of the time. In the name of this myth the Castile military caste prevailed to the divergent minorities and to the peripheral zones of the Peninsula at the end of century XV. Under the Catholic Monarchs, the Castilian, religious and warrior ideal leads successively to national unity, to the disappearance of the last Arab kingdom, to the expulsion of the Jews, to the discovery and conquest of America, to the religious wars undertaken in Europe On behalf of the Counter-Reformation. It is a myth that, by its power, produces a miracle comparable to that of the victorious holy war of the Arabs illuminated by the word of Mohammed: for more than a century, reality seems to yield and bow to its mere presence; Spanish dominions of Philip II, "never sets the sun." Astonishing force of the myth, which survives the ineluctable decadence of Spanish military power. The most clairvoyant Spaniards, beginning with Quevedo, prove the ruin of the country: ruin provoked by myth, true, but glorious ruin, embellished in turn by the myth and sustained by him. In the midst of a decrepit reality, which deteriorates more and more, the myth remains intact and does not want to back down. Myth is certainly condemnable, but myth generates distinctions and differences: insurmountable abyss between Spain and the rest of the world, circumstance raised to the category of "essence." Unamuno, and in general the whole generation of 98, will remain, aesthetically, faithful to this arbitrary identification, and in 1936, half of the Spaniards will rise once more to defend it, entrenched behind the myth as after His last reason for being". (Juan Goytisolo, *España y los españoles*)

understanding at all levels: religious, cultural, political, economic and cultural. When you know the Spanish foreign policy closely nobody is surprised that it conditions European policy towards the Mediterranean. Spain understands well the problem. It is of priority interest. In particular, the political dialogue that, with nuances, is common to Spain, France and Italy, which have, in terms of human rights, speeches more focused than the rest of the EU countries.

Spain is accused of having changed his jacket. What does not hold. The messages from Spain have been clear and unequivocal. Something that can be checked in the records that these messages have forced. Both at the level of literature and in behaviors. The Community proposals for dialogue coincide with the values that Spain has been defending. Its theoretical-ideological position has always been homogeneous. Coincident with the Euro-Arab community: cooperation and regional integration.

Arab Spring

C'est un garçon sans importance collective, c'est tout juste un individu.
(Luis Feridinat Céline, *L'Église*)⁵

*Is it necessary to be sultan to understand that, in the four confines and in the 7 climates of the world, all men are alike ?. Does not the most conclusive proof that men everywhere are identical is that each can take the place of the other? (Orhan Pamu, *The Astrologer and the Sultan*)*

Whenever I think of Mohamed Buazizi⁶ I remember Céline's date with which Sartre starts *La Nausea*⁷. No one had foreseen that the self-immolation in Tunisia of a poor, 'insignificant' 28-year-old youth would become 'la crispa', 'l'étincelle' that put a voice and action to a word repressed for decades: 'enough'. Tragic moment that I resist to interpret for that of 'it is necessary that a man dies for the people'⁸. That latent, apparently dormant, will of the citizens

⁵ A 28-year-old Tunisian youth, unemployed university student, street vendor, on whom the livelihood of his widowed mother and his brothers depended, he immolated himself in public at the headquarters of the Provincial Government of the city of Sidi Buzil. Cold morning of December 17, 2014 It was involuntarily the spark, *l'étincelle*, which ignited the revolt or revolution. The martyr who came with the spring (Sidi Bouzid, March 29, 1984 - Ben Arous, January 4, 2011)

⁶ Mohamed Buazizi

⁷ Jean-Paul Sarte, *La Nausée*, Gallimard, Paris 1938

⁸ Letter from Salvador Espriu to Manuel Sacristán: "A vegades are necessari i forçós / that a home mori per un poble, / però mai it will not die tot a poble / for a home sun: / always remember això, Sepharad. Next, follow the diaries of the diàleg / i look at understanding and estimating the various functions of your fills. That the plumage may be a little short in the semblants / i l'aire passi with an estesa mà / suau i molt benigna damunt els amples camps. / That Sepharad visqui eternally / in l'ordre i in the wood, in the treball, / in the difficult i merescuda / llibertat ". || "Sometimes it is necessary and forced / that a man should die for a people, / but a whole people should never die / for one man: / always remember this, Sepharad. / Make sure the bridges of the dialogue / try to understand and love / the reasons and the different you speak of your children. / Let the rain fall little by little in the fields / and the air passes like a hand stretched / soft and very benign on the wide fields. / That Sepharad live eternally / in order and in peace, in work, / in the difficult and deserved / freedom "(Translation by Carlos Vitale). Sepharad is the mythical name used by Espriu to refer to Spain or the Iberian

suddenly became an indignant 'kifaya', which was to have its immediate echo in the young population of the vast majority of the Arab world.

Because Mohamed Buazizi was able to invoke his status as an 'individual' when the conditions were already in place, his 'martyrdom' will be recoded as that point of no return, which has transformed the political and social map of the area, with international repercussions. Countries had not foreseen. At least they did not expect it to happen with celerity and apparent improvisation as it happened. It was easy enough to get out of fear and shout 'lárgate', 'dégage', before the doors of the disgusting and provocative ostentation of sumptuous residences or palaces of dictators, tyrants, enlightened ... or from where they designed recreation and Submission to the tyrannizing countries that had become their private fiefdoms.

Probably Mohamed Buazizi was a 'madman', as he was in another sense and more perverse consequences, the 'madness' of the magnicidal Gavrilo Princip, which triggered World War I. Pincip unknowingly provoked a chain reaction by assassinating on 28 June 1914 in Sarajevo the Emperor Franz Ferdinand of Austria and his wife Sofia. Buazizi, however, never came to know that he would become a 'martyr'. With his act more than symbolic he was claiming what he already considered for him and his unattainable family: freedom, justice, dignity.

Just as World War I provided a sad demonstration that high ideals and noble intentions translated into legislation are not exempt from being able to undergo the law of side effects, in the Arab countries there is now a process of adaptation, often Bloody, and with the uncertainty as a tension suffered by affected peoples.

It might be worth remembering what Georges Washington and Thomas Jefferson warned when drafting the US Constitution: the handicap which, on the subject of 'previous great alliances', the heterogeneity of the Arab Spring presupposes the fixing of constituent texts on The basis of the demands that the movement claims. And these 'previous alliances' obviously have to take into account not only the bilateral relations between Egypt and Israel. It also matters the role, formal or effective that the western powers have played in defending their interests in the area. Under the umbrella of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Union (2001) or that Arab and Pan-African Unit that sought to lead the eccentric dictator Muammar Gadaffi.

This is an unexpected, unpredictable process. There is consensus when it comes to understanding this. And Spain adapts to this process because it is in line with the values it has been defending so far. For this adaptation Spain takes special accompanying measures. At the same time, it is not difficult to adapt to the new situation. Although this movement develops later with inequality. It is heterogeneous when it comes to talking about the course that, in each country, has been setting. It is, however, evident that in none of the Arab countries affected was the Spanish transition model chosen. It can not even be said that in any of them it is similar.

Peninsula. (Salvador López Arnal: "Letters from Salvador Espriu to Manuel Sacristán on logic, solidarity, Giulia Adinolfi and a university chair". En *Rebelión*, 2009): <http://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=80234> , consultado el 28 de junio del 2014

Given that Spain recognizes that these are geographically, politically, socially and culturally complex realities, the resulting reality, the Arab Spring, is for Spain's foreign policy a priority and a recurring concern. However, Spain now sees the situation as before. Only the horizon of the normative position of its policy varies. There is no excision. Because this horizon is a guarantee of openness and transparency.

The picture has changed. It is true. Spain therefore defends that the popular will has to be respected. As it has explicitly done to the international community. He therefore advised that dialogue should be maintained in respectful terms.

For this strategy can not be another: accompaniment and persuasion. Generating, in turn, a capital of confidence. Because the EU does not have, nor can have on this occasion, any hidden deck. To foster dialogue, speech, the different talks, Spain has maintained a level plausible coherence. The Spanish policy on this matter is clear. For what is defensible: The manifestations of change in each of the countries where unforeseen movements have been generated, support has always been a manifestation of the popular will through the discourses that, until then, had been silenced Or repressed. And that will is manifested through the vindication of values inherent to their respective cultures, history and tradition. Without forgetting a key factor: the role that different religious positions have played and the management of these positions has been done. Not always with internationally valid results.

We have found that the situation is better in countries with a European vocation, such as Tunisia, Morocco or Jordan. Some of what Spanish diplomacy and politics are aware of. As they are aware of it are the theorists of the revolt. In or out of the corresponding countries. Theorists or critical witnesses of the revolt of vision or gaze not always similar, although often convergent or complementary. Talk therefore to journalists, photographers, or the military. Speak also of writers or intellectuals. Among those who have played an important role political scientists and sociologists. But also anthropologists and, to a certain extent, philologists.

Among the success stories we must not only talk about Tunisia. Others, which are experiencing processes of citizen demand and intervention, have reacted positively, as in the case of Algeria and Morocco.

Four years after the start of this not always easy road to democratic transition, the Arab countries, the contemporary Arab world, are experiencing a tense period of uncertainty. It has to continue to face the resistance of the old political class, clothed with an authoritarianism not always explicit. Assumed as inevitable, natural, by the sectors of the population more depressed, culturally deprived or indigent and less aware. Always obstacles of easy overcoming.

The resistance to change is not only sustained, therefore, by the belligerence and power (economic, influence and symbolic) of the political classes or castes until then ruling. This resistance has a less visible force and importance when the roots in the vision of government and management has become part of the normality, support and balance of daily life. Normality and equilibrium that are feared to lose, if new forms of government and management are implemented.

That is to say, there is so much fear of change, however much the new structures coincide with the generalized desires or aspirations that these new structures are capable of guaranteeing greater democratic participation. As is also feared that this change entails unforeseen personal cost or injury. In the matter of rearrangement of mental schemes as in attitudes or behaviors.

Truth and lie, like good and evil, are not referents (concepts, goals or states), which have a homogeneous instrumental utility in each of the members of a particular social body. The individual does not want to be disturbed. That the acceptance of one pole to the detriment of the opposite generates conflicts. Or your identification with any of them. At the level of relationships. As at the level of consciences or praxis, religious or moral. It resists being used. Whether or not this use is explicit. Be or not aware of the surrounding turbulence.

Governments often recognize autonomous actors as valid interlocutors. Academics or intellectuals who deal with the subject interpret and process *states of opinion*: the manifest or indirectly explicit feeling of citizenship to generate texts that we make available not only that citizenship, but also and especially, at the service of the class and Political formations and citizens, as well as that of governments. Both one and others know that we do not intervene (or should not) in decisions that only correspond to them. While we can and should make a criticism of the impact that those decisions subsequently have. In a sense or the opposite.

In turn, and to the extent that feeling is changing, the texts generated are subject to a recurrent verification process. In both directions. They are contrasted with the state of praxis and with the reading of this practice by governments.

I am aware that the official Spanish position, like that of any other government, is not always shared or coincident, in part or in full, with that of Spanish citizenship through political and trade union formations. But also through social organizations and other movements that are not regulated or, as the case may be, non-regulated. And the varied interpretation that these critical or resistant positions do the media.

Although this was not the case, I understand that those responsible for the current Spanish foreign policy in the Mediterranean are aware of these determinations. Even more, I believe they have expressed their respect for them, being conversant with their mentors or representatives more visible or qualified.

APPENDIX

Voices. Light and clarity in the Mediterranean ⁹

⁹ It is worth dwelling on this theme, leifmotiv of contemporary German philosophy and the possible influences that Ortega and Gasset had on it, especially in Martin Heidegger: "The presence of the present has no relation to light as such, in the sense of The clarity. But, the presence is directed towards the light in the sense of the clear. What this word gives us to think can be clarified with an example, of course we will reflect it enough. A clearing of the forest is

The Mediterranean is more than a sea, a magical lake. It is also a culture, a way of being, a way of living, of loving, of dying. It is no accident that it was the birthplace of philosophy and tragedy. The Mediterranean is made for all sorts of excesses, for gratuity, for beauty and for the spectacle of life. That is the people of the South, the people of Sicily, the Greek islands, the north of Morocco, Tunisia and also Algeria, who understand and live it (Tahar Ben Jelloun)

The Mediterranean has a mythological and mystical soul. But above all, he possesses a poetic soul. Many of the great roads of the sea of literature leave from their ports or they are going to die in its borders. And each wave chooses a song. (Javier Reverte)

From a prominent and plural corridor, Joan Manuel Serrat or Raimon (Ramón Pelegrero), Marina Rossell, Lluís Llach or Maria del Mar Bonet, Joaquín Sorolla or Jose Luis Checa, Luis Buñuel, Carlos Saura or Pedro Almodovar, Rafael Alberti or Juan Goytisolo, Manuel Vicent or Lorenzo Silva, Ahmed Ararou (by adoption or devotion), among many others, have given voice to the Mediterranean. Giving it a new light. Highlighting its splendid clarity. His seductive harmony. Your commitment and your complicity. Another form of Spanish foreign policy.

In the Mediterranean the dilemma of the crossroads is solved: It can be broken without having arrived. You can arrive by being.

From José Ortega y Gasset¹⁰ to María Zambrano¹¹, through Martín Heidegger¹², light and clarity (*Klarheit* or *Lichtung*) give us *clearings in the*

what it is, not on the basis of the clarity and light that can appear in it during the day. Also during the night the clearing persists. He indicates that: you can pass through the forest in that place. The luminance (*Lichte*) in the sense of clarity (*Hellen*) and the luminance of the clear not only differ in their subject, but also in word. To clear (*Lichten*) means to clear, to leave free, to lighten. 'Lightening' belongs to 'light' (*leicht*). To lighten something, to alleviate it, means to put aside what is opposed to it, to lead it towards the free, towards the without resistance. To take the anchor (*den Anker lichten*), means: to release it from the seafloor and lift it up to the free of water and air. Martin Heidegger, *Zur Frage nach der Bestimmung der Sache des Denkens* (1984). http://www.heideggeriana.com.ar/textos/pregunta_determinacion_pensar.htm, consulted on 06/22/2014; "The lightening (*Lichtung*) that the work of art puts in the midst of the beings, is at the same time a concealment. And this is not an artist's game. Heidegger understands that what the work (*Werk*) of art does is not simply acting (*Wirken*) in the sense of an effecting, of producing, where the artist's authorship would simply be manifesting. In the work of art a clear (*Lichtung*) is opened where the truth of things is put into action (*Ins-Werk-Setzen*). Antonio González, 'Erebnis' and current news: <http://www.praxeologia.org/erebnis.html>, accessed on 06/22/2014

¹⁰ The forest of Ortega y Gasset is inspired by the grove surrounding the Monastery of the Escorial. He refers to it in his *Meditations of Don Quixote*, published in 1914.

¹¹ *Claros del bosque* from María Zambrano, a compilation of writings from 1964 to 1971 and dated 1977, refers to the forest that surrounded her house in the last years of her life in the small French town of La Pièce, near the Swiss border .

¹² 'The Black Forest Philosopher', Martin Heidegger, publishes in 1950 *Holzwege*, (Lost Paths, Losada, Buenos Aires, or Caminos del bosque, Alianza Ed., Madrid, *Chemins qui ne mènent nulle part*, Gallimard, Paris), compilation Conferences of the years 1935-1946. This leafy forest is in the immediate vicinity of Freiburg.

forest. A forest turned into a sea by which dreams sail, made reality some, frustrated others. But they dock in privileged spaces that welcome them. Migration, mobility in the Mediterranean has not only been horizontal. History gives faith of it. And the traces that this mobility has left on land and in populations of origin other than the ones that arrive, are installed and *contaminated*.

Light and clarity of the Mediterranean. The sensitivity of its people. The welcome and integration of strangers, without renouncing their own. Music and painting. The architecture. The design of urban space. And the one of the domestic space, the own house. Lively records, traces of a story that is proper.

The passage of people from different backgrounds, cultures or religions was not always a problem of impossible resolution. Or rather, *the problem* arises *a posteriori*. When the later integration will be selective, inclusive. And the original resistance becomes a stimulus for those who arrive.

This original resistance becomes a complex assimilation: integrating the values of previously existing peoples. Hodgepodge that is a reference for dialogue. Something that records the monuments. But also the resulting intellectual output. From poetry to philosophy and literature. Specific creativity that does not fit into traditional patterns. Genuine, tolerant. Deeply rooted in aesthetic, moral and magical-religious values. Descriptors of a seemingly new, open, seductive space. Cozy. Receptive and respectfully critical. Sus símbolos son objeto depreciado valor, tengan éstos una historia con valores encontrados o excluyentes. Porque tras el complejo diseño del espacio mediterráneo puede descubrirse al hombre que lo ha diseñado y que se perpetúa en las generaciones que le han reemplazado. La piedra y la poesía que evocan son inseparables de la carne que la modela y convirtiera en instrumento prioritario de movilidad y equilibrio. Fijando modelos de relación micro-macro. Soportes de la convivencia con posibilidades de ser transferidos a otros pueblos colindantes. O admirados por sus visitantes o moradores no autóctonos.

The stone bears the mark of man. And man can not be understood without the mark that the stone has left on him. It is their environment, their environment. The projection screen of your imaginary and your feelings. The security of your identity. Guarantee of integrity. A kind of non-traumatic reciprocal invasion. Loss of one in the other and vice versa. Circumstances that allow to be registered past the time in stories, that are perpetuated. Source of inspiration for historians. But also of conquerors, vagabonds or adventurers. Of self-constitution half-man, in short.

Dialogue is not just between stone and flesh. And hands that caress that stone. Recreating, remodeling. They support or identify with the image that man assigns them. And that man, on the other hand, assumes, making his own and respecting the proper forms of that matter, charging it with life, of symbolic psyche the resulting.

A spatial harmony that combines melodies with colors. It is inspired by the forms of its architecture and the stories that tell of its history and the melting pot of cultures.

Traveling through a sea that passion or adventure is dreamed of without limit or destination. No borders or corridors that nature has imposed. Nor any other divine or human force. Between Granada and Fez. Or Alexandria and Istanbul. Or Rome and Jerusalem. From Athens to Marrakech. Tripoli. Passing through passages. Runners that dreams can not imagine. Designing maps. Lands and spaces. Landscapes. Tensions that neither the passion. Neither hatred nor fruition destroys. Echoes that no order silences. Warm turbulence. Triggered. Meetings. Tenderness and Compassion. Something that only poets and lunatics can talk about. Painters. Photographers and story tellers never told. Designers of spaces. For mobility in harmony. For domestic enjoyment. For tenderness. And for the rest. To remember. Respect and worship. Beyond life. More from death.

Speak if not with Cavafis. Ask Cleopatra and Marco Antonio. To Homer. To Caravaggio. Cézanne or Monet. Picasso or Klee. Fernand Bruadel or Albert Camus¹³. And speak especially with so many others that are part of the small print that only the travelers read. People in towns and cities are well acquainted. Not always rich in each other. In wisdom. Or in treasures that greed does not always accumulate. Occult stories, which transcends. Forgotten. Abandoned. Destroyed. By warriors the crusaders, priests or princes, kings or emperors, senators or tribunes. For those who have been impotent to read only those texts with will to stay. In temples or schools. In parliaments. In books, which only tell and interpret the will of the conquerors. Of the winners.

The small print is the patrimony of the people. The same who does not forget it. Who knows of tears. Of pain and hunger. Of oppression and death. The same that reacted without waiting for authorization from anyone. When no one else expects it. Small letter, engraved in the memory of the towns and of its people. In the records that popular monuments are witnesses of this memory. Hidden or repressed designs.

The (pseudo) architecture of knowledge and knowledge. The official history does not always coincide with the real history of the Mediterranean. History often written. To be read by those who decide the fate of the peoples. And they administer their will. Will that produces perplexity when it bursts into the public scene with an unknown violence and visibility.

It is the sudden *awakening of dignity*. The maturity that a muted people has made use of. No waiting slogans. Come or not from a leader, lay or religious. And he has claimed what is his. Only yours. The obvious: Freedom, justice and equality. Because its dignity is its inviolable and most precious heritage.

When you know the characters you can talk about it more properly. I believe, therefore, that the current designers and managers of Spanish foreign policy are women and men adequately and adequately trained and illustrated. With a

¹³ Albert Camus created Rivages magazine in 1938, in which he wrote: "Young men, in a young land, proclaim their attachment to those few perishable and essential goods that give a meaning to our life: sea, sun and women in the light" . The Bulletin of the House of Culture of Algiers, publication of the 1930s, was called *Jeune Méditerranée*. Camus was one of its main animators. In his first writings of this period, *Noces or L'Été*, we read, among other texts: "The career of young people on the Mediterranean beaches brings us to the magnificent gestures of the athletes of Delphi"

clear sensitivity to understand and integrate the previously mentioned aspects into their programs. Not otherwise could be understood the success that, with respect and with nuances, Spain is recognized in its policy towards the current situation of peoples and nations in the Maghreb and the Middle East. Historically relevant situation and has agreed to be called Arab Spring.



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