

White Paper on the Foreign Action of Galicia

Authors:

José Manuel Blanco González, Alejandro Molíns de la Fuente, Xosé Luís Rodríguez Pardo, Fernando Pérez-Barreiro Nolla, Xulio Ríos Paredes (coordinator).

Translated from Galician into English by Colyn Alcock and Alberto Estévez Suárez.

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Presentation

The reflection that follows, dealing with Galicia's overseas interests, constitutes and in-depth exercise of rationalising the policies that span the whole of Galician society and that have a bearing on a sector which is essential today for any group that aspires to maintain and extend its development and welfare levels.

This is a set of ideas and proposals that make up a suitable base for action so that we can all grasp the importance of the times that we are living through, which are characterised by many of the borders from the past being crossed and the opening up of new scenarios in which the Galician presence is not only facilitated, but it also becomes the main cause of our well-being.

The Xunta de Galicia (Regional Autonomous Government of Galicia) felt it appropriate that independent individuals with expertise, from different professional sectors and with a lengthy and extensive knowledgeable experience of Galicia and the world, got to work. At the same time, they should be provided with the most wide-ranging channels of participation possible, so that the result could be the one which was best suited to the feelings and the needs of contemporary Galician society.

Thus, the White Paper on Foreign Action gathers together certain shared bases for action and which, whilst not necessarily being minimal in scope, could facilitate a meeting point for all of the feelings and direction in this social alliance that would enable us to make the most out of the plentiful vitalities that Galicia has accumulated in foreign affairs, as we have demonstrated so many times throughout history.

Congratulations to the authors, and congratulations also to Galician society, because by means of their active and loyal commitment, we are able to make the most of the opportunities that the modern world offers us, so that Galicia can be more Galician and more universal at the same time.

Manuel Fraga Iribarne

President

Xunta de Galicia

Introduction

We live in a world undergoing a constant process of transformation, a change in epoch that is presided over and made conditional upon the globalisation of a large part of human activities, notably, the productive, commercial and financial ones. There is however globalisation of information, culture and knowledge. This requires a renewed effort for adaptation from the different societies and their principal agents, by means of the assuming of a new internationalist culture. Numerous concerned individuals and groups, both public and private, need to consider the foreign factor in their fields of action. This is so that they are able, to a large extent, to guarantee complete viability for their projects.

During the course of recent years, Galician authorities have demonstrated growing sensitivity towards the subjects related to the foreign profile of our community. The countless journeys and initiatives undertaken by the President clearly show this is an enduring rather than a short-term drive. The establishment of structures such as the Foreign Action Commission, in September 1997, provided a significant step forward in standardising the working areas of the Authorities themselves in this respect and involve them in this dynamic as a whole. The first Four-yearly Foreign Action Programme, approved in July 1998, creates a synthesis of a framework of measures, either in the European sector, or in the rest of the world. In addition to guaranteeing the presence of Galicia in the forums of greatest immediate interest, this Programme does not renounce the need to overcome the structural weaknesses of the Galician economy through the search for new markets for exports and investment, strengthening exchanges and political and cultural ties. In short, it defines the priorities for properly positioning Galicia in the modern complex world, based on its own economic and social possibilities. It likewise affirms a vocationally universalist and humanist conception.

The activities that the different Autonomous Communities undertake in the international field constitute a consolidated phenomenon in contemporary Spanish and international society. It is necessary to take account of the fact that the dynamics of globalisation are being developed at the same time as the processes of regionalisation and decentralisation, and that the development of the regional circumstance within the framework of the European Union (EU) and the foreign sub-state level plan are political manifestations that have been unanimously accepted by all of the countries. Also, it is necessary to take account of the fact that a foreign action plan is indispensable for the exercising of some statutory authorities.

It could even be said that there is an increasingly greater degree of recognition of autonomous bodies at this level, to the point of constituting such a consolidated sector which is the subject of academic analysis and attention (para-diplomacy). Measures by autonomous communities in the international field could contribute towards the enriching and reinforcing of State foreign policy and to establishing, with full loyalty to the latter, a level of respectability which it is necessary to dignify and augment every day.

Accumulated experience over the course of these years, the importance of making a social contrast between the main fields of action that are sought after and the need to contemplate and make the most of the possibilities that new challenges present, would lead to the recommendation of making an effort to reflect. This would be noted for the deepening perception that Galicia is undergoing a period of foreign relations development. This chapter will be one of the key themes of policy action for the coming years.

In dealing with Galicia's foreign action, we can state that this chapter on public action has been growing in importance under the scope of the process of European integration in recent years, but that it is also a globalising fact that transforms and lends relativity to the scale of every political or geographical dimension, and that opens up scenarios that have not formed part of the public agenda until a short while ago. In this reflection, we are considering the suitability of endowing a coherent strategy with the reality and the interests of Galicia with its own identity, which is capable of driving its progress, its modernisation and its social welfare. It is not possible to make progress with this range of opportunities by ignoring the past. It is necessary to maintain the pillars of the particular cultural identity. For this reason, it is especially important for Galicia, a society that has traditionally been open - sometimes by virtue of its own willingness, on other occasions due to the initiative of outsiders - to take on the questions of adapting, particular ability in our society, to the globalising discourse and to the restoring of value, the modern nature and the future of universalism as a trend in the area of consideration that could be most suitable for our purpose.

Galicia has doubtless, with the preparation of this White Paper, placed itself in a vanguard position with regard to developing awareness of the importance of foreign affairs. The drawing up of the White Paper makes one further specific demonstration of its serious approach in terms of its activities and social leadership, whilst at the same time acknowledging the overriding significance of the civic factor. It moreover creates spaces for making it viable for the whole of society to play a leading role, not just in a formal manner, but also by actively fostering the enriching proposals of a scheme that is open to the world.

The White Paper does not seek to be a document that excludes all else. Rather, it is an integrating symbiosis of a diagnosis and a forecast that may be used as a reference point by all of those involved in our society who aspire to contributing towards the future and well-being of Galicia, in a determined and straightforward way. This is to be a reference point for knowledge (key elements of the modern world, our possibilities and challenges) and for action (implementation of frameworks of economic, political and social confluence that guarantee the greater sustainability of Galicia in a context that is much more extensive than that which is defined by our limited geographical borders). The best way of facing up to the overseas challenge is in a joint manner, setting up sector-by-sector alliances, which must be framed in a direction that is convergent with other social decision-makers, in such a way that it is possible to activate synergies and give shape to mutual acts of reinforcement.

This is why the White Paper was even drawn up in a context of ongoing dialogue and partnership between the chief social agents, and with the whole of society, including those involved in the Diaspora. A specific web site was set up (www.libroaexga.com) and an ad hoc survey was distributed on a massive scale to the following: members of Parliament, foreign affairs spokesmen in the political parties and the agrarian guilds and workers trades unions, non-governmental organisations, international relations offices of the universities, directors of master's degree courses involved in training matters related to foreign action in the broadest sense, editors of magazines and publications, journalists and contributors of the main mass media channels, Galician diplomats, consuls based in Galicia, Community officials, individuals from the world of culture, scientific and social institutions, chambers of commerce and business associations, professional school institutions and financial associations. In short, there was a whole series of assets that, with their appearance and degree of involvement, should enable us to harden this alliance for Galicia in the field of foreign affairs which our new times demand.

Jesús María Gamallo Aller

General Secretary for Relations with the European Union
and Overseas Cooperation

Chapter I

The geo-political position of Galicia

In geo-political terms, Galicia is –along with Portugal and south-western Andalusia– part of the Atlantic face of the Iberian Peninsula. This coastal strip needs to project itself towards the North Atlantic. Its ties with the Spanish state determined that the strategic possibility of this position could be developed in line with Spanish foreign relations and those concerning the alliances or conflicts that it maintained with the other countries of the world.

Going beyond its particularly military aspect, the natural and human resources of Galicia –when matched with this geographic location– offer possibilities and characteristics that require an appropriate strategy for their use.

The strategic value of the Galician coasts reached its peak during the long period of the conflicts between the Spanish Empire and England. The departure of the unfortunate Invincible Armada from A Coruña, the assaults by Drake and other similar events are noted episodes in this conflict. Even in the XVIII century, the development of naval construction in the Ferrol shipyards responded to these concerns. The fate of the military establishments and the relative civil prosperity that accompanied them varied with changes in the State’s policy and alliances. British ambitions for control of this north-western corner of the peninsula in the Napoleonic wars demonstrated themselves repeatedly, and culminated in the attempted invasion of the Ferrol inlet from the open coast of Doniños in 1800.

The particular attention paid to the defensive nature of the Galician coast, moved it away from its commercial interests. What could have been a promising start as the head of the route to the American continent was not fulfilled: the arrival of the caravel “Pinta” at Baiona, saw the first news of what was referred to as “the greatest new geo-political development of all time”. The window towards the Canary Islands and America lay in the southern stretch of the Atlantic shoreline, in Cadiz and Seville. It was only after the independence of the south American colonies and the disappearance of the Sevillian monopoly that traffic became heavy between the North-western ports and the American continent. However, by that time, this was an emigratory movement. Galician demography was a source of manpower for those who made use of it, for example, the builders of the Panama canal, following the tremendously high death-rate of workers from other countries, many of them Asian.

It is necessary to highlight the geo-political effect that the establishing of the kingdom of Portugal in the XII century had on Galicia. This fact reinforced the peripheral location of Galicia and the cited reduction in its strategic value due to the vicissitudes in the conflicts in the north Atlantic area. Excluded from the activities of the Portuguese empire, it also ceded economic and cultural participation in the affairs of the Spanish empire, in favour of the Andalusian Atlantic corner.

In the circumstances of the modern world, the Galician coast does not constitute a top point of reference in strategy for conflicts. The South Atlantic is more problematic than the north. This is recognised in the new territorial deployment of the Spanish armed forces and particularly in the distribution of the naval command and troops. A very specialized form of personal and technological leadership, which very much specialises in the naval industry, construction and repairs remains and continues on the increase, also making use of the geographical position of Galicia –especially in this last aspect.

This new outlook offers the possibility of offsetting the relative marginalization of our community. A certain degree of dichotomy between the coast and the inland area also appears to have been corrected by the improvement in communications with the central and southern parts of the peninsula. Communications with the Cantabrian cornice, which in other times gave rise to strategic mistrust (which was partly a response to the long and difficult history of delays in the so-called Coastal Railway, from Ferrol to Gijón), still require some intensification. But these will contribute towards the expansion of a supplying hinterland for the vanguard of the Atlantic bulkhead of the Galician ports.

Galicia has potential as a node for seafaring communications lines between the American continent and Europe and those that link the Atlantic ports of Europe with the maritime traffic emanating from the Mediterranean routes, or those of Asia or West Africa. Significant initiatives are being adopted in other European Atlantic ports that should be the subject of assistance. On the other hand, there is a potential but this does include a risk: the proximity to the main routes for the transporting of fuel and other hazardous merchandise has given rise to repeated disasters on the Galician coasts. In this respect, the interests of Galicia have to be present in the round of international negotiation that specifies both the conditions of the means of maritime transport, together with the setting of the routes, the mechanisms for separating traffic or the provisioning of ports so that they can meet the obligations for receiving merchandise that are imposed by international legal norms.

From another point of view, the fundamental demographic characteristic of recent years is one of a continual loss of population. The spatial distribution of inhabitants is very uneven, meaning that 74% of the inhabitants are concentrated in the western provinces. The Galician community displays more negative demographic indicators than Spain as a whole. It has the greatest number of the elderly in Spanish society, with 6.1% of its population (2003), and its birth-rate is one of the lowest in Europe. One structural characteristic of the Galician population is its dispersion, as there are over 30,000 population centres. The average area covered by Galician municipal districts is 94 km², with an average of 9,000 inhabitants. The urban city profile of Galicia is structured around seven centres of population that number more than 70,000 inhabitants, with a significant degree of intensification in social and economic relations between them in recent years, driven by improvements in communications. The urban system is characterised by polarization in two metropolitan areas: A Coruña and Vigo.

In reality, the maritime-continental dichotomy is the result of the historical circumstances. Progressive improvement in communications with the remainder of the Pe-

ninsula and making best use of the Galician ports would contribute towards overcoming this, whilst strengthening its role in global maritime trade in competition with other European Atlantic ports.

In summary, a basic outline of the Galician geo-strategy displays the following basic parameters:

1. Galicia represents a high-value geo-political space due to its high level of natural resources and the fact that it contributes a well-developed naval industry, which is comparable to the most advanced ones in the world, to the Spanish economy.

2. The Atlantic ports form a chain of support points for large-scale maritime transportation.

3. The extent and configuration of the Galician sea coast constitutes a space where economic possibilities of great geo-political value can be concentrated, containing an operational level that needs to be looked after and thoroughly organised on the basis of sustainable development techniques.

4. Given the characteristics of modern Galician demographics, it is necessary to plump for the recovery of a natural rate of growth. Given the drive for its economic development, Galicia would be open to an immigrant population, which might itself be Galician in origin.

Chapter II

Historical approach

For our present task, it is of interest to analyse how Galicia took shape over the course of the centuries and how its relations with the world located beyond its confines contributed towards that configuration. Geographically speaking, Galicia has barely changed throughout the course of history, but the world that it is a part of and in which it needed to explore and develop diverse possibilities of interaction has changed constantly and generated a rather complicated form of dynamic.

Some historians stress the extremely marginalised geographical nature of our Land in the old world as being a conditioning factor, which has been almost always a negative one, in the historical future of our community. However, we know that even those population centres that could be called pre-Galician maintained intense relations, especially seafaring relations, with other Atlantic peoples. Marginality would not make sense until much later, since this only exists when there is a particular centre of civilizing dynamism. What did exist in the past was the movement of populations, which fulfilled a function similar to that of opening up to foreign influence in later times. These movements can be classified as a drastic, primitive and violent form of immigration, in which the triumphing emigrants settled themselves in the territory where they had arrived, and closed this area up defensively against those who arrived afterwards. Therefore, it is not possible to speak about isolation as a negative factor in these periods that are so far back in time.

A certain degree of particular political organisation is doubtless necessary in order to be able to speak of conscious foreign action. However, presence and influence are sometimes less visible than it would seem that this form of action requires. This methodological consideration can shed light on some aspects of a history such as that of Galicia, which has mostly been “becalmed”.

Romanisation and Christianity

Galicia’s entry into history technically came about with its Romanization. Classical historians have left a written record of this land. In a broader sense, forming part of an empire is one form of a presence in a more extended world. Maybe passive presence predominates more than active presence in this context. The absence of imperial characters of Galician origin, in contrast to Betica origin for example, which provided those from Seneca and Lucano –amongst others- is well-known. Romanization must have been very intense. The rapid and radical implantation of the language of the empire attracts our attention as perhaps being the strongest aspect of the imperial presence which was, in turn, poorer in terms of architectonic inheritance.

The Christianization of Galicia took place within this imperial context and, once this had been done, the relationship between passivity and activity becomes substantially

reversed. Priscillianism spread outwards towards the broadest geographical and cultural dimensions from certain origins marked by the spiritual position of Galicia. Prisciliano's life ended tragically in Treveris, in the heart of the continent. It is appropriate to consider the frequency of the journeys of significant individuals such as Prisciliano, who came and went to Rome, in conditions that seem to be prohibitive even today.

The Church was behind the drive of the movement of people and ideas in the latter years of the Empire, taking advantage of the Roman infrastructure, both the roadways and in other forms. Paulo Orosio and Idacio, Galicians from Braga, travelled through the Christian east, met Saint Jerome and interpreted the story of their times with universalist criteria. The trips made by Egeria, probably from El Bierzo, to the Holy Land and to Mesopotamia, have great significance in the historical sources of the period.

Thus, Christian Galicia was present and active in the concluding world of the Empire.

The Middle Ages

Once again, the arrival of a people, the Suavians, first shook up and then vitalized the society in Galician territory. The Suavian kingdom shaped Galicia and placed it in the context of Germanic people on the move. Martin, from Panonia, heard Galicia spoken of in Jerusalem, and reached this land on a mission. Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Galicia interacted in this epoch.

At the same time, Celtic emigrants arrived at the Cantabrian cornice and settled themselves in the dioceses. These were firstly the Bretons, who later colonised Brittany, the predecessors of Mondoñedo. The north Atlantic dimension, which was perhaps already present in pre-historic times, moved ahead again and the supposed Galician marginalisation dissipated.

Relations between Galicia and the outside world seemed to darken following the absorption of the Suavian kingdom into the Visigoth reign. There are fewer historical mentions, but a Galician presence, from Lugo, El Bierzo and Braga was maintained in the ecclesiastical field. The monastic rule of Fructuoso de Braga, influenced by eastern monarchism, was spread by Western Christianity, in a curious transfer of ideas where the spiritual world again became present in what we today call the Middle East.

The Muslim invasion barely reached Galicia. Unlike what happened with previous movements of peoples, these did not come to settle. There may have been some forty years with the presence of the Berbers, without any great consequences. To some extent, as the Reconquista was continuing, Galicia became left further from the historically and culturally most dynamic border in the history of those centuries. The characteristics of Galicia as a backward area became visible in the policy of the peninsula kingdoms, and took on an appearance that we could call conservative.

The possibility of developing contacts to the south of the river Miño with the culture of the followers of Islam –who were undoubtedly first warriors but who then and afterwards brought cultural enrichment – was aborted by the independence of Portugal. The significance of this fact, which can be assessed as being traumatic for

the future of the Galician community, can also be observed centuries later in the specific field of foreign relations.

The inventio of the sepulchre of the Apostle Santiago opened this peninsula rear-guard up to the world beyond the Pyrenees. The Xacobeo way was certainly one compensation for the isolation from the lands of the south. Its importance is well-known and recognised up to this day in its “revival” after centuries of decay. At its height, it incorporated artistic and literary manifestations and, in general terms, cultural ones of great significance. However, it could be considered that it was a route of departure rather than arrival, a space where refined cultural attitudes came to live together with traditional and conservative social attitudes. Modern and future studies could continue specifying the details and the profundity of this phenomenon, from a perspective of these inter-relations.

The wealth of Santiago following the discovery of the apostle’s sepulchre attracted another violent foreign intervention: the incursions from the Vikings. These people did not come to create settlements like those of Dublin –where some of them came from– or Normandy. This is, all in all, a prolonged period with the –mostly threatening– presence of the north Atlantic world, which sometimes incited Galician self-defence. On other occasions, it fell within the defensive strategy of the kings of Leon, for whom it seemed to take on a dimension that was less urgent and not as well understood as the Reconquista on the southern border.

Despite its increasingly strong integration into the kingdom of Castile-Leon, and its strategies in the decisive times of Alfonso VI, the presence of the Atlantic world persisted. Archbishop Diego Peláez, involved in the uprisings of the Galician countal family against the new sovereign, then sought an alliance with the Duke of Normandy, which was thwarted by the premature death of the latter. Normandy was the origin of significant pilgrimages, and Peláez’s influence could have induced a north Atlantic element, with greater Galician weight, along the lines of the Camino de Santiago. This was a Galicia at the centre of the world of relations that could have made the most of its geographical location and liberated it from the end of the world (*Finis terrae*) status, which also implied the end of the Way, and thrust it towards a more active status.

An urban network, from which maritime and land routes started off, took shape during the reign of Fernando I and Alfonso VI. The ports of the Atlantic coastlines of the European continent, and the islands of Great Britain and Ireland became accessible to Galician commerce from Ribadeo, Viveiro, A Coruña, Muros, Noia, Pontevedra and Baiona. The exporting of fish, wood and wine started out from these towns and cities at the beginning of the urban evolution, and salt and cloth imports, for example, reached these places. Galicia took some time to have its own boats for this form of trade; it began by using Portuguese, Biscayne or French vessels. However, the time of Archbishop Xelmírez saw the commencement of the construction of shipyards, which were growing in Pontevedra, A Coruña and other ports. In this way, the foundations were laid for the maritime activity which was to become quite considerable by the end of the medieval age and the start of modern times. Xelmírez managed to obtain a licence for minting money for this medieval maritime trade from Galicia.

Within the monasterial field – with the exception of the well-known importance of the presence of Benedictine and Bernadine monks for the legal code of land owners-

hip, since these were the main promoters of the forum- Cluny's reforms reinforced the entrance of Galicia into Roman Christianity, and those of Cister were the ones who integrated best into the Galician culture. From the founding of the Monastery of Sobrado in 1142 onwards, Cistercian friars spread the crops that were produced in Borgoña and they connected fishing production with the monastery centres in the interior of the country.

Galicia could not escape the harsh adversity throughout the whole of Europe of the XIV century. The Atlantic side, which is the face it naturally presents to the world, saw the arrival of the plague at that time, which defined that century as a calamitous one. It had reached Baiona and other towns of the bishopric of Tui by 1348. This is what has been documented, though it would seem more natural –given that it came from the East– that it arrived along the route of the pilgrimages, for example. Once again, we can see the alternating between the opening to the sea and the relative closing off of the land. The consequences of the death rate and misery left a deep impression throughout the country, as they did in the rest of the continent. The social and economic consequences are also similar, with the particular features of the way in which they took place.

The brotherly struggle between Peter I and Henry of Trastámara in the second half of that century brought the Englishmen of the Duke of Lancaster to Galicia. The defeat of Peter's force led to the failure of the possibilities of Galicia gaining a position in the new international framework and being less dependent on the strategy of southern orientation of the kingdom of Castile-León.

It seems that, in spite of the disasters of the XIV century, the coastal towns that faced abroad continued developing. The Galician coasts benefited from the resurgence of the route between Northern Europe and the Mediterranean, aided by the opening of the Straits of Gibraltar to the sea-borne trade of the Christian kingdoms. However, wars and social conflicts would quite significantly put the brakes of these villages and small towns taking advantage of the intensification of trade into the routes of the Atlantic.

The forms of the ecclesiastical embodiment of Galicia into Christianity, which changed in the time of the schism from the West, became important again. The different alignment of Portugal and Castile towards the two papacies in conflict, meant that Galician-Portuguese unity which had been noted until that time, led to a rupture in this situation. A Papal Bull from Rome guaranteed the process of forming nation states, which were underway at that time, as this favoured framing ecclesiastical jurisdictions within the limits of the territory defined as national by the political authority. The Europe of nation states was replacing that of the trans-state metropolitan dioceses.

The Modern and Contemporary Ages

The historical process that was consolidated in the Peninsula with the new order imposed by the Catholic Kings entered via this route. The unitary condition of the new system, drawn up in ideological terms and applied systematically, was not very favourable to the former kingdoms taking initiatives of their own beyond their borders. No evaluation or special attention for their interests or particular spheres can be observed. The

Crown and central bureaucracy partially influenced economic and cultural relations with Europe. Renaissance Europe came on fewer pilgrimages to Compostela. In the same way, the imperial enterprise that led to the discoveries did not open up special opportunities or routes to Galicia and its ports.

The Hapsburg monarchy placed Spain within the European imperial world, but Galicia was very much left on one side. The European empire, with a western peninsula base – in which it does not seem likely for such marginalization to occur- is Portugal. Galician nobles certainly found scope for their presence in the services of the monarchy and they were very prominent in the development of its foreign policy. The count of Gondomar, an effective and intelligent executor of the policies of the Austrias, was a paradigm of the position of that nobility. He was aware of the dangers of becoming closed off which, paradoxically, came about due to the relative success of the agricultural and farming activities that had been developed in his land of origin as a palliative against its isolation. Gondomar could not, from his privileged observatory, see much merit in the economic self-sufficiency of that solution that did no more than guarantee subsistence to Galicia, in a world that offered opportunities for improvement to others.

The imperial conflict between the new Spanish nation state and England, where Gondomar applied his talent, boosted the strategic value of the Galician coast and the need to defend them against British ambitions. However, it froze them into a perspective that was military and isolationist and that was not very compatible with opening up to trade which could have featured in a different strategic context.

Of the three new institutional instruments that linked Galicia with the central power and that were becoming consolidated in the XVI century (the Court, the Captain General and the Council of the Kingdom), it was the Council that demonstrated the most representative character, but it had very few opportunities for administrative action. A greater reflection of the concerns of the country could have been expected from it. In fact, as far as foreign action was concerned, we see this acting as a levies and supplies and provisions agent for the armies in the wars with Portugal and the War of Succession.

When we reach the XVIII century, we see that the strategic considerations that created some development projects such as that of the shipyards of Ferrol endure. One consequence of this was the scientific journeys of the learned officers of the Armada that returned to the Peninsula along these Artabran shores with their knowledge. The decadence of the Armada after Trafalgar very much put the brakes on this opening.

The attempts at overseas expansion of the governing leaders of Charles III, which became manifest in a cultural version of the military strengthening of the Galician north-west, in the internal recomposition of the route ways and in the freedom of trade between ports, were short-lived in terms of articulating vigorous economic and cultural relations. Eminent figures like Sarmiento and Pedro Sánchez demonstrated the need for foreign relations in formulating their concerns about the internal necessities of the Galician country.

The XIX century was one of deep instability. Trade relations were particularly difficult. The attempts to ensure greater presence in sea-borne trade ended in defeat and the protectionist option of Spanish trade policy precipitated the breaking of the existing

links with the markets in which Galicia had acquired a certain presence. Thus, export markets, particularly the cattle market, with the United Kingdom and Portugal were lost at the end of the century. As in the times of Sarmiento, defects in the interior integration of Galicia put a halt to trading and cultural overseas expansion. The lack of legal protection from the State worsened the problem.

One way of understanding Galicia in the world, which is problematic but is of exceptional importance, is in terms of emigration, this, with its background of seasonal or permanent migration, which was also sporadically external, took on massive proportions in the transition from the XIX to the XX century and was prolonged into the latter. Beyond the economic importance of the sending of money, emigration established the bases of a Diaspora, which at times became dynamised in the cultural aspect. This spread a form of Galician identity throughout the world and can today be seen as a very positive factor in Galicia's foreign action.

New courses of economic and cultural modernisation can be observed in the Galicia of the decade of the 1930's, leading it towards a broader world. The Partido Galeguista (Galeguist Party), sensitive to the urgency of this process, enjoyed the services of Plácido R. Castro. He took its aspirations to the IX Congress of European Nationalities, organised in Berne with the support of the Society of Nations, where Galicia was acknowledged as having a distinct nationality, as a people with their particular personality.

In the first two decades of the dictatorship, Spain – unlike other countries of continental Europe- pressed for economic autarchy. Except for a certain degree of key industrialisation, such as that of As Pontes, these years furnished Galicia with little, and it remained practically absent in the field of opening up relations overseas. After 1960, Galicia continued playing a peripheral role in the economic policy changes of the State, although it did begin to open up to the outside world, and consolidate its presence in (Grand Sole, Terranova, etc.) and absorb foreign capital investments (Citroen, Genosa, Aluminio-Pechiney, Petroliber, Saprogal, etc.). By the time of gaining autonomous power, it found itself with the problem of there being insufficient modernisation in the fishing, agrarian and industrial sectors of the country.

This historical background should help us to understand that Galicia is a country of plural and compensatory production at times of sectorial crises. It also shows us that emergency solutions are not always profitable and that our economic, political and cultural progress lies in direct proportion to its conscious connection and proper orientation towards the outside world. In this perspective, it is necessary to point out that Galicia has always shown a calling for commercial opening that has been seen to suffer detriment from the protectionist, and at times, autarchy, option of central government.

In different ways, and in harmony with the different opportunities for action within the context of each historical situation, Galicia has maintained itself open to the world and sought to work within it. History demonstrates to us a series of pathways that have been initiated and not always followed. These today represent a set of opportunities for a foreign action based on the joint will of Galicians and supported by the institutions that we enjoy for our self-government today.

Chapter III

Foreign action of Galicia

Constitutional-political framework of Galician foreign action

When the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia in force makes its first reference to overseas matters, it does so along the lines of the political rights that should be enjoyed by Galicians and their descendents who are outside Spain (art. 3.2). Thus, it is not surprising that when the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia explicitly alludes to particular forms and instruments of International Law, it does so by taking account of this historical and human conditioning factor. This is hence set out in article 7, which to some extent is a substantive specification of article 35.3. But even in this context, where the express reference to autonomous powers in the overseas field should facilitate a non-contentious interpretation of the rules, we find ourselves with the fact that article 29.1 of the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia also unquestionably reserves the integrity of the migratory competencies to the Spanish Administration.

Looking objectively at the different competences that the Spanish Constitution (SC) considers can be assumed by the different autonomous communities, we should mention, on the one hand, - given the specific nature of our language - its official status - in the territorial area of Galicia, as set out in art. 3.2 SC. However, at the same time, there is a special obligation of the State such as that comprising the protection of and respect for the Galician language as part of the cultural heritage of Spain (art. 3.3 SC). This therefore covers the whole of the policy action of the same, at home and abroad, in such a manner that when "International relations" are stated as being the exclusive competences of the State in art. 149.1.3 of the Spanish Constitution, such a reservation, in terms of language, has to be seen in relation to the competence which is contained in sections 5 and 27.20 of our Statute of Autonomy. Therein, "the promotion and teaching of the Galician language" also appears as the exclusive competence of the Galician Autonomous Community.

In these and in other statutory provisions, a first and brief superficial analysis of the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia, holding close to its strict literal sense, could lead us to support a reductionist interpretation of the radius of action that that the Autonomous Community of Galicia should possess in a sector which, if it is not purely international, is at least foreign.

However, it comes about that, as the legislators knowingly affirm in article 3.1 of the Civil Code, which is generally and directly applicable in accordance with article 13.1 of the same legal code, the social reality of the time in which the rules have to be applied is a parameter that cannot be disassociated from the living reality of a human community. And this social code that comprises Galicia and Spain has undergone so many legal and

administrative mutations since 1981 that the aim of fossilizing the hermeneutic synthesis of the Code as a whole is inconsequential rather than imprudent.

Since the approval of the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia, there have been two circumstances that notably affect the context in which the statutory and constitutional provisions should be inserted. One of these is of a legal nature and the other has an eminently socio-economic sense. We are referring to the processes of communitarisation of public policies, in both the horizontal and vertical senses, and that of the globalisation of the production factors, commercial trends and sociological tendencies. It follows from this that there are axioms considered in the formulas *rebus sic stantibus* and in the *caeteris paribus* that have to be collated together in order to avoid an absurd blocking and paralyzing of the rules. To say this in an illustrative and convincing manner: in 1981 Maastricht and Marrakech were only two exotic points on the globe, but the treaties that gave rise to the establishing of the European Union and the World Trade Organisation, along with other analogous phenomena, brought about a change in the *status quo* and the bases of many interpretations.

In this way, the context of the localisation of constitutional precepts has changed a lot in recent years and, above all, since Spain joined the European communities. This development entailed the adaptation of the legal scenario and evolution towards our society and economy becoming completely porous to overseas factors, both community and extra-community. This is specifically undertaken through the particular network of relations that are put together by the European communities, in which the capacity to act in the foreign sector now unquestionably and exclusively depends on the external projection of the substantive competences and not just on rigid provisions inserted into the Statute of Autonomy.

The straightforward evolution of the constitutional doctrine under the scope of the progression of community and foreign phenomena, *lato sensu*, means that, if the material competences require a form of *ad extra* projection, the respective Autonomous Community can undertake this without obstacles of any type. While the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia does not literally contain the competence for the adopting of measures for the realisation of international conventions and treaties, as is the case with the statutes of the Basque Country (art. 20.3), Catalonia (art. 27.3), Andalusia (art. 23.2), the Principality of Asturias (art. 12.b), Region of Murcia (art. 12.2), Aragon (art. 40.2), Castile-La Mancha (art. 34), The Canary Islands (art. 37.2), -° Navarre (art. 58.2), Extremadura (art. 9.1), The Balearic Islands (art. 12.1), the Community of Madrid (art. 33.2) or that of Castile and Leon (art. 28.7), it does not impede this being undertaken.

The invoking of the faculty to receive information on international covenants and treaties that could have a bearing on autonomous competences could be more problematic. This faculty is absent in the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia and yet it does appear in the Basque statutes (art. 20.5), the Catalan statutes (art. 27.5), the Andalusian statutes (art. 23.1), the Asturian statutes (art. 34.3), the Murcian statutes (art. 12.2), the Aragonese statutes (art. 16.k), the Canary Islands statutes (art. 37.1), the Navarre statutes (art. 68) and the Madrid statutes (art. 33.1). However, the regulatory and administrative evolution

makes it possible for such an attribution to be generalised. The definitive proof of this progression is the Agreement of the Conference for Affairs Related to the European Communities of December 11, 1997. This concerns the participation of the Autonomous Communities in proceedings before the Court of Justice of the European Communities. The eighth point of this Agreement authorises any Autonomous Community, along with the Central Government Authority, to seek a ruling from the Court of Justice concerning compatibility with the provisions of the Treaty constituting the European Community of any international Agreement that the European Community plans to execute. And this has so much more conclusive value inasmuch as the proposal for its insertion in the Conference Agreement came from the Autonomous Community of Galicia. The fact that the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia makes no reference to international instruments that could affect the competences attributed to the European Community was not an obstacle, in line with the doctrine of the Constitutional Court.

The legality of Galician foreign action has certain foundations that are as sound as the economic bases that legitimate the policy thrust in this field. Therefore, it is not possible for there to be a regulatory, doctrinaire or dogmatic formula in the interpretation and enforcement of the provisions that the block of constitutionality envisages in a shortened and asystemic manner.

Common sense, the logic of the facts in the different levels of the foreign phenomena and the particular form of development of the Autonomous Communities already made it possible for even the Constitutional Court to carry out a Copernican revolution in its interpretation of the block of constitutionality with respect to the ad extra projection of our autonomous community, and, by extension, all of the others with substantive sectorial competences that may be possible under this projection. The doctrine announced by the Ruling 137/1989, of July 20, was soon surpassed. The insertion of a synthetic partnership communiqué, signed between the Galician Department of the Environment and Territory Planning and the Danish Environmental Protection Agency on November 2, 1984, was so conceptually and theologically lacking in purpose that it needed to be amended by the High Court in subsequent pronouncements. Had this not been the case, the conjunction of the phenomena of enlargement and deepening of the prevailing "acquis communautaire", socio-economic globalisation and the gradual expansion of international regulations would end up by stripping away autonomy until it was rendered as something anecdotal, ethnographic and without operational relevance.

It is true that between this ruling and the 165/1994 one of May 26 - which proclaimed the following in a completely clear manner: "in order for the functions that it has allocated to it to be properly carried out, an Autonomous Community must carry on certain activities, not just beyond its own territorial borders but also beyond the territorial limits of Spain", -there were other less dogmatic ones such as the 153/1989 ruling, of October 5. This latter ruling stated that in matters relating to cinematography the autonomous material instrument of developing the industry prevailed over the generic state one of international relations. This tied in with the start of a trend that had been overlooked, characterised by the Ruling 125/1984, of December 20, that granted prevalence to the

singular autonomous instrument of the development of tourism in contrast to the transversal state one of foreign trade. However, since the time of the Ruling 79/1992, of May 28, followed by the ruling, the 148/1998, of July 2, the 21/1999, of February 25, the 190/2000, of July 13, the 45/2001, of February 15 and the 206/2001, of October 22, amongst others, we have seen the reinforcing of a line of argument which, being constantly threatened through with the phenomena of European communitarisation, highlights the point that the autonomous communities are not condemned to be simple spectators insofar as what comes about, in terms of what –for an interpretation that is obsolete and has been surpassed – could be considered to be intrinsically international.

Galicia, as an Autonomous Community, does not invoke a right to make use of the *ius ad tractatum* or of the *ius legationis*, or to form its own criteria in matters relating to international responsibility or to the *ius belli ac pacis*, to state some examples. Rather, it aspires to having enough drive to get ahead, insofar as this may be possible, of the events that will have an effect on it in light of the international setting. The aim is to be well-known and valued for its own culture, helping its workers and businessmen to make the most of the benefits of globalisation, and in order to reduce its harmful consequences on the least competitive sectors. It follows from this that foreign action in Galicia must be based on both official initiative as well as private and civic initiatives. We must construct a Galician foreign strategy that is planned on a consensus of a broad social base not only because of the scale on which we operate, but also for the most elementary form of efficiency in the managing of certain scarce resources.

The fundamentals of Galicia's foreign action

In an international community where many of the private players enjoy a degree of contractual and relational autonomy that is greater than that of a large number of its subject states, as respectable as irrelevant; where the power and resources of interaction that different civil multinational organisations possess exceeds, by quite a margin, the diplomatic efforts of states that are constituted according to the traditional parameters of International Law, the matter goes even further in affirming that the territorial subjects that have an acknowledged capacity to act in the most diverse fields of socio-economic promotion have to remain passive faced with the growing number of vectors that feed back into globalisation, because of the simple fact that an accessory ritual element could be qualified as international, are rendered obsolete and inadequate. The road travelled from the Ruling of the Permanent Court of International Justice of December 7, 1927, entered in the so-called Lotus Case, has only been expanded in all respects, in an uninterrupted fashion, up to today's date.

However, if private players take on an unusual role in international life, to the point of negotiating a large number of matters that could not have been imagined a short while ago directly with the states, taking part in the organisations that constitute these and sign agreements with the same- for example, in non-profit making multinational associations in the sectors of human rights, ecology, educational, health and humanitarian care,

etc. in addition to the already classic corporations and their groupings, the states themselves have also had to adapt to a fresh environment. Speaking of sovereignty without halting the monopoly on minting money in the territory over which this presumed sovereignty was being exercised was, until a short while ago, more than an imprudence. It was a heresy in terms of the material and historical constitution of the respective State. And yet this attribute, which is intrinsic to state and even proto-state nature, which has been contained in the annals since written records about the form of acting of the sovereigns became known, became silently separated. It did so specifically in those European national states that were seen as the most solid and the oldest ones, even though its formal constitutions in force continue proclaiming that they preserve exclusivity when it comes to setting their own monetary policy and, with that, the innate right of seigniorage.

With all of this, we should recall and assume that the core of international matters still lies with certain prevalent and privileged subject states, since exclusive functions are based on them, such as treaty making power or *ius legationis*. The hereditary wealth that is represented by the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic Relations of April 18, 1961, and on the Law of Treaties of May 23, 1969, amongst other international provisions, perfectly well sets limits on the unavailable role of the states and that of their organisations within the essence of international relations. Galicia, as a Spanish autonomous community, has to respect the domestic constitutional provisions in this field, but it also has to respect international legality in the whole of its scope and without any shortcomings.

Nonetheless, within this context, there is broad room for functional autonomy, both for the public players and private Galician players. The definition of a country's foreign strategy, the coordination and integration of the tools that these players could use and the synchronic implementation of the measures that are agreed to should not be subject to any obstacle of a legal nature, as long as the constitutional and international legalities in force are observed. Of course, nobody can argue that the Autonomous Community of Galicia has to be less active than any chamber of commerce or business sector association because of its administrative-political nature. It follows from this that between these levels and the nucleus of the State's foreign representation that its Central Administration holds, there is sufficient ground on which to start and develop a pro-active foreign dynamic of and for Galicia.

If Galician foreign action is unquestionable and non-contentious from the legal viewpoint, from the economic viewpoint it does seem to be crucial and urgent. It is necessary to diversify our foreign markets, extend the roll-call of exporters and re-balance that of those who ship to other latitudes of the Internal European Market. We need to attract greater foreign investment and position Galician capital at those geographic points that can be used as a platform for the expansion of our industrial network, as well as stimulating the internationalisation of our primary and tertiary sectors.

In an open economy such as ours, closing our eyes to the phenomena that specifically provide incentives for greater economic porosity would be a counterproductive attitude. Something as elemental as an increase and improvement in the associative structures that bond together the agents with a foreign vocation is a *sine qua non* requirement

for endowing us with the suitable tools for the task of projection and action outside Spain. In this respect, the role played by civil society can only be stimulated by the public authorities, but can never be replaced or imposed. So, it is the leading and non-transferable responsibility of the members of this society to assume a new international profile.

If, from a legal-technical and material viewpoint, we consider its article 27 of its Statute of Autonomy to be the nucleus of the competency function of Galicia, it will be concluded that out of its thirty-two articles, it would not be daring to state that –except for those related to the competences of self-organisation and of special Civil Law– all of the remaining ones are limited, re-defined or conditioned by the different European community policies and by the repertoire of community legislation. A further one occurs, with even greater emphasis if that is possible, in the remaining statutory rules that are embodied in the chapter on administrative development or on economic arrangements. In this respect, article 30 is paradigmatic, since the community measures not only frame the competences of the autonomous community, but they also extend above the ones which clearly pertain to the state with the same intensity. After the establishing of the Economic and Monetary Union of which we were founder members, and when the stability and growth programmes, the deficit and debt maximums, the price of money and the determining of the monetary volume are administered in Brussels or in Frankfurt, to continue to assert that, for example, the exclusive competences of the Autonomous Community of Galicia will be developed “In accordance with the bases and the arrangements for general economic activity and the monetary policy of the State”, maintaining a pure and measured literal interpretation in the face of all empirical evidence, would be an impossible task. This is because, amongst other matters, the State itself does not now have its own monetary policy at all.

How can we face up to this atypical but tangible situation? The Spanish Constitutional Court sketches out a very workable and clear work plan “...The Autonomous Communities, inasmuch as they are the holders of a form of autonomy of a political nature for the “administration of its own interests” (SCCR 4/1981 –CCR 1981,4– e 25/1981 –CCR 1981,25–), are directly interested in the activity that the European Communities undertake. Thus, with regard to the assigning of the exercising of competences made by Spain in accordance with art. 93 of the Spanish Constitution on the one hand, and on the other, the politically complex structure of the State that our Constitution has shaped, it is clear that the norms and actions of the European Communities can entail not only limits and restrictions on the exercising of the competences that correspond to the Autonomous Communities, but they can also, conversely, lead to the setting up of incentives and economic aid for the activities that these entities carry out. It should furthermore not be overlooked that the exercising of the community provisions in its territory lies with the Autonomous Communities, *ratione materie*, insofar as they are the holders of competences allocated by the Constitution and the respective Statutes (SCCR 258/1988 –CCR 1988,258- and 79/1992 –CCR 1992,79-, amongst others).”

However, the fact is that the communitisation of matters in which the Autonomous Community of Galicia holds substantive competences is just one Cartesian as-

pect, that is foreseeable and regulated under the process of European integration in which we participate. Something that is more informal and imprecise is the gradual process of globalisation, that we are playing a part in as an open society and economy and which we are also fully involved in. The sectorial agreements on agriculture and textiles and clothing, or the specific multi-lateral agreements on cattle meats and meat products, which are corollaries of the Marrakech Agreement of April 15, 1994 – which set up the World Trade Organisation - are amongst many others that are fully and effectively applied in Galicia, specifically through the derived rules of Community Law. Therefore, the public policies that are designed from Galicia, in the exercising of the competences assumed, cannot be given up on as passive, whilst awaiting the arrival of foreign competitors into our domestic market in any of the three sectors into which the economic activity is traditionally divided.

In the times that we are living through and in the economic currents that we have to move, it is not possible to hold on to low-value presumptions, driven by theses developed in scenarios that are completely different. The international community is not now the distinguished group of kingdoms or proto-states of the old continent that was reconstructed following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. To refer to just to one piece of sufficiently illustrative data, the successive and monopolist Companies of the Indies –which the different European sovereigns promoted– have nothing to do with the relative volume of transactions, legal statutes or organic system that is carried on in a mercantile trading circumstance such as the contemporary one, where the free trade principle is the optimum one that is mostly aspired to, according to the World Trade Organisation system, and in which the value of the merchandise and of the transnational services can only seek to grow in a setting that is multilateral and completely unrestricted.

The interaction between the Authority of the Autonomous Community and the Galician foreign agents called on to perform an increasingly active role already has multiple practical manifestations. Recall the consolidated weaving through the development plans for Galician exports, in which small and medium-sized companies are qualified players thanks to their form of representation through the respective Galician Chambers of Commerce. Also, the initiatives undertaken by the Galician Institute of Economic Promotion (Instituto Galego de Promoción Económica, IGAPE,) in order to support the efforts in the internalisation of this same business sphere. Or, to conclude, in the compensatory measures in technical and training matters that the Department of Fishing and Maritime Affairs undertakes with authorities of coastal states, in which private Galician capital can reach agreements to expand its fishing and processing industry. Analogous examples can be found in a huge range of fields, from cultural to educational, from social care work to health, and all of these notably demonstrate a rich harvest.

This scheme of measures, fully compatible with the comprehensive administration of the substantive competences that the Autonomous Communities has received by statutory means and through the additional required statutory legislation, is in some cases based on the qualified involvement of the public sector and, in others, on the complementary nature of civil initiatives. This should therefore be the subject of a particular and

preferable form of attention. First, because it usually starts from a weaker position, taking account of the lack of dimension and of experience, but also –and rapidly– because more capable mechanisms can arise in this than those that are subject to the rigidities and inertia of the administrative apparatus.

The private law preconceptions in which the members of this civil society interact with an international *vis*, allow for a more dynamic contribution to the phenomena that transcend our borders. The Administration can easily help to assist the sustaining of the social or business initiatives, without exclusively playing a part in a measure that could lead to conflicts of competences with other Public Authorities, whether real or hypothetical. This also explains how more than a few regions, federated states and autonomous communities –and even the nation states themselves to quite a large extent– constantly seek to emulate strategies that have already been developed by private individuals and use “the figures and resources of an eminently private nature”.

With these criteria, and in light of what has happened in the comparative context, we are not talking about a paradiplomatic strategy, but rather a new relational focus which, in any event, is closer to the world of international business than that of traditional diplomatic policy. With this focus, the margin of autonomy for defending our collective interests associated with Galician material competences can grow and develop in clarity, and go beyond the natural suspicions which the apparent emulation of the diplomatic forms can awaken in the bodies that hold a functional monopoly in international relations at state level.

In summary, the legitimacy of Galician foreign action has to be evaluated along with the capacity for intervention existing in Galicia, taking special account of concurrent needs and the role of the diverse participating agents. The ontological, socio-economic, political and even legal grounds of Galician foreign action go beyond any doubt. However, the procedures, channels and the instruments need to be sifted out, adapted and selected in order to so as to avoid litigation that is as sterile as it is paralysing. The complementary relation between our public and private sectors is thus the keystone in order to achieve significant advances in Galicia’s foreign projection, in its foreign re-affirmation as a unique country and one that wishes to institute smooth cooperation with other peoples.

The leading players in Galicia’s foreign action

The Xunta de Galicia sets out its foreign action through three basic reference points. Firstly, there is the Presidency itself, particularly by means of trips overseas by the individual holding the position. Amongst other matters, he seeks to attain the following goals: recovering contact with the emigrated Galician population, affirming the regionalist and European commitment of the Galician autonomous community, stimulating economic, commercial and cultural exchange, and projecting an image of a modern and touristically attractive Galicia. Institutional meetings at the highest level and the presence of business delegations at missions, especially at non-community destinations, have been a constant factor in the Presidency’s foreign action.

The General Secretary for Relations with the European Union and Overseas Cooperation reports to the Presidency. Since 1997 it has focused its main functions on this topic and it coordinates the Foreign Action Commission. It is organised into two main areas, Relations with the European Union and Overseas Cooperation. There are two representative offices that report to this Secretariat, in Florianopolis (Brazil) and Buenos Aires (Argentina) –the Mercosur area. Their principal mission is to promote bilateral opportunities for cooperation and request updated information in all areas. Likewise, this secretary carries out the secretariat function of the Foreign Action Commission of the Xunta de Galicia. It has to draw up the proposals for political lines of foreign action and ensure the coordination of all of the plans, programmes, initiatives and particular updates in this field in order to improve the efficacy and collective efficiency of the foreign action of the Xunta. This commission has a preparatory committee and a working group.

Thirdly, the Department of Emigration, created at the end of 2001 and with a degree of involvement that goes beyond the traditional dimension of dealing with groups of emigrants, in order to go deeper into the issue of the response to the political crises that unfold in the countries where emigrants settle. Furthermore, through the Galicia-Emigration Foundation (Fundación Galicia-Emigración), it provides support for the commitment of the Galician society to the Diaspora. It has two general directorates for action: Emigration and Immigration. In addition to administering the Humanitarian Agency of Galicia (Axencia Humanitaria de Galicia), an instrument conceived of in order to respond to international emergency situations, this department promotes bilateral forums. These are instruments orientated towards promoting the creation of a third meeting space between the Diaspora and Galicia in which, with criteria of bilateralism and reciprocity, it is possible to develop the common ties in all of the areas that could be of interest.

In the administrative organigram of the Galician autonomous community, it is also necessary to highlight the overseas role of the following entities:

- Galician Institute of Economic Promotion (IGAPE), created in 1993, notably through the overseas Representative Offices of the Business Promotion Centres of the Institute. This is orientated towards attracting foreign investment, providing support in the search for business opportunities. It provides support in the search for business opportunities for Galician businesses, logistic aid and physical support in order to assist the overseas expansion of Galician firms.

- Directorate General of Trade, which develops overseas trade promotional actions through the Plan for the Development of Galician Exports (FOEXGA Plan), in partnership with the Chambers of Commerce; the Plan on the Initiation of Overseas Promotion (PIPE Plan), aimed at small and medium-sized businesses; and Expo-Galicia. These are expositions carried out abroad in order to promote Galician products and companies.

- General Board of Tourism which, directly or through Turgalicia or the Public Limited Company for Administering the Xacobeo Plan, focuses on our resources in this sphere.

- General Sub-directorate of International Fisheries Cooperation, which acts as a form of institutional reinforcement of the business leadership that Galicia performs in this

field of activity, consolidating business opportunities that guarantee the future of our fishing to a large degree.

The Galicia-Europe Foundation (Fundación Galicia-Europa) is an institution which, with the participation of the Xunta de Galicia and private actors, promotes measures to bring Galicia and the EU closer and forms and informs Galician society about the questions relating to Europe and its institutions, channeling the administration of Galician interests. With its own headquarters in Brussels, it complements the measures undertaken from Galicia and provides support for the expression of public and private interests. Presided over by the President of the Xunta de Galicia, its members are distributed amongst financial entities, chambers of commerce, the Free Trade Consortium of Vigo (Consortio Zona Franca de Vigo) and representatives from different departments. Three District Councils, with the exception of that of Lugo, appear as associate members. The Atlantic Axis (Eixo Atlántico) and the Galician Institute of Economic Promotion (IGAPE) have a representative in Brussels that is made up of a working team from the Galicia-Europe Foundation. The General Secretary for Relations with the European Union and Overseas Cooperation is the department responsible for ensuring the functioning of the Galicia-Europe Foundation. The Director-Manager of Foundation is the Secretary General for Relations with the European Union and Overseas Cooperation.

A non-legislative standing Committee for European Affairs and a non-standing Committee for the study of Galician emigration problems were created at the parliamentary headquarters.

The State Administration incorporates the territorial delegation of the Spanish Institute for Foreign Trade (ICEX, Instituto Español de Comercio Exterior) as a key reference point. In turn, the local Authorities fundamentally act in the foreign area through a policy of brotherliness, development cooperation (Galician Fund for Cooperation and Solidarity, Fondo Galego de Cooperación e Solidariedade) and putting active relations with Portugal (the Atlantic Axis of cities of the north-western peninsula) into practice.

Furthermore, in the economic field, it is important to highlight the role played by the Chambers of Commerce, the Confederation of Businesses and, to a lesser extent, the Financial Clubs. The financial entities (banks and building societies) and their overseas networks also need to be highlighted.

In the university and cultural field, it is necessary to highlight the role played by the Offices of International Relations of the three Galician Universities (A Coruña, Santiago and Vigo) that undertake and administer a multitude of agreements and exchanges with similar entities from other countries; the Board of Galician Culture (Consello da Cultura Gallega), through its Committee for Galician Culture Abroad; and the readers of Galician at colleges and universities. They report to the Department of Education and University Planning of the Xunta de Galicia. It is likewise necessary to cite broadcasters such as the Radio and Television Company of Galicia (Compañía de Radio - Televisión de Galicia, CRTVG) and other TV channels that contribute towards the overseas planning of our community.

As far as the political parties are concerned, it is possible to record a growing awareness of the importance of foreign activities. This is made especially vivid through the repercussions on Galician policy in migratory matters, relations with Portugal or the internationalisation of our economy.

In public society it is necessary to highlight the roles of players such as trades unions and non-governmental organisations for development cooperation.

The main contents of Galicia's foreign action

It is appropriate to distinguish two levels in this sphere: geographic and thematic. As far as the first one is concerned, the following points should be highlighted:

- **European Union.** This includes the undertaking of the functions of the promoting, monitoring and coordination of the measures for projecting and defending Galician interests in the European sphere and, more specifically in the European Union. It further covers the monitoring and coordination of the different departments related to this subject and the geographical area. The Xunta de Galicia is committed to the European regional movement in which it participates through the Committee of the Regions. It likewise directly participates in numerous Committees of the European Commission and forms an active part of the "Atlantic Arch". Coordination with the central government authorities at this level is established through the Conference of Related Affairs and the Internal Partnership Agreement of the Autonomous Communities dealing with European Community topics through the sectorial conferences.

- **North of Portugal.** This is one of the unquestionable political priorities associated with the culmination of the Euro-regional infrastructures of all types (concerning roadways, railways, gas facilities, energy facilities, telecommunications, etc.) These projects are administered through the Galicia-North of Portugal Working Community –Comunidade de Traballo Galicia-Norte de Portugal– (1991), a true driving force for cross-border cooperation whose objective is promoting the simultaneous development of both territories.

- **Latin America.** Going beyond the fact of the Diaspora, the measures undertaken by Galicia in Latin America, and more specifically in the Mercosur zone, were many and diverse in nature. They included dialogue between public and private entities in the region. Galicia became a nexus of union between Mercosur and the EU, through the mandate received by the president of the Xunta from the Conference of Peripheral and Maritime Regions of Europe (La Rochelle, 1997). The objective of this was to explore the real possibilities of institutional and economic cooperation between both entities. In those years, as a signatory to the Memorandum on Cooperation of the Latin American Integration Association (Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración, ALADI.), or of a Multilateral Accord with CODESUL-CRECENEA (a set of southern Brazilian states and Argentine provinces from the north-western borders), together with numerous bilateral covenants, Galicia developed a dense network of political will to cooperate.

As far as the thematic level is concerned:

- **Inter-regional cooperation.** This is considered to be an essential base for boosting the medium and long-term development strategy, though it is necessary to distinguish between bilateral and multilateral strategies. As far as the first of these is concerned, in addition to the agreement with Portugal that has already been cited, Galicia's form of cooperation is implemented with diverse regions from France, Italy, and Poland. In the multilateral sphere, support for regionalism takes specific shape in those areas of cooperation that condenses together specific interests (border concerns, maritime opportunities). Thus, Galicia participates in the Conference of Peripheral and Maritime Regions (CRPM) and in particular, in its Atlantic Arch Commission, in the Assembly of European Regions (AER), the Association of European Border Regions [ARFE], and the Conference of European Local and Regional Authorities [CPLRE], a body that forms part of the Council of Europe.

- **Support for the internationalisation of Galician companies.** In a context of market globalisation and the progressive opening up of the Galician market to the overseas market, it is important to increase the number of export companies, diversify the market used for exportation or consolidate the international presence of our business sector. In order to reinforce these guidelines, public and private players arrange consultancy and training processes in subjects related to foreign trade or determine support for the obtaining of aid, whether local or international, for the commercial promotion or direct establishment in third countries.

- **Support from Diaspora groups.** Around Galician nature, an integrating concept that seeks to develop a sense of belonging between all Galicians and their descendants regardless of their place of residence or temporary lodging, the Galician public authorities have pressed for organisational reinforcement policies for the centres and houses of Galicia and set in motion many activities through common and homogenous programmes that update the relationship with and the commitment to the land of origin. This is a question of globalising Galician nationalism converting the Galician factor into a reciprocal development variable that allows for the configuration of a pole of Galician power in the world.

- **Development cooperation.** Galicia is one of the Spanish autonomous communities with the lowest level of economic commitment to international cooperation, although the trend in recent years has demonstrated a positive evolution. It is one of the autonomous communities that experienced the greatest annual average increase in ODA (Official Development Aid) in the period 1998-2002. The unanimous approval of the Galician Development Cooperation Act will lead to greater public decision-making so as to tackle the significant defects in our foreign action in this sphere. The appearance of associative forms such as the Galician Fund for Cooperation and Solidarity and the spirit of partnership existing between the main agents (Xunta de Galicia, NGO Coordinator and Local Authorities) can bring about the increasing strengthening of this dimension with a growing budgetary effort that covers the traditional sphere: emergency aid, an awareness programme, cooperation. The fundamental destination of Galician cooperation is Latin America, principally Peru, and the Central American countries.

• **Image of Galicia.** The promotion of tourism, gastronomy, the Xacobeo Year, etc. convey an image of Galicia abroad that is exceptionally well connected at these levels. This enabled us to improve the level of knowledge about Galicia abroad, with the coming challenge of extending this admiration to the technological capability of our industry. The leading sectors (car manufacturing, agro-industry, fashion, stonework, textiles, naval construction etc.) of our economy must also be associated with the Galician context.

Phases of Galicia's foreign action

For reasons of scale and logistics and for instrumental and even strategic reasons, Galician foreign action cannot solely and exclusively reside with one Authority, even though it is undeniable that the autonomous Authority must lead, stimulate and furnish the dynamic that helps to place our country in a better position in the world and to prepare it to face up to the external dynamics that will have a bearing on it. However, regardless of the significant active role that must also be reserved to the parties concerned and agents other than the autonomous Authority, the phases of Galician foreign action are heavily conditioned by this doctrinal flow, which was changed because of our membership of the European communities.

Spain's membership of the European integrating project was a determining factor in helping it to be understood at all levels that the constitutional mutation operated by article 93 of the Constitution, along with the application of the principles of primacy and direct efficacy to the *acquis communautaire* was real and consistent. The competences of the Autonomous Community of Galicia, those of the Central Government Authority, and all of the Spanish public administrations by extension, insofar as these originally derived from the Constitution, continued being inserted into a radically new legal and political context that substantially altered the picture sketched out by the constituent parliamentarians, inasmuch as this is strictly operational.

It is not surprising then, that what had been a purely and simply international matter as far as relations with the European communities and their members states until December 1985, came to enjoy another hybrid or eclectic status on January 1, 1986. This is because they were neither strictly domestic, nor were they common in foreign affairs. It follows from this that the technical-legal legitimation of Galician foreign action, in its form of institutional acceptance, owes more to the phenomena of community integration than other factors that are purely domestic regulatory or trigger factors.

The balanced combination of these three vectors (community integration, new regulatory developments and internal political evolution) enables us to distinguish, in chronological terms, a sequence of four phases in the development of Galicia's foreign action.

The first stage (1981-1989), was characterised by a minor level of activity as far as overseas matters were concerned. This was conditioned by both the lack of proper consolidation of the autonomous institutions, and by the economic difficulties and crises, and the internal social and political problems that culminated with the motion of censure

against the government of Fernández Albor of 1988. The most notable fact in this period is the creation of the Galicia-Europe Foundation [1988] during the mandate of Fernando González Laxe.

The second phase (1990-1996), under the presidency of Manuel Fraga, opened up a stage of a notably active foreign imprint that combined attention to the European context with the forays into Latin America. Its fundamental guidelines were: a) promoting of the presence in Europe through active participation in the regionalist movement; b) development of relations with Portugal through the form of cross-border cooperation for which the Galicia-North of Portugal Work Community (1991) was created; c) attention to Latin America, based on four pillars: support for groups of emigrants, contact with the authorities and institutions, the organisation of Galician businesses and the promoting of economic and commercial exchanges; d) tourist and cultural promotion. In this phase, the Xunta de Galicia initiated the exploration of other geographical areas through visits to Japan and Iran in 1996.

This stage is characterised by the progressive statutory delimitation of attention to foreign affairs. This was initially and directly associated with the economic viewpoint on community affairs, through the Commission for European Community related Affairs, created in 1990 and revitalised in 1994, or through the Directorate General of Planning and Relations with the European Community. These incorporated renewed focuses, increasingly pro-active, re-affirmed by an increased presence of department technicians. Their activity is notably conditioned by the evolution of the respective common policies –especially on agriculture and fisheries. This process furthermore expressed the legitimate aspiration of intervening in the confirmation of the state intention to be carried to the community institutions, and it meant significant progress when it came to widening the overseas perspective of Galicia.

In the field of emigration, note should be made of the creation of the General Secretary for Relations with the Galician Communities (1990), which has general management responsibilities and reports directly to the President of the Xunta, promoting measures aimed at groups of emigrants, with a marked social content.

The third phase (1997-2001) was initiated with the organisation of the Secretary of Relations with the EU and Foreign Action. This was to assume the functions of managing and running the European and foreign activity of the Xunta de Galicia, the representation of the Autonomous Community in the cooperation bodies existing in that field in the state Administration or with the other autonomous communities, and both the drive for foreign awareness and the cooperation of all of the departments of the Xunta in that sector. Some months later saw the creation of the Foreign Action Commission, reinforced by a Preparatory Committee, with the functions of making proposals, coordination, the setting out of strategies and procedures and the preparation of the President's trips abroad. The thread between all of the autonomous community administrative bodies with the Presidency and the institutions, organisms and external persons involved is guaranteed by the exercising of the secretariat function that is carried on by the General Secretary for Relations with the European Union and Overseas Action.

In 1999, a modification to the organigram of the General Secretary for Relations with the EU and Overseas Action gave rise to the creation of the Technical Service of the Galicia-North of Portugal Work Community.

This thrust to endow the Galician public institutions with a foreign profile also covers the Parliament of Galicia. This body created the Non-Legislative Standing Commission on European Affairs by a Decree of its Presidency of April 14, 1989. From examining its work, we can see a greater awareness of the integrity of the parliamentary groups regarding the central function of the foreign issue, and especially the European Community issue, so as to include the autonomous community and the same state competences. This is shown by the fact that the aim is for many subjects that were strictly sectorial and that did not cross over into other sectors, which had previously been covered by other commissions of the Chamber, are now debated and opinions are issued on these in the new Commission.

Hence it is in this stage when a change in Galicia's foreign action that is both qualitative and quantitative takes place. This occurs through the creation of these specific instruments in order to articulate foreign activity, which is particularly intense in relations with Latin America. While in the second phase we can count up some sixty eight trips by the President to diverse places in Europe and only ten to Latin America, this figure has already been beaten in the first three years of this third phase. Trips are planned as continental tours in which several countries are visited. A minimum of two tours a year are covered, and this figure has even reached three (1998). The exploration of other scenarios was focused on Australia (1999).

The fourth phase was initiated in 2001 with the creation of the Department of Emigration and Overseas Cooperation, which aggregates the competences on matters regarding the Diaspora and development cooperation, which means a substantial step forward in the statutory dimension of both overseas facts. In 2002, the competences regarding foreign cooperation were to be transferred to the General Secretary for Relations with the EU, with a new statutory structure coming into effect from 2003.

A substantive exponent of the intensification of these dynamics within the autonomous community Authority and Galician society itself is the Quadrennial Foreign Action Programme, approved by the Council of the Xunta de Galicia on December 27, 2002, which provides continuity to the first of these strategic documents. In this respect, it is necessary to recognise that work of an analogous nature and scope can barely be encountered in the comparative field, whether from the analytical point of view or from the perspective of one unique principle that affects all of the departments and which, at the same time, seeks to coordinate the Galician individuals involved and agents who have relevance in foreign action.

The internationalisation of the Galician economy: an X-ray

The internationalisation process follows three essential routes, which may be complementary: exporting to other countries or the incorporation of goods and services imported from abroad (the trade route); the making of production investments in other

countries or its counterpart in the local incorporation of foreign capital (the production route); or the transfer of know-how and technology, that is frequently associated with direct investments or the trade in capital goods, but which are taking on their own life in advanced industrial countries.

As regards this process, it can generally be stated that an incipient form of strategic development can be observed in Galicia which seeks the diversification of markets and of opportunities in different zones on the planet. This option is seen as a preliminary and well-consolidated stage to the Europeanisation of Galician business. This is a logical consequence of a process of the absorption of European capital, technologies and inputs, and it can also be seen in the exporting of products to the European markets, the alternative that is most commonly used by Galician business in its internationalisation process.

Galicia's foreign trade has demonstrated a highly-positive level of evolution since the year 1991. Both exports and imports have undergone very dynamic change in this time, with growth rates that have been above the Spanish average. This has made it possible to increase Galicia's contribution to Spain's foreign trade. This situation shows how Galicia's economy has opened up and the greater importance of the foreign sector in the GDP, with the notable provision of capital equipment, particularly car production –Citroën-, and consumer goods, especially manufacturing.

In the field of exports, we can highlight the significance of the manufactured goods for transport material. This is essentially due to the car manufacturing industry. Naval construction or mechanical and electrical machinery are also important, although with a very low share of Spanish machinery exports and one that is slightly favourable under the electrical heading. In the field of consumer goods exports, it is necessary to highlight textile products (especially their production) and the fur trade and its manufactures. In the semi-manufactured goods sector, stone exports –notably granite and slate – are the most significant element in this group. The agro-food production sector is also of great relevance, notably the frozen fish and shellfish contributions. These represent around one half of the exports in this sector. Raw materials –forestry products- and energy products conclude the main sections of Galician exports.

In the imports field, it is firstly necessary to highlight energy products, led by the province of A Coruña, which purchases crude oil to be used at the refinery that is set up in this city. In terms of capital goods, transport material –the automobile sector- and machinery –mechanical rather than electrical, constitute the two leading sectors. Amongst consumer goods it is worth highlighting textiles and the fur trade. In the semi-manufactured products sector, it is necessary to fundamentally cite the products of the chemical and metal sectors. Agro-food products –fish, crustaceans and shellfish – represent three quarters of the total, and raw materials, with particular relevance for wood imports, conclude the main import sections.

From the geographical perspective, Galicia's foreign trade (especially exports) is concentrated in developed countries. The EU represents almost three-quarters of this, with a trade balance that oscillates from one financial year to another, but one that is constantly improving. The EU is not only Galicia's largest market, but it also makes a

contribution to our commercial balance sheet. Owing to the importance of the EU, Europe is the only continent that tends to show a positive balance for Galicia in its trading relations. Galician foreign trade shows a deficit with the other four continents.

Europe and America are the destinations of greatest significance, although the strong dynamisms of the North African market are assisting an increase in Galician exports and an improvement in the general balance with this continent. By countries, France, Portugal and the United Kingdom make up the concentration of over half of Galicia's exports. Other significant countries are: Italy, Germany, Belgium, the United States and Morocco.

A study of Galician imports shows that the influence of the European Union, whilst important, is relatively minor in contrast to the export field, in favour of the American continent, especially South America, Africa and Asia. By countries, France, Portugal and the United Kingdom stand out, followed by Germany, the United States, Italy, Mexico and Argentina.

In the export field, it is necessary to point out the huge significance of the province of Pontevedra, and the limited importance of Lugo and Ourense. The latter attain around 3 per cent each, in contrast to almost 70 per cent from the former. It can be stated that values corresponding to commercial exchanges for this province have been the casual factors in the rate of growth experienced by Galicia's foreign trade in recent years. Exports from Pontevedra show a high degree of concentration under five headings: car manufacturing; fishing products; prepared meat products, crustaceans and shellfish; naval construction and wood pastes or other cellulose fibres. The same happens in the field of exports. This is concentrated in the automobile sector –parts and accessories- fishing, crustaceans, shellfish and other aquatic invertebrates; pharmaceutical products; wood and its manufactured products –sawn and in bulk-; and finally, mechanical machinery. Over 80 per cent of Pontevedra's foreign trade is concentrated in the EU (principally France, Portugal and the United Kingdom).

A Coruña demonstrates a lower degree of intensity that is the case for Pontevedra, although almost the whole of Galicia's garment-making exports is concentrated here. This is due to the presence of the head office of the Inditex group, an expression of Galicia's capacity to create a complete economic sector without any more raw materials than the one at the top of the list: the human factor. Naturally, exports from the garment-making sector stand out, but we can also observe prepared meat products, fishing products, crustaceans and shellfish, oils and petrol derivatives; wood; or aluminium and its derived products. One third of its imports come from the energy sector, fuel which is largely used for the activity of the Repsol company. Some way back we can find the purchases of fish, crustaceans and shellfish, and clothing garments, especially knitted ones.

Of the four Galician provinces, A Coruña is the one that shows the most diversified form of foreign trade in terms of geographic zones. Although it has traditionally presented a deficit trade balance as a consequence of the crude oil imports, on the other hand it maintains a surplus with the EU. Its leading clients are: Portugal, France, Italy, the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany. By countries of origin, importation is very diversified: Portugal, Mexico, the United Kingdom, the United States, Italy, Libya,

Indonesia, etc. with annual oscillations that barely affect the top positions, globally maintaining the heterogeneous nature of the suppliers.

In spite of the dynamism demonstrated by the foreign trade of Lugo in recent years, its values within the range of Galician foreign trade continue being low. Exports are concentrated into four sectors: inorganic chemical products; aluminium and aluminium manufactures; manufactures of natural stone –slate-; and milk and milk derivatives. In the importing field, it is necessary to cite: aluminium mineral; mineral fuel derivatives; machinery and mechanical equipment; and aluminium and its manufactured products. This province has grown used to recording a trade surplus with the EU, maintaining a significant deficit with third countries. Its most important markets are: Portugal, the Netherlands and France, which welcome more than two-thirds of the province's exports. Guinea, France, Germany and Portugal are the four most relevant countries in the importations sphere.

In the same way as with Lugo, Ourense's foreign trade has a limited contribution to make. However, from the point of view of the trade balance, it is the province that presents the highest coverage rate. Almost half of its exports are centred on manufactured slate. By countries of destination, Ourense demonstrates a high degree of dependency on France, Portugal, Germany, the United Kingdom and Belgium, which represent about 90 per cent of the province's exports. In the sphere of imports, it is necessary to cite: Portugal, France, Italy and Germany that account for three-quarters of its purchases abroad.

In conclusion, the sectorial structure of Galicia's foreign trade shows elements of concentration, specialisation and intra-industrial trade, especially in the sectors of car manufacturing, fishing products and textile manufacturing. Galicia's trade has been developed, above all, with the rest of Spain, (approximately 70%); and our trade relations are essentially determined by the movements of a limited number of companies (although these are increasing in number). This explains the territorial concentration in France and Portugal.

On the other hand, the analysis of flows of investment, which likewise have an influence on the integration of the Galician economy into an international market that is increasingly internally structured, complements the x-ray of trade flows when it comes to analysing the process of internationalisation of our economy. In this respect, Galicia's participation in these movements in recent years has been even more limited and it rarely exceeds 1 per 100 of the flows corresponding to Spain.

Foreign investments in Galicia show a more erratic character than those of Spain and, to an extremely large extent, these come from the EU (the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands). The main sectorial destinations are those of financial intermediaries, including real estate activities, banking and insurance, company services and computing. What remains is a significant effort to sell Galicia's image as a logistic point to foreign companies.

The position that Galicia holds within Spain, by virtue of its foreign investments, continues being somewhat anecdotal. In this context, the destinations are more diversified because – in addition to the community area – Latin America can be seen as holding a preferential position. Even so, in a globalised economy, already immersed in the XXI century, the Galician investment balance sheet abroad is an extremely modest sum.

By way of addition, we can state that Galician business is still at the embryonic stage in the specific field of technological transfers.

In summary, the process of the internationalisation of our economy shows certain structural defects that have to be dealt with so that the positive effect that the commercial opening up towards overseas countries had on the business mentality and the operational functioning of our factors can be strengthened and consolidated. If we discount the net positive effect of the European car manufacturing industry, the development of exports continues being insufficiently distributed across the range of differentiated goods and services. The experience that the sectorial and geographical structure of exports provides us with must be the starting point for tackling the modern challenges of the global economy, with an intensification and diversification that would seem to be desirable in both cases.

The Diaspora and Galicia's relations with overseas countries

We know well that it is impossible to think about Galicia without thinking about emigration. For a broad sector of Galician society, speaking about emigration, thinking about emigration, means referring to a past that today we must administer from the priority area of social services. This is a dimension that naturally cannot be renounced but which is not unique. These are the consequences of these common places that still identify emigration with a drain of the human resources, with longing and nostalgia, without daring to imagine new spaces, above all in an international context such as the modern one, which allows for greater mobility.

Mass emigration of Galicians has been overtaken by the new internal and global economic circumstances, to countries located outside the European area, especially Latin America. This characterised the Galician migratory phenomena at the end of the XIX century and in the first half of the XX century. There was also the migratory orientation, especially towards the countries that today make up the European Union, from the sixties in the XX century. This included some extra-community migration, to countries such as Switzerland. The Diaspora presents itself to us as a human resource of the highest magnitude that Galicia cannot discount.

Diasporas constitute one of the background social realities that are changing the configuration of contemporary international society. Whilst not being a new phenomenon, the intensification of Diasporas is starting to constitute one of the characteristics of a new age. And a country that has a diaspora cannot fail to make use of it. It is necessary to appreciate it and use it with a form of policy action that is measured, enduring and far-reaching, in order to contribute towards the internationalisation of the country of origin.

The Galician diaspora in modern Europe was constituted on a "European" population. This is because the notion of "emigration" as such disappeared in this area. This migratory phenomenon towards Europe (in terms of the displacement of the workforce from one country to others) was replaced by simple employment mobility, which took place both within the context of countries of the EU and within the Spanish borders them-

selves. Therefore, the Galician diaspora can now be found in the countries that we could call the classic ones, that is to say, Cuba, Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. The United States or Mexico, Australia or Canada welcomed a form of emigration with other characteristics, whilst in other countries –including America- specifically Galician emigration barely had any significance.

Breaking this down by ages and countries, we could focus attention on an approximate classification of the following characteristics:

a) Galician emigrants who are older than 65 years of age, resident in the Spanish or Portuguese language area.

b) Galician emigrants, of the same age, resident in countries with languages other than the language areas stated above.

c) Galician emigrants, in residency situations such as those above, younger than 65 years of age.

Taking this classification into account, Galicia's relations with overseas countries make it necessary to place emphasis on the care level, without discarding other types of relations. But, however, in the second case, the families of the emigrants - especially those of the second or third generation, will require some educational assistance in the Galician language and, on the other hand, institutional support for the provision and development of civic and cultural associations that advocate the maintenance of their identity.

Finally, in the case of the emigrants who make up group C), the problems that necessarily must be dealt with will have to focus, on a preferential basis, on cultural and educational coverage in the country of residence or on making instruments of preparation available. This is either to facilitate better integration into the welcoming country or to accommodate a hypothetical return, by means of particular policies directed from Galicia itself for such purpose. In this perspective, if emigration meant abandoning the physical, social and economic setting of peasant life and of the rural Galician milieu, a return could assist the resurgence of that Galicia. This particularly applies to Galicia's villages that have been understood as being the basic cell of our identification as Galicians down the centuries.

Thus, any foreign action of Galicia with respect to the Galicians in emigration must, by obligation, have an effect on two specific vectors: the care factor, both insofar as this concerns health care and the welcome of and care for the elderly (first, and then second generation); and, on the other hand, the effectiveness of the right to return. The latter factor does not only concern the welcoming of the old and sick in Galicia but it also has the purpose of facilitating jobs or investment mechanisms, should that be the case, in our Land. In any event, there is further a guarantee for the essential educational and cultural coverage that provides them with the right sort of preparation for the case in which they return to a country that has its own language and culture.

Finally, if emigration had an almost insurmountable component of physical distance between the emigrant and the society he/she turned his/her back on at its commencement and preserved this for a long time, this rigidity does however contrast with a more

fluid communications structure in today's world. This permits the progressive configuration of bilateral and multilateral relations in a network and at a speed that was unthinkable a few years ago. The combination of both factors, the human element and technological innovation, provides us with the suitable infrastructure in order to encourage a qualitative leap in the way of tackling the world of emigration and the role of the Galician Diaspora in the international positioning of Galicia, in the dynamic use of our resources and in the broadening of our markets.

Chapter IV

Foreign action strategies

The definition of the basic guidance lines for Galicia's foreign action must take account of our geopolitical situation, historical viscidities and pace, as well as the main indicators of identity in the political, institutional, economic, cultural and demographic fields. The establishing of the resulting strategies has to incorporate a twofold perspective, internal and external. As regards the former, this is a question of activating mechanisms and infrastructures for social and political dialogue. These assist the agreements of a broad alliance for Galicia in the foreign area, and the consideration of policies of persuasion towards other public authorities and social agents, which make it possible to reinforce convergence.

As regards the second perspective, it is necessary to specify the priority, thematic and geographic areas, and the different instruments and mechanisms of administration that enable us to achieve our general objectives. In summary, this means facilitating a range of guidelines and of action apparatus.

A world in transition

Galicia's foreign action has to be undertaken in a world undergoing an accelerated process of change. This is why it is necessary to pay special attention, in addition to the clearest and most immediate matters, to research into the underlying trends in which we are able to include our projects and our activities.

The most visible profile of the international panorama is the presence of one power, the United States of America, which has capability for economic and military planning throughout the whole world. That country seems disposed to exercise this power primarily having regard to the interests it has defined itself and without high regard for multilateral considerations that go beyond certain limits, defined in each case, when these interfere in their plans. This is not the first time this has happened in history. The new development is the global dimensions of this power and the fact that, due to the economic and technological evolution of the world, a set of fundamental problems of universal scope has emerged. These problems demand universal and democratic solutions, since this is what is demanded by the preponderance of the concept of democracy in the most developed part of the world.

The alternative, which would be to make the processes and conflicts a legal issue, attempted twice in the organisms of collective cooperation and security in the XX century (the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation), is far from having demonstrated that it is wholly effective. However, this deficiency applies more to the system of collective security (the Security Council) than to the system of international cooperation (specialist organisms), which has provided and does provide very valuable results.

There is no reason why the situation described should be perpetuated in this manner. There could be a re-birth of the classical system of the balance of power, in which alternating forces of the status quo come to the fore, either in the form of a grouping together of traditional states, as is the case with the European Union, or it could be in the form of developing nations such as China, India or Brazil, with hegemonic regional aspirations. That system would probably be transitory, conceived of in its classical form of tension and dissuasion, due to the agglutinating pressure of intentions that demand a solution to problems of a universal scale.

In a parallel sense to these manifestations of geo-political order, and on other occasions as an underlying trend, ideas and activities with a new form take shape in the international world. This is where it is possible to view future developments.

Some could seem to be simple manifestations of discontent with the global political system and the distribution of forces at the time. Others accentuate the positive side of the form of cooperation that is codified. Not all of these make it possible to prognosticate a future without conflicts. There are different types of incompatibilities (ideological, historical-political and even religious) which are very strong. Furthermore, in the field of economic necessities, competition for energy, food or water resources could open up conflictive and long-lasting perspectives.

All in all, there are an increasing number of activities and interests which were limited to the area of the national state or to bilateral negotiation at another time, which are now undertaken and administered on a global and multilateral scale in most of the cases. This can of course be seen in commercial and financial transactions, but also in areas which would apparently seem to be so far apart, such as illnesses and the medicines that combat them, in the field of interpersonal and family relations, which were previously conditioned by geographic factors. This can also be very clearly seen in the world of sport.

It is characteristic of many of these phenomena of globalisation that the subjects that are established in these and that carry on relations are sub-state entities, with very localized forms of interests, emotions and public opinion. It could be asserted that underneath the international community of states, new realities and new protagonists are emerging. These are developing a new and strong network of transnational relations. This international civil society offers the basis of a new order, which is still embryonic, but one which it is necessary to take into account for the future.

The sub-state political entities offer themselves up to make best use of this field of activity, with the genuine goal of adding a new dimension to the development of the measures that are now being carried out within the context of state institutions and of the European Union, enriching them with new perspectives towards the future.

The European sub-states that have a profile outside Europe (Galicia, for example) are responsible for a measure that is exemplary in overcoming Eurocentrism. The ideas and realities of America – both North and South- are not always well understood in Europe. There they would find pathways of reciprocity and fertile cooperation.

Likewise, inasmuch as the importance of the Diasporas and their role in the make-up of the world is growing in modern times, it is necessary to analyse how this phenome-

non can be reconciled with a lack of association with the territory and the maintenance of identity as a counterbalance to impoverishing unitarism.

In a world in which the exacerbation of the conflicts between states reached a point at which the need for new forms of international life is imposed, para-diplomacy between the new protagonists can contribute towards the positive transformation of the excluding forces and to opening up a whole range of possibilities of solidarity and cooperation.

Galicia's foreign interests

Amongst the interests that Galician authorities are responsible for promoting and defending are those whose field of application lies not only outside the territorial area of the autonomous community, but also beyond State frontiers. Galicia is not just one autonomous community in Spain, it holds that position in the world. The very reasoning for an autonomous regime lies in the recognising of these differentiated forms of interest which, from an external viewpoint, can be different in nature depending on the history and the make-up of the diverse communities. In the case of Galicia, the reality of the diaspora is one clear example of this differentiated configuration.

This is perhaps the most visible form of this reality, but it is certainly not the only one. The interests of Galicians, businesses, salaried workers or simply consumers are present and active in the day to day work of our daily life, in issues that are important for their development and well-being and that are originated or administered abroad. There is no doubt that the overseeing of these processes that occur beyond our borders and their presence and involvement –with the forms that can be attained and carried out- is a function that the political authorities of the autonomous communities have to assume and always encourage in general in the civil society. In the same way as with other aspects, this function –whether direct or indirect- is complementary to the one that pertains to the central decision-making bodies. It is important to establish the best possible definition of these interests and the design of the strategic lines so they can be promoted, precisely in order to achieve the greatest range of extensiveness of this complementary arrangement.

The priority geographic areas

Galician's overseas interests are focused on a relatively reduced number of geographical areas. This facilitates the identification of priority areas, although the existence of a greater amount of risk can likewise be clearly expressed. This risk is particularly noted in the economic order, where it is due to the insufficient diversification of foreign action, specifically in the business sector. In any event, a broader perspective than a purely economic one can be considered in the global and defined areas, in order to encompass other measures such as relations in the political, educational and cultural fields, development cooperation and other aspects.

In this observation, the aim is likewise to incorporate a perspective on new trends and markets that emanate from different fields and that have an influence on the future expectations of our economy or that require specific and additional institutional support, because of their cultural, commercial or strictly geographical separation.

Galicia in the European Union

Galicia is Europe. From the geographic, sociological or cultural point of view, but also from the political, institutional, economic or social viewpoint. In recent historical evolution, January 1, 1986 is a key date. At that time, Spain joined the European Economic Community. This meant membership of a common policy and a radical change in the process of opening up to abroad, since it activated the internationalisation process in numerous fields and very particularly in the economic one, with notable commercial progress. This membership of the Communities led to many circumstances in our country changing. Without overlooking the structural adjustments in some sectors of our economy, this can be translated, as a whole, into an undoubtedly positive balance sheet for the Galician society.

The large quantity of budgetary resources that made it possible to notably increase our fixed social capital fund provisions is constantly cited as a great contribution from the European Community to our country. This comes through the structural funds or the cohesion fund, as well as through other less extravagant community financial instruments. This being true, we should not forget that, for example, in the current Comprehensive Operative Programme alone, running from 2000 to 2006 –of which 3,430 M euros out of 5,087 M euros are covered by European structural funds– we must be aware at all times that the great community asset that Galicia must aspire to make bigger and better use of is the Single Market.

The use of all of these opportunities that the Single Market offers, making the most of the competitive advantages of many of our human and material resources, has to be an essential and irrenounceable strategic horizon, leaving regional or structural policy measures as a simple complementary form of support. As our economic structure matures, the scope of the primary sector has and will have a relative smaller influence. However we must also aspire to this growing in absolute terms, because there is still a lot to do in order to increase the value added chain in the phases of transformation and commercialization. The superb example offered by the Galician grape-growing sub-sector shows us what the necessary route to be followed could be, in areas where the restrictions on production and surpluses –apart from the price differential in relation to the global market – are not incompatible with the creation of wealth if we adapt ourselves to the community sector in the right way.

With all of the conventional and partial criticisms that may be advanced, the positive balance of Galicia's insertion into Europe must, above all, be a reason and a spur for making a supplementary effort in the direction of harmonizing our fundamental parameters with those in force in the upper strata of the community setting. Today we are of

course in a better position to take all possible benefit from the Single Market due to the spectacular rate of growth of the capitalization of Galicia since 1986, whatever the parameter that we may wish to examine may be.

On the other hand, our commercial dependency on the rest of the European community, in terms of demand, does little more than accentuate the fact that, from the point of genuine exports, sales to residents outside of the community customs territory are a very small portion of foreign trade with respect to shipments to residents in other Member States of the European Community. But going beyond this, if we aspire to culminating the process of the modernisation and homogenisation of the Galician economy in line with the most outstanding ones of the European Union, and hence generate greater tertiarisation with special emphasis on high value added services in terms of investment unit, those who demand these services must be above all European co-citizens, due to the fabric of legal guarantees and the form of administrative standardisation promoted by the Community institutions and the *acquis communautaire*.

This cumulation of circumstances, together with the great transformation that the European Union is going to undergo with the greatest reform that has taken place until now in its original or materially constitutional Law –without minimising the effect of what is also the largest and the most recent enlargement – requires that we re-affirm that Galician foreign action will continue having a pre-eminently European calling. The fact that the Union is a project without an expiry date and has a degree of inertia leading to political unity –which could lead to temporary stagnations and sporadic decelerations, but ones which are difficult to turn back and that could more improbably lead to implosions, force us to make the most of all of the channels at our disposal in order to delve further into the Europeanisation of Galicia from a twofold socio-economic and political perspective.

We mean that we have to adapt all of our structures -productive, educational, commercial, training, etc. - to that which is in demand through most of Europe. This is because only this will make it possible for us to have the means and the pride necessary to preserve and celebrate the re-enforced wealth of our culture. This is what defines us as Galicians and not just as neighbours located in the north-west of the most westerly peninsula of Europe. If mass emigration to the rest of Europe could not dilute us as a people – this is a more convincing and operable method than the one we are now postulating – it will do us few favours if we confuse being Europeanised with being de-Galicianised, since the particular integrative project favours the preservation of the defining elements of every people of the Union. The aim of this is not to fall into the old demons that unravelled Europe itself as an autonomous political unit and leader on the planet. At best, the Union should be valued for these purposes as a sieve that largely rejects the pernicious effects of a form of globalisation of a unipolar genesis and with rules that are not agreed to by consensus.

In order for Galicia to count for something in itself in Europe, it has to possess a minimum range of tools that channel its voice and are shaped to the defence of its interests. Galicia forms an integral part of that group of States that are constitutionally structu-

red in a federal, autonomous or particularly decentralised form, having territorial collectives with legislative competences and a greater or lesser degree of executive capability. This reality, which is rich, diverse and complex, affects states such as Germany, Austria, Italy, the United Kingdom, Portugal and Spain. Galicia aspires to a greater level of recognition of these collectives becoming explicit within the scope of the Union.

On the other hand, regardless of the result of the discussion on the future expression of the electoral districts within the EU –which could be better adapted to that form of political and administrative diversity as well as in terms of division of areas of responsibility– Galicia aspires to greater improvement of the formulas or policy participation in the institutions of the Union. This applies both directly and through the State representation mechanisms, very particularly for the subjects whose exclusive competence lies with our Autonomous Community. This improvement in the system and the participation mechanisms must also be extended to the internal institutional forums, both of the State itself and those that likewise represent this to European bodies.

Far from implementing these demands as arguments of an internal policy discussion that is sometimes sterile, the progressive development of this should be accompanied by a greater consideration of expertise in the use of the tools at our disposal. The true implication of this community phenomenon requires a fundamental, stealthy and constant effort for administrative discipline. In few fields like this one is it necessary to have perseverance, precision and formal thoroughness. The community mechanisms entail much more than the allocation of participation in certain Councils of Ministers, where a very high percentage of matters are already conditioned by the agreements reached during the course of the formation of the community intent. At the same time, because of the particular dynamic involved in increasing the number of its subjects, community negotiations cannot and will not –especially following the enlargement towards the south and the east– be evaluated as if an immediate or everyday zero sum game were involved, or as a dilemma that will end with the search for an equilibrium that is specific in terms of the topic dealt with. Since European integration is a process in which a determinate number of participants converge, and in which different proposals come about without interruption and without a specific time limit, maximalist tactics tend to be counter-productive, even short-term. This is because they close off the probabilities of having a variable number of potential allies in topics that are maybe even more significant for the country.

We cannot fall into a rhetorical trap that leads us to discount the true importance of other mechanisms of participation at our disposal which – regardless of some advisable adaptations and improvements– may become as efficient as or more efficient than other comparative mechanisms.

Galicia must aspire to command autonomous participation in European affairs because –as it has a historical nationality with a very sharply-defined personality– it cannot use this route as a levering device in order to obtain international recognition in the sense provided by the *Ius Gentium*. It must do this in order to help Galician citizens and socio-economic operators to position themselves in Europe and to make the most of the great number of opportunities that the *acquis communautaire* offers

us, starting with the benefits that can be obtained from the Internal Market. Galician society cannot content itself with analysing the processes of European policy constitutionalisation and integration from the point of view of an approach that is passive or slightly re-active, which merely values the Union as a supplier of capital funds and of a no less considerable volume of resources dedicated to social initiatives, as the provider of certain burdens or warnings and as a source of a bureaucratic and domineering mass. The tools that we have at our disposal could have a lot more to do before their useful life cycle has been exhausted.

In short, it is necessary to intensively prepare our society so that it can be capable of making the Union come to its service, without institutional obstacles hindering the capacity for acting. It follows from this that Galician businesses and social agents have to stimulate the gradual increase in the number of Directives that may be directly transposed by Galician institutions. This namely involves having strong sectorial associations surrounding the work of community committees that the autonomous community Authority already assumes. This functions as a sub-stratum in order to lift the fabric necessary to standardise it with other countries and community regions, which has sufficient force so that they can be consulted by the Commission prior to its capacity for regulatory initiative to be formally exercised. Galician autonomous power can contribute towards this goal. On the one hand it can foster the incorporation or creation of these European networks of socio-economic agents by means of lines of specific assistance. These are perfectly compatible with the community guidelines on the matter. On the other hand, it can facilitate research and the establishing of contacts, making use of the institutional channels that it maintains with authorities from other European states.

One dynamic and another – that which does not renounce greater levels of representation and policy participation in the institutions of the Union, and the one that involves the daily and constant improvement of the small steps that allow for greater integration and use of the mechanisms of the Union by our principal social and economic agents, are indispensable for yielding that greater degree of profitability which Galicia requires.

Finally, it is necessary to take account of the fact that the action of Galicia in the EU cannot be limited to its impact on the central institutions of the Union, but rather facilitates the creation and maintenance of a network of agents that are strategically distributed in the countries and regions of greatest interest for our Community.

The enlarged and extra-community Europe

The countries of Central and Eastern Europe and some of those of the CIS (Community of Independent States) comprise a top-level geo-economic area in demographic terms and thus constitute a potential market that has to be considered in all foreign action strategies.

The changes that the continent has undergone since 1989 have affected the political and economic composition of Europe. The union of West and East Germany, the intensification of the relations of the Eastern European countries with the EEC and the start

of the passage towards a market economy by centralised economies marked the beginning of an era of great challenges and defined an unusual experience of political, economic and social transformation that was considered to be one of the most significant ones of the second half of the XX century.

Not all of the countries of the region are at the same state of transition or have the same level of economic development. They rather demonstrate some very differentiated characteristics depending on the cases. The countries that have gone furthest in the process of opening up to the outside world are Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Estonia, followed by Poland and Slovenia. The other countries, in particular Romania and Albania, have been left further behind. The re-arrangement of trade exchanges has been radical in recent years. On the eve of the enlargement, the European Union was already concentrating around 70 per cent of the exchanges carried out by Poland and Hungary, and the figure was over 60 per cent for the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Romania and Croatia.

The countries of the CIS, and particularly Russia, took part in a transformation that has been extraordinarily expensive in terms of production, earnings, the destruction of the productive sector and the loss of the welfare state.

As a whole, the countries of Eastern Europe -with certain exceptions- have deep and serious structural problems, even some that have been overlooked by Western Europe and by Galicia. These problems are going to continue being a heavy burden when it comes to making the pace of European competitiveness, in spite of the signs of recovery that can be observed in recent years. This has been because they have lacked a sufficiently solid base. Perhaps the main problem has been the population loss that some of them have experienced. On some occasions this has been the result of the reduction in life expectancy due to the chaotic health situation that has come about with the political change, the level of emigration driven by economic reasons or shameful ethnic discrimination and, with all of these cases, by the spectacular fall in marriage and birth rates. To put it simply, the problems that could stem from this scenario in the period of one generation have a high probability of reducing the small advantages that could be seen in the classic macro-economic indicators. These, and other socio-economic factors that are no less important, are in no way comprised or assessed in this analysis.

As is the case that occurs with the Spanish presence, Galicia's trade share with Eastern Europe is very small and growing at an uneven and slow rate. However, unlike the group as a whole, in the case of Galicia, the trade share is showing a deficit. Poland, the most important market in the area, is the main partner in the export sector and Russia is the main partner in imports. Galicia's presence is practically non-existent in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, in the same way as with Romania or Bulgaria.

Amongst the determining factors of the scanty Galician presence in this area, it is necessary to point out the political-historical conditioning factors and the dearth of economic relations due to the lengthy duration of the negotiation process and the implementation difficulties in settings with a socio-economic, legal and institutional reality that still is unstable in many cases.

Even so, we should take account of the fact that these are markets which, in many cases, have not consolidated the transition processes and that incorporate a considerable potential for growth. The consolidation of the enlargement, in some cases, and the prompt conclusion of the negotiations for integration into the EU, in others, the process of privatisations and multilateral financial flows offer opportunities both in the field of the trade of goods and services and in the field of direct investment.

In any event, the approach that Galicia adopts as a country in the face of the unstoppable process of the assimilation of new States by the Union has to be clearly and strongly pro-active, as opposed to a resigned approach with the search for palliative measures in defence of a status quo that nobody and nothing can guarantee. This approach requires we develop our visibility at all levels in these countries, which still revolve around the Germanic pre-eminence in the region. This continuously leads to a hiding away of the Latin Europe that we form a part of. The strategic message must be emphatic: in no way is Galicia going to fall into the trap sprung by the wrongly so-called net contributors of the Union, which asserts that, as alleged net recipients we should resolve the matter between ourselves so as in this way to facilitate a reduction in the States financial commitments. The new regions and the micro-states of this Europe which has put itself together and is coming closer should consider us to be the natural leaders of a community project that seeks to augment the stabilizing and leveling capacity of the Union budget, rather than specifically the other way around. The idea is that this trick could quickly change them into the next victims, when successive enlargements –that come about in short time periods– seek to be dealt with the same form of measurement of this dangerous and anti-community precedent.

It is therefore necessary for Galicia to find itself a position with regard to this approach which - as has been demonstrated by the evolution of the European regional integration - is one of unlimited duration and which is difficult to turn around. However, this need for positioning does not solely and exclusively affect the autonomous community authority. Given the size and degree of political centralisation of most of these countries, it is appropriate for Galician social agents and participants to take on a greater relative role in comparison with what happens in other parts of the globe. We could find a paradigmatic supposition in Galician agrarian professional organisations, which could activate and mobilise their counterparts in those countries in terms of the risks that a newly implemented Common Agricultural Policy could lead to, fundamentally if it does not do enough to first come to terms with the deep structural defects of the sector, which is in a worse comparative situation, assessed by income per person employed. If we also consider that this reform has been presented as something that cannot be delayed, specifically because of the inclusion of certain less-competitive national farmers in the community territory, and taking advantage of the excuse of international pressures in favour of the dismantling of production aid within the World Trade Organisation, the damage for the Galician agriculture, and that to many of the new States, would already be underway.

From this perspective, in the same way as with other sectors, sub-sectors and branches of activity, the affinity between the corresponding social organisations of these

countries and ours is doubtless much greater than that which they could have with those of other regions and Member States that are closer in a strictly geographical sense, but that are substantially further away in terms of concepts and in the study of alternatives.

It is likewise necessary to properly evaluate the multiple experiences that we could convey in the dynamics of processing raw materials, and which offer us an excellent opportunity for placing our companies in these markets, based on the exchange of knowledge.

This new policy scenario also implies the possibility of weaving new circumstantial combinations of alliances. The aim of this is thus to deal with all kinds of problems and contingencies that could arise from the *acquis communautaire* that is growing unstoppably, both in scope and in depth. There are great similarities and complementary factors between Galicia and some of the new community members in the field of strategic objectives and of the vital needs to be met, both in the political and the economic spheres.

The defence of Galician interests also concerns itself with improving the information that can be obtained in all matters regarding the proper functioning of the rules of the Single Market in those countries that became full community members a short while ago. It is not enough to warn about the risk of socio-laboural, environmental or fiscal dumping. We must rather improve our sources of information in order to put a stop to abuses or infringements where and when they take place, lending a hand to the whole range of resources that community regulations place at our disposal. The priority for acting in this area has to come from Galician civil society.

In the rest of geographical Europe, which seems to us to continue being outside the political Europe in the long-term, the expectations of direct and immediate relations with Galicia are limited. Since these are economies that base their foreign sectors on trading in raw materials without –with the notable exception of war material – dealing with the customs union, and the Single European Market act as a shield and a cordon sanitaire with respect to those countries, which only really aspire to signing improved association treaties with the European Community, it is necessary to maintain an expectant attitude. This is so that if they manage to address their erratic economic course, improve their human development indices and establish true States under the Rule of Law in the coming years, they can make the most of the opportunities that generalised improvement could bring about for the intensification of trade exchange.

Looking to the north, a particular form of treatment should be dispensed to Norway in any event. This is because of its status as a member of the European Economic Area, its high standards, its demographic composition and the competition that is involved in some sectors, notably the fishing sector and the sub-sector that nestles in the sea-industry sector. Norway conceals singular opportunities for Galicia, as can be observed in the workload that shipyard workers and the auxiliary naval industry of Ferrolterra have in Norwegian contracts. It would be advisable to define a strategy for the country so as to get ourselves further into this market, making the most of the institutional advantages that are provided by its anchoring to the European community, in spite of having twice rejected membership of the European Community in a referendum.

Portugal and the Northern Region

Foreign action towards the neighbour country is one of the priorities of the Galician Administration. This is a reality that other administrations and agents find it difficult to draw conclusions from due to the new dynamic generated by the process of integration and the culmination of the infrastructures of all kinds. Galicia's relations with Portugal – apart from the language question– show us certain geographical, ethnic, linguistic and cultural characteristics that identify us together jointly.

Without our full participation in the European integration process, current symbiosis with Portugal and, in particular, with its northern region not to speak of the territory to the south would not be feasible. This has become converted into a genuine school to experiment and learn to export and without it our companies would find greater difficulties in approaching the foreign market. It should be stressed that the evolution of the events in this area was more dizzying and spectacular than in other areas that are likewise derived from communitarianisation, primarily considering the previous situation in which both communities lived with their backs turned to each other, in many socio-economic fields. In spite of this delicate inheritance, these differences in administrative organisation which endure following the rejection of the regionalisation plan for the Portuguese Republic in a referendum and the administrative complexity required by the intervention of the respective central apparatus of each State, the success achieved by the Galicia-North of Portugal Work Community in little over a decade of life is both instructive and stimulating in turn.

This kind of “disability” in the peripheral situation that characterises the north-western peninsula co-exists with a strategic position in the geo-economic and geo-political spheres within the EU. The Atlantic corridor is one of the most dynamic communication routes in the world and is a main doorway for the relations between Europe and third countries.

The Portuguese-Galician Euro-region has to play a transcendental role in the immediate future as an engine of economic development and policy cooperation. It has to aspire to be what it should be because of its historical logic and nature: the par excellence piece of thread between Spain and Portugal. This is so that, working together, they can counter the definitive inclination of the centre of community gravity being towards the east in so far as possible and in a shared alliance with other territorial entities. In numerous fields, starting with the attracting of extra-community productive capital, only the synergy that can be obtained from this interlinking has the essential and minimum capacity for attraction that is demanded so as to really be able to count in the forums and regional offices where these decisions are taken. Should this not be the case, the regions that concentrate certain self-contained costs, with a high level of human capital and greater proximity to the centres of demand for the geographic market segments with more acquisitive power will be better placed than us to absorb this supplementary injection of private capital.

From a formal point of view, the lack of an international personality of the Euro region does not impede recognition –within the political-legal area of the European com-

munity— of a particular personality that enables it to act as a participant endowed with relative autonomy, especially in the field of the internal social and economic relations of the European Union. Such an element attains fundamental importance if we do not just think about the receipt of specific community funds and about its effect on the common economic area, but also as a vehicle for coming closer and making contact in order to set up particular relations within the Euro region and other geographic areas of strategic importance. These are areas where, owing to their own common language and culture characteristics, there is a complementary alliance that is especially suitable and opportune. In terms of both Spain and Portugal, moving itself in both cultural and linguistic areas, Galicia finds itself in a privileged position for catalyzing this trend.

The mechanisms and goals that it is necessary to press for include those lines of work that reinforce Galicia's status as a bridge with America and with the Portuguese-speaking world in the first place, and which make the joint foreign profile of the Galicia-North of Portugal Euro region more profitable. The two communities may legitimately aspire to strengthening their form of integration, stimulating synergies and driving forward those measures and alliances that help to satisfy their strategic interests in the context of this Ibero-american and Ibero-african community of nations that they both form a part of. The existence of a set of factors (interlinking of our economy with the Portuguese industrial north and the traditional link with the other coast of the Atlantic) serve to orientate the lines of a measure which is aimed, in the first instance, towards the greater integration of the Iberian space, and secondly towards making the Euro region a vehicle as a liaison point for the supply and demand that takes place on both Atlantic shores. This movement comes about by means of a privileged circuit of communication administered by the instruments signed by the Xunta de Galicia with diverse countries and institutions of Latin America.

In this perspective, a certain degree of presence in Lisbon should be considered, in the same way as for the full and effective development of the cultural and linguistic ties, and even in matters dealing with the relevant infrastructures and in relation to the exclusive competences of our community.

Galicia and Latin America

In spite of its geographical distance, in historical terms Latin America constituted the most significant extra-peninsula point of reference for Galicia. The many human interests —especially due to the huge nature of the presence of the Diaspora?, and the social, cultural and economic interests that link Galician citizens to the other shore of the ocean along with the economic perspectives of the region, sometimes problematic, though in general valued as optimistic, justify the ongoing nature of this preference.

Galicia's activities in Latin America have been many and diverse in nature. At the institutional level, particular interest is paid to the deepening of the relations with the bodies of an eminently inter-governmental nature (MERCOSUR), with certain common structures and technical instruments that are still at the consolidation phase. Galicia sig-

ned a Memorandum of cooperation with the Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración [Latin American Integration Association] (ALADI). This was an unprecedented occurrence (the first case of a sub-state unit signing a working protocol with an economic organisation of international scope). This meant the establishing of the institutional bases so as to facilitate Galicia's presence in this broad Latin American zone, in the commercial, economic, cultural or university field. The Xunta de Galicia also signed a Multilateral Agreement with CODESUL-CRECENEA (group of southern Brazilian states and Argentinian north-eastern border provinces, of a comprehensive nature). This is a forum in which Galicia can take part as an observer. Likewise, Galicia is in charge of setting up contacts between the CPRM (Conference of Peripheral and Maritime Regions of Europe) and ALADI.

The Xunta de Galicia likewise signed bilateral agreements that were characterised either by their territorial scope (the city of Buenos Aires, certain Brazilian states), or by their specific state nature (the Ministry of Integration of Paraguay or the Secretary of State of Industry and Mining of the Argentine Republic). As a whole, all of these agreements and protocols that have been signed constitute a broad network of political attempts at cooperation. On the basis of these, every Consellería (chancellery) concerned has to provide the support for specific measures in the implementation of their respective field of competences.

From the economic viewpoint, contacts have been developed between Galician businesses and the countries of Latin America, since this emphasised the interest in establishing joint venture companies so as to make it possible to set up a starting base for business cooperation in know-how, technology and technical assistance in general in sectors such as agriculture, timber, fishing, aquiculture, shellfish production, tourism or ornamental stones. Likewise, the identification of like-minded sectors made it possible to establish specific areas of cooperation and contact with Galician groups with effective interests in certain fields.

We can observe two types of situations in the economic relations between Galicia and Latin America. The first one could affect the less significant group of countries, with a more variable type of exchange, more ups and downs and temporary fluctuations (Bolivia, Belize, El Salvador, Haiti, etc.). The second one, made up of the leading commercial partners (Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, etc.) that the trade flow is sustained with. It is precisely in these countries where a large part of Galician emigration and their descendants are concentrated.

The economic and commercial exchange between the two shores of the Atlantic is one of the constant factors of Galicia's foreign action. The profile of the products that are exported is very well defined. These are mainly agro-food products, specifically fish and derived products. But in general this incorporates the specialisation profile of the Galician economy (the car manufacturing sector, the timber industry, frozen foods, agro-industry or food distribution). Fish and its derived products are one of the most relevant chapters in the field of the imports carried out from the countries of the southern Cone, principally Argentina.

Bilateral trade has evolved in a growing manner in the whole of the region since the decade of the nineties. In spite of the considerable increase in exports, it shows a deficit balance for Galicia. Mexico and Argentina appear amongst the ten leading suppliers of our community.

By areas, Mercosur is the leading player, with Argentina and Brazil holding special significance. These are countries in which Galicia has a modern and competitive image, in terms of having one of the highest levels of demand in international trade. It is perceived there as the ideal route for gaining access to Europe, bringing together the opportunities that it offers by the consolidation of the Euro regional area with the north of Portugal, the most developed region of the neighbouring country. Galicia has to make an effort to properly meet these expectations and close its ties with these two countries, but in particular with Brazil, being called on to be the great economic power of South America.

The fluidity of the political contacts at the top level and the progressive establishing of ambitious initiatives in the cultural, educational and university sphere complete the suitability of this strategic orientation.

Unlike Mercosur, the economic relations with the Andes region are not especially relevant. Venezuela, where the emigrant presence is particularly notable, stands out as the main point of reference. In Bolivia, Peru or Ecuador, the most significant variable is development cooperation, since these are countries that head the list of aid. Working agreements have also been signed here in the political and university fields that contextualise the bases of a form of cooperation with greater space to grow.

Cuba is the most dynamic market in the Caribbean sub-region, one which shows a deficit for Galicia. Mexico is the main venue in the Central American region. However, in recent years, significant investments have been made by Galician operators in the fishing and canning sector, mainly in Guatemala and El Salvador. Nevertheless, the Galician business community sees Mexico with optimism in its internationalisation plans.

To summarise, Latin America – with a total population of almost 500 million inhabitants, a per capita income close to 3,900 dollars and a relatively healthy macro-economic position, constitutes a market with extremely high potential. For the purposes of diversifying the high commercial concentration in the EU area, this region offers Galician economic participants a setting with a natural profile, reinforced by the close-woven network, of a historical base, and of political, cultural and social contacts. These are decisive factors in the international mentality of Galician business and they define sound guidelines and particular advantages that can be of lasting duration. These very advantages mean that, in spite of the strong economic crisis it has undergone in recent years, it is unwise to de-invest in the region.

Other scenarios

Going beyond the traditional and well-travelled areas that enjoy a certain level of unanimity among all of the actors that have a foreign profile, other realities must be taken into account, too. This is either because of their developing and future status, or due to

their contrasting capacity and suitability for absorbing specific measures, especially in the trade and investing field.

• **North America: the United States and Canada**

The US economy is the most developed in the world, with a particularly active domestic market. Looking at its agriculture, mining, manufacturing sector, high technology industries or financial services in a superficial way, we can observe the strength that it has, even though its productive system is in a re-structuring period. Its balance sheet of assets also includes a great infrastructure of ports, airports and highways, as well as excellent communication routes at all levels that facilitate the movement of merchandise, goods and services.

Galicia's trade balance with the USA is negative and, despite being among the ten leading clients, it finds itself functioning at less than its best. In the imports sector, its importance is significantly greater. Tourism, garment-making or timber are sectors to consider in designing an overall plan that narrows the ties with the north American economy, using Miami as a port of entry and a node with the implementation network for Latin America.

The strengthening of ties between the Galician economy and the North American one could also facilitate this delay in attracting foreign expansion being overcome.

On the other hand, it is necessary not to lose sight of the opportunities presented by the whole of the NAFTA area (which includes Mexico), with certain indices of decentralisation at all levels that assist the internationalisation process, if we are right in the definition of the territories to be prioritised in the region, ranked according to the possibilities of genuine expansion that Galicia has in these markets. The states and provinces of the USA and Canada represent a challenge for Galician businesses, both from the point of view of the export markets and as a possible origin of investments. Its broad economic and commercial autonomy make it possible to select profiles and markets that are differentiated and their financial and investing capacity makes them priority targets for our companies and institutions.

• **North Africa and southern Africa**

The Galician presence in the African continent is relatively diversified. While in the exports sector, there is no doubt that the north of Africa has a strong relevance; in the import sector, southern Africa shares the leading position with the north and the western strip. Morocco stands out as a client and destination of Galician investments, while Namibia or Libya, with their respective fishing and energy specializations, figure among Galicia's main suppliers. South Africa (granite in bulk), Cameroon and the Ivory Coast (wood) complete this selective x-ray of our African partners.

In recent years, relations between Galicia and some African countries –at both the public and the private level- in the institutional and business field, have gradually been strengthened. Our country can find the trade diversification it needs here, due to its geographic proximity, and due to the capacity for linguistic and cultural dialogue, an ideal

space that requires direct institutional backing, taking account of the low degree of official representation existing in the whole of the continent.

Contemplating a specific line of concern for the Portuguese-speaking African countries seems to be one initiative to be particularly considered, in the same way as the need to incorporate the dimension of immigration or that of international development cooperation in all public measures that may be promoted by the Galician administration.

• **China and Asia-Pacific**

We have to have a presence, at different levels, in one of the most dynamic regions on the planet from the economic viewpoint and that will be called on to be the great driving force of the global economy in the XXI century. Recovery has been taking place very rapidly since the 1997 crisis, with very healthy economies and growing international credibility. Only Japan continues to be a black spot.

China, Japan and Taiwan are significant points of reference for a policy that is orientated towards this region. Taiwan could be the bridgehead for a strategy in the Asian south-east and in the whole of the region.

China's entry into the World Trade Organisation, as well as the trade agreements that this country has with the EU and the USA, increase the level of transparency of its economy and facilitate the undertaking of business. China is the most active market on the planet because of its growth rate and its population (over 1,300 million inhabitants) and a preferred destination for foreign investors. This is why China is a fundamental strategic goal to take into account in the internationalisation process of our business and production apparatus.

If the Spanish administration has ambitions to be present in the region with greater emphasis and dynamism, Galicia has to consolidate its business ties existing in this region, with the aim of avoiding setbacks. For this reason, beyond other initiatives, it is fundamental to develop political and institutional contacts, given that its qualitative value in this part of the world is greater than that of other latitudes and performs an essential role.

Chapter V

The dimensions of Galicia's foreign action

The foreign action carried out by the diverse social and political agents incorporate dimensions of a varied profile which nevertheless must seek to provide convergence, especially in the definition of those geographical areas considered to be priority. This common agreement and the conscious development of the complementary nature of each sectorial action will contribute to multiplying the efficacy of certain resources which, in a community of our dimensions, will always show a relative degree of sufficiency so as to tackle the multiple needs existing at this level. The Galician Administration is responsible for authorising the coordination and persuasion mechanisms so that this convergence can become reality.

Political and institutional policy

A regular and systematic dialogue between the Galician Administration and other authorities by means of an ongoing effort over time can contribute towards a reduction in the uncertainties, specially those deriving from the differences in the political systems, complex institutional and territorial organisations and particular restrictive features in the commercial system.

Institutional policy can contribute in diverse fields: from an improved degree of knowledge of certain markets or the arranged training of specialists, up to facilitating the development of certain more direct and intense communications with our spokesmen.

Political drive, which integrates different variables (economic, cultural, social, etc.), has to be structured around the achieving of certain goals that enable our economy and our society to take advantage of the range of opportunities that can be offered to it by contact with certain foreign realities.

In each case it is necessary to evaluate the political and cultural circumstances that could recommend institutional measures with a certain degree of relevance being put into practice. In this case, any programme used to promote the Galician presence in a specific area or country has to have a programme of visits in both directions, especially those visits of great significance. It is necessary to involve different departments and institutions in this policy, especially those that have particular bearing on those of an economic scope, in the same way -as the case may be- as the consular Body located in Galicia, which is largely made up of Honorary Consuls. In order to achieve the greatest degree of impact and efficacy over time, it is advisable to seek the coordination and programming of the visits, taking account of other administrations and participants, especially business organisations and Chambers of Commerce.

Institutional visits must be conceived of and organised in such a way that they make it possible to achieve goals such as the following, amongst others: monitoring and

support for projects of the Galician businesses in progress, pressing for new business opportunities, contributing towards the search for solutions in disputes that damage the climate of bilateral relations, facilitating the contacts of diverse Galician interests –business, cultural, associative, etc.- with the local authorities, and the presentation and dissemination of the Galician reality.

In this perspective, the promoting of all kinds of agreements with economic or cultural meaning or content that can facilitate the commercial and investment relations is especially important, as are the social ones that eliminate the obstacles that can make them difficult. On the other hand, the continuity of these processes is always best guaranteed by the creation of business associations and committees and other participants providing solutions for problems, qualified consultancy and support for the proper development of the bilateral relations. Likewise, it is of crucial interest to make the most of the public network of scholars and offices, of both the central and the autonomous community authority, and of other bodies such as the Chambers of Commerce or financial entities.

This political and institutional dimension is of great importance in those countries where a strong presence by the Administration in the society can be observed (let's think of Cuba, China or some countries that are in transition to a market economy of Eastern Europe). In the rest of the countries, instructional policy may be less intense, and has to be vested with a greater sense of opportunity.

Observing this as a whole, which is the result of direct political and institutional contact, can help us to undertake an ongoing evaluation about the presence and availability of the organised public resources located abroad, called on to provide exchange opportunities and information for our agents with interests abroad, adapting their structure and configuration to the evolution of implied and strategic priorities at each time.

Economic and trade exchanges

The internationalisation of Galician business is taking shape. The commercial – and to a lesser extent the investment- opening of our economy had a globally positive effect on the business mentality and its operational functionality. With this internationalisation, our business fabric – especially that of small and medium-sized enterprises – confronts new challenges, problems and opportunities, which enrich them and can also strengthen them.

In this context, it is of particular interest to make progress in overcoming some structural defects, both those relating to export development that excessively lies with the car manufacturing sector; and the geographic dimension, with there being little commercial and investing presence in underdeveloped regions and with great growth potential, which would permit greater global and desirable diversification.

The Galician Administration, working in partnership with the companies and with other social and economic agents, has policies and mechanisms for defining measures that make it possible to identify actions to intensify and improve the process of internationalisation of the Galician economy. In the work involving promo-

tion it is necessary to push for both general programmes that generate business and improve the image that Galicia has abroad, and sectorial ones, especially multi-annual ones, that make it possible to successfully tackle those usual instruments that ensure the success of the business programmes.

It is particularly important to deal with the overcoming of the common problems that affect the crucial and core aspects of the process. Amongst these it is necessary to cite the proper preparation of managers; the activation of shared systems of “economic intelligence” that help to improve the capacity for the anticipation and evaluation of risks; the processes of “technological lookout” that make it possible to optimise R+D and innovation activities, used in the development of competitive capacity, for both goods and services; or those strategy and marketing studies that contribute towards the distinguishing feature of the Galician context and of our products in the international field.

The commitment of the Galician Administration, working together with the state and with public entities of the EU but also with business associations, has firstly to be orientated towards the promotion of a cooperative culture in the sector. This is indispensable for facing up to the growing complexity of internationalisation with minimum guarantees. On the other hand, without losing sight of the fact that this process cannot be disassociated from greater opening up of Galician society and its agents to the overseas market, it is necessary to implement an ongoing updated information service with reduced costs for the operators. This is to take account of not just the markets of greatest strategic interest, but also the experiences of internationalisation or a database on managers with foreign experience.

Going beyond a proper incentives policy, that is consistent with the one arranged due to other realities of our surroundings, the services that support internationalisation – both in the export and in the investment field- have to be perceived of as competent and reliable by the direct participants.

We should highlight the need for instruments that actively assist the internationalisation process of small and medium sized enterprises, the backbone of the Galician economy. These firms do not usually have sufficient internal resources in order to carry out their own internationalisation policies and require specific support so as to become integrated into the new markets. Universities and research centres should also seek answers to cope with these defects and needs.

Attracting investment

Nowadays, when the speculative flow in capital is growing proportionally more than what can clearly materialise in real investments, the competition for attracting it has become singularly aggressive. Once the theoretical and academic suspicions against this need have been overcome, practically all of the agents, participants and forces representing the Galician social, economic and political spectrum agree in concluding that we need to significantly increase the arrival of foreign investments that help to create added value in the country. This is either because the production cycles of activities in which we

have competitive natural advantages are being closed off, or because we are inserting ourselves into new economic areas, fundamentally in the tertiary sector and in some thriving parts of the secondary sector.

Direct investment carries very little weight in Galicia. One of the fundamental causes of this is the lack of knowledge about the image of Galicia as a developed country, with a high level of infrastructures, of human capital and one that has possibilities of access not just to the domestic market but also to Latin America and some African countries.

In order to solve this deficit, the Galician Administration has to head up an effort on several levels. Firstly, this involves multiplying the undertaking of activities for selectively attracting companies (mailshots, investment missions, visits to companies). Secondly, this means pressing for a timetable of activities that promote the image of Galicia (seminars, participation at trade fairs, contact with the mass media), in collaboration with the network of offices and correspondent agents that we have abroad. Thirdly, it means adapting the existing promotion and information instruments (from business guides or sector dossiers to web pages) to the needs of each area or spokesman in collaboration with the network of offices and correspondent agents that we have overseas. Finally, it means persisting with the push for detecting and resolving those problems that could affect investors and that harm Galicia's image (from the availability and price of land to the long processes for creating new companies), carrying out a coordinating and administrative task with different bodies that have competence in each case and highlighting our advantages (from the quality of life, the supply of land or the fact of naturally speaking two languages).

In a general context, the articulation of the investment plans for infrastructures has to consider the logistics and services provision. This is not only so that companies can carry on their activities in competitive conditions, but also in order to attract external investments, coordinating this process on the basis of the great geo-political corridors where the internationalisation plans are introduced (the Atlantic corridor, the north of Portugal, etc.).

Cultural and social relations

The socio-cultural dimension of Galicia's foreign action has to be configured in terms of action and reaction. This, which seems obvious in other fields of action for the autonomous community abroad, perhaps needs to be highlighted here, since this dimension has often been marked by a form of cultural unilateralism that is in line with historical and structural reasons that can be revealed from an analysis of the corresponding processes.

For this and for other purposes, it is appropriate to be clear that these relations are naturally established between two companies or two cultures. However, in our case, there is a distinctive agent on many occasions which is the diasporic agent of one of these –ours- overseas. Perhaps the positive factor of this involvement has not been appreciated until now, as was necessary to do. The preponderance of migratory concepts over diaspo-

ric ones in the dialogue and in the mentalities led to an attitude and certain activities that left the stimulating and carrying out of the potential of these communities and of the individuals that make them up in the background. The technological evolution that both facilitated communications and the movement and the consequent loss of influence of space as a factor of identity means that this negative focus loses importance. It even comes about that the greatest potential in this respect many times lies with persons or groups that are not integrated into the Galician communities but who are assets in the society and culture of their country of residence.

If the civil society is a par excellence locus for a good part of the activities that are considered in this document, this localisation in the socio-cultural sphere is particularly real and opportune. This is because creativity prevails in this sphere and there is very often an inventive risk that should not be hindered by an excess of bureaucracy. Thus, the public institutions with executive power have a very significant authorising and catalysing function, which is even indispensable, but it is not the function of a protagonist. Maybe this is one of the fields in which the application of the model of the private administration and initiative of the public interest can best be found. For instance, there could be foundations or non-profit making entities that receive public and private resources, independent of the public Authority, but which are answerable to Parliament, for example, for the administration of their funds. These are run, in very general terms, as appropriate, by a representative board with the widest range of diversity of social forces and personalities of acknowledged standing.

Entities of this nature, or even ones that are less well structured with the criteria of public responsibility than the ones described, would have a considerable advantage in terms of agility in their relations with other similar bodies overseas, and in the possibility of creating counterpart entities and associations in the civil society of other communities and countries.

For the Authority, the authorising, catalyzing and even the initiative function - should this be the case- which is not excluded from this generic model, would primarily lie with the departments whose competence is most noted in the field of culture and social affairs. But it also lies with others that would seem to be more tangential, and particularly this is because of the diasporic dimension of those responsible for issues of emigration or similar questions that we stress.

It would be of particular interest for the institutions of the autonomous executive to closely monitor all of the initiatives of the civil society in this field dealing with cultural relations abroad, and to make an effort to create awareness that these initiatives should be reported to them, so that they can comply with their authorising and mediating functions. The incentives for stimulating this responsibility on the party of the initiators could be very varied. On occasions it is economic but this is not always the case, and in many cases, there is simply a clear value in the greater facility of contacts and diffusion that precisely form part of this authorisation.

In any event, an inventory of all of the institutions and initiatives related to cultural foreign action has to be the elemental base for identifying our possible defects, over-

coming the dispersion of entities and measures, hint at alliances and formulating the integration of our language and our culture in a programme of action abroad that defines the bases of our policy of cultural cooperation. This should include the promotion of our educational services abroad (from grants to assistanships), the drive for the task of translation that is so necessary and the orientation of the current measures in the direction of the country, with a message that could be shared by all of the public and private actors. This programme should include proposals for the State itself to reflect the cultural plurality of Spain abroad.

When speaking about the activities of the civil society, it is necessary to think of a very wide arch that ranges from purely individual initiatives or private associative ones, to those of the professional colleges, banking entities and companies from diverse sectors. A special place is also held by the trades unions and, very notably, the universities, as they already have their network of relations with foreign countries, which could function with synergy effects.

In the Administration itself, municipal initiatives would come into this framework of information and authorising coordination.

A specific mention deserves to be made of the Portuguese-Galician space which we should consider to be one way of actively intervening in the definition of the process of globalisation. This is a process that we are immersed or involved in, whether we want it or not, from a specific geo-linguistic and multi-cultural area that identifies us and that can function as an added value. On the other hand, should we continue to overlook this, it could become diluted without letting it be seen or heard, without even being seen as representing a loss.

Our specificness, far from being a weak point, has the possibility of transforming itself into a competitive advantage in a uniform and globalised world, in which the difference is one of added value. It has to seem natural that Galician culture is also present in Lisbon, or in other capitals of Portuguese-speaking countries. Portuguese books should be more well-known and accessible in our bookshops. The premise of these and other issues lies in the basic importance of the teaching of the Portuguese language and culture in learning in Galicia, and specifically at the secondary level.

Even acknowledging the linguistic similarities that now exist, it is not right to over-value them. Once again, the teaching of the Portuguese language –complemented here with that of the very rich Brazilian culture and that of the African cultures- which is a subject of passionate interest in many aspects, is a basic premise for setting up reciprocal activities with the proper level of intensity and fertility. On the other hand, the cultural relation with this Portuguese-speaking world that is spread across three continents can be tackled through direct relations and –although not necessarily– through the Portuguese bridge.

The Portuguese-speaking community is a space which, in the context of cultural diversity that we defend and support, could make us more visible and serve to introduce us as an asset, in the first place, in the market of the communications industry and culture. In this perspective it is important to define the forms of convergence and cooperation

models that favour the future integration of the audio-visual sector in a perspective that is complementary, non-excluding and that favours synergies.

In order for this idea to make progress, it is essential to construct a specific public that goes for the possibilities of the Portuguese-speaking community as a real scenario for exchange and the generation of an experience of a great future in the intercultural field. This is based on the different languages in one single system, at the level of a market that generates expectations and one which is growing, at the same time, because of the technological applications related to the new economy. It is a policy action that coincides with the principles of diversity and even with the concerns of the European debate.

In the same way as in the other perspective, Galicia can aspire to play a decisive role in the cultivation of the Celtic ascendancy of the peoples and countries of the Atlantic coast who preserve this common cultural reference and that should serve as a spur for the development of not just cultural but also economic and commercial relations. Celtism is an originality that has to be kept up to date on the basis of the new times and dynamised in a sustained way so as to transform the mark of identity in the engine of progress.

Upper education and Research

On the other hand, it is necessary for the Galician university system to be more involved in the definition of a foreign plan for the country. It is crucial to balance the excess that is so obvious in the supply of university training in certain European languages and the complete absence of others that represent almost the majority of the new markets and other developing destinations for our conventional industry. This also applies for our incipient and promising cultural industry. Adapting these imbalances means stimulating non-existing studies with certain minimum complementary materials of foreign trade, including for the launching of new degrees that adapt to Galician needs from outside. It is likewise interesting to provide incentives for a coordinated sectorial strategy so as to attract more students of other nationalities that infuse new life into our particular demographic and cultural polyhedron.

On the other hand, the knowledge from foreign universities where Galician students are trained should imply an additional reflection on the suitability, the gaps and the essential destinations that we must favour in the public sphere, making the adjustments necessary in the grants policy and other means of support for students and lecturers, designing aid programmes specifically targeting those groups, from Galicia and abroad. These should establish mechanisms of reciprocal influence with potential leaders of the countries that we strategically define as being priority.

Finally, it is necessary to boost the research dimension, considering both visits and the attracting of technicians and the stimulating of cooperation in research and the sale of technology. This will facilitate the increase of our scientific and technical level in the medium term.

Development cooperation

The qualitative and quantitative importance of development cooperation is growing in Galicia. No-one can have missed the fact that the reality in this issue can clearly be improved. The level of commitment of the different authorities or of the participants of civil society (political parties, trades unions etcetera), is a long way from being optimum. Does Galicia show solidarity or not? Having posed the question, the answer has to be equivocal at least. We know about situations of humanitarian emergency in which Galician society responded at a very satisfactory level to the calls for solidarity. There is no solid basis for asserting that Galicia does not show solidarity beyond the simple empirical recording of figures.

Quite a different scenario started opening up after 2003 that is going to permit our community to play a different role to the one that has been carried on up to now, with greater presence in the system of international development aid. Five years from its creation, the consolidation of the Galician Cooperation and Solidarity Fund (Fondo Galego de Cooperación e Solidariedade), a grouping of city and district councils whose number has been increasing progressively with the aim of adding resources, but also of standardising policies. This body is conceived of as a meeting point for the different party members present at the council level, and is one of the most convincing indicators of change. But this is not the only one.

The commitment to development cooperation is re-affirmed by the Galician Act on Development Cooperation, whereby the Autonomous Community of Galicia assumes the responsibility of cooperating with other countries in order to bring about their comprehensive development. This should continue to be demonstrated in the allocation of financial resources, maintaining the sustained trend commenced in 1998. This is undertaken in such a manner that Galicia is placed, in comparative terms, on the upper rung above those autonomous communities with the same scale in terms of prosperity, in a responsible manner, that is to say, with regard to the new social commitments and generating the capabilities necessary to properly administer the new amounts.

Likewise, far from the temptation of aspiring to directly or indirectly administer the cooperation policy as if it were another public service, the authorities can contribute added value by transferring its expert knowledge and the capacities accumulated in the administration of other sectorial policies that have a high degree of specialization, such as fishing or agro-fisheries. This starts from the induced premise of the experience that the initiatives from the third sector cannot be exceeded. Its contribution would consist of providing financial support to the agents of cooperation, always inspired by the Galician model of development cooperation, based on the consultation and participation of its genuine agents. This does not mean that they renounce the role of designing the Quadrennial Management Plans along with them, which have to be put to the Galician Parliament for approval.

Other priorities would be training and the promotion of awareness, the assessment of human resources and the education and transmitting of values of cooperation among the new generations.

All of the actors involved in development cooperation in Galicia should press for the development of its Galician nature at two main levels. Firstly, they should encourage the creation of non-governmental organizations of Galician origin, strong and solid, concentrating their efforts and overcoming the current fragmentation process that takes place in small entities and the excessive importance of the state or international NGO franchises. Secondly, they should incorporate the geographical areas of greatest relevance for foreign action in Galicia amongst its priorities, paying special attention to developing countries from which we receive greatest immigration. Without our own NGOs it will be difficult to have enough capacity to deal with those countries (Portuguese-speaking Africa, for example) that are strategically important for Galicia and that are crushed by poverty.

This process of developing the Galician nature of cooperation must be accompanied by a re-enforcing of the economic commitment, but especially of the degree of coordination between the different agents. The aim is to achieve cooperation between ourselves here, in order to be more effective in helping third parties. Likewise, it is necessary to pay particular attention to developing social awareness, starting with the particular structures of the political parties and the social participants; and to setting underway policies of skills-training and instruction that improve the qualifications of the individuals who take part in this activity with the aim of progressively raising their quality.

The Diaspora and the Galician lobby

There are many ways to speak of lobbies in international relations. From the point of view of Galicia's foreign action, it is the idea and the practice of the lobby as a pressure group or a group advocating Galician interests, made up of individuals or entities that, preserving their status as Galicians, have been established in other countries to different degrees, ranging from double nationality to permanent residence.

The transnational networks of dispersed individuals, who act in favour of causes of interest for their community in the country where they settle or more broadly speaking, in the country of origin or in other associated ones in that same network that are arranged in terms of common origins, are able to act for very diverse reasons of value.

As a general rule, the Galician diaspora is not seen as a threat in the communities into which it is inserted. This is indicative of the fact that, regardless of the greater or lesser quantitative strength, it enjoys respect in general through maintaining the proper form of conduct. With all of this, it is aware of the adverse reactions to the need to act with prudence in this sphere.

The lobby is a manifestation of a diasporic reality. The capacity of diasporas to participate and act in the policies of the country of settlement and of the country of origin can be seen to have been hugely facilitated by the development of communications technology.

The strength of the lobby, in its less questionable form, comes from the electoral weight of the community in question. Foreign policy formulations can be influenced by

the interest in cultivating this vote. Another form of influence could derive from the specific weight that certain individuals in positions of power have within the structure which, directly or indirectly, shape these decisions.

Not all countries have Diasporas. Galicia has one. But a diaspora has to be used as an active factor in the collective life of the country, it has to be cultivated and developed. Some people who theorise about the diaspora phenomenon speak of this being a chaordic reality. Translated into practical terms, this would mean there is no central organizing force that can channel the differing goals of the diasporic communities.

This statement may be true in Diasporas that are more developed and conscious than ours. From the point of view of the responsibility of the Galician institutions, the task here would be reinforcing the awareness of identity of residents abroad without marginalizing them from the reality in which they live by doing so. In some cases this goes back several generations, setting up the encounter and the convergence of intentions between the most decisive sectors (economic, political, intellectual, etc.)

On the one hand, the strength of the lobby depends on the degree of influence of the collective personality of its community of origin. The Diaspora, of which a lobby is the manifestation, needs to feel like a co-participant in a collective past and one that has a common destiny, in order to be active. This requires certain attitudes and types of conduct of the country of origin, when this is well defined as is the case with Galicia. It follows from this that the lobby has to be present at the presentation of the community problems that have a transnational element. There are many of these and an increasingly large number of them.

The numerical proportion of the population of Galician origin in the countries of Latin America especially, does not seem to be appropriate for the use of its electoral weight as an element that has an influence on international policy decisions. However, the localisation of individuals or associations with specific weight could have this influence.

The relations with the diaspora towards the possibility of implementing an influence of this nature are still at a phase of configuration. They need to understand the chaordic nature of the phenomenon, the issuing of very specified and fine-tuned inventories in accordance with this nature, the establishing of permanent contact centres in the institutions of the country with well-defined sensitive points, and discreet but effective mobilisation of the human resources with a central form of adhesion.

Within the legal framework of the form of autonomy, the concept of the “Galician nature” is particular to Galicia, along with the right of the Galician communities abroad to “collaborate and share the social and cultural life of the Galician people”. The proper development of this precept could be a significant instrument of the diasporic life into which the activities or influence or lobby are established.

The creation of the Bilateral Fora by the Department of Emigration, following the arduous task of identifying relevant Galicians abroad and with the mixed and selective participation of representatives of different sectors of Galicia and the Galician communities established overseas, is a suitable mechanism for serving as a source of ideas and

developing instruments that allow for greater synergies in the respective societies in order to better shape development and progress.

The Bilateral Fora oversee a permanent mechanism for the exchange of useful information in order to drive relations forward, both in terms of the diaspora itself and the range of both societies, going beyond the migratory fact. A greater appraisal and dignifying of the human resource that is involved with the Diaspora, will facilitate the implementation of modern practices that allow for its active involvement in the construction of Galicia of the present and of the future.

Galicia's image abroad

Galicia's image abroad has to be in line with its economic, social and cultural reality. Disseminating an image of quality of Galicia is not only a commercial issue, but also it is also an image about shared existence and culture and one that integrates the different variables that make up the foreign circumstance, is essential for overcoming the ignorance and lack of knowledge about the modernisation that Galicia has undergone in recent years that still exists and that contrasts with the traditional image of a peripheral and non-advanced community.

The image of a particular country is a fundamental element for defending its interests in some new economic and political relations that are characterised by greater independence and competitiveness. A country's image has repercussions for the image of its products, and a lack of image detracts from its profile or deprives its products of qualified approval.

Creating an image is a complex process and one that is complicated to administer. This is even more so when we are dealing with a human group and not a product or service. However, having one can convey confidence and credibility, and enables us to make use of a social plus that facilitates our growth and internationalisation.

There are many currents that could have a bearing on the configuration of the image of a country: from emigration and tourism to the scale of its foreign trade or its investments, the linguistic and cultural expressions (cinema, sports), etc.

Galicia should not fail to pay heed to one aspect in which there is still a lot left to do. Being inserted into Europe and into Spain, its modernisation and development has to extract the greatest benefit from its historical patrimony, fundamentally through the road to Santiago, in order to combat stereotypes and convey the image of a country that places value on all of the elements that make up our identity and that span from gastronomy to fashion or music, past and present, in a combination that is attractive in itself.

A proper image can facilitate both the consolidation of Galicia as an international reference point of leading significance in the development of cultural tourism, and the attracting of investments, if we are capable of sustaining this in turn in portraying it as a privileged place to live and so as to produce incentives, aid, suitable prices and facilities of all kinds through its network. Likewise, the move towards greater internationalisation

of our companies can be seen to be facilitated by overcoming this obstacle that is involved in a lack of knowledge or, even worse, a distorted image.

The fact of carrying out image studies in its different sides and geographic regions of greater strategic interest is of special importance. The same is true of the development of specific measures aimed at favouring the greater internationalisation of those sectors that are qualitatively significant for the image of Galicia (tourism, fashion, for example). This contains a broad pull factor for our exports, since in this way they diversify the presence of productive sectors, increase our market shares and facilitate better knowledge of our current reality, reinforced by promotion and advertising.

Chapter VI

The internal vertebration of foreign action

Galicia's foreign action needs a form of support and a commitment that is militant, active and revamped within the country. Not even the most able administrator can overcome the impediment entailed by not having the security that the timetables can be met or that the necessary elements are available at the specific place and at the right time so as to give shape to a project, given the confluence of competences in a huge range of issues. These issues, directly or indirectly, place conditions on the image and perception of the country from outside.

It follows from this that the best internationalisation strategy for our productive capital sources also depends on the local corporation – which has jurisdiction over the place where a study is made of the placement of tangible fixed assets from foreign investors – improving its administration, satisfying the agreed general commitments for the whole of Galicia, not setting up obstacles – should that be the case- due to the fact that another Galician municipality is considered as an alternative, and not standing in the way of the adapting of the networks that pass through its territory in order to serve the new company. Moreover, likewise, it has to ensure that the utilities firms agree with the authorities about the reduced maximum times and increased minimum qualities for dealing with the new demands. It further has to set underway intensive mechanisms for training human capital with trades union and sectorial professional organisations, or search abroad if there is not enough available in the country, while the pertinent physical infrastructures are being constructed in each case.

Our society has to be conscious of the fact that if it opts for paralysis, its distance from the rest of the western world is going to grow. This applies not just in economic terms, but also in cultural and demoscopic terms. This is a company which must therefore never be considered to be a natural, exclusive and excluding oligopoly of the political parties. All of the participants with a calling to serve Galicia have to be involved, in a voluntary way, but they must also be wholly aware of the responsibility that they take on if they decide to stand aside from the issues. If we do not try to move ourselves in the direction that most gratifies us as a group, international trends will not leave us indefinitely anchored to the coordinates of human development where we find ourselves at.

In order to achieve this result of united action, it is therefore necessary to provide incentives for a change in mentality that makes us conceive of Galicia not as a closed space or one that cannot be well permeated by exogenous matters, but rather as an open society. This is a society that makes it necessary to take advantage of the opportunities that are offered to it and ceasing to define itself, present itself and react as a solitary victim of those factors that could be referred to as the external elements of globalisation.

United foreign action does not require prior conceptual or ideological uniformity, or renounce the most private of aspirations, in other times and other contexts. Starting

to organise what we have could be advantageous for everyone if we are capable of generating a pro-active dynamic with respect to the foreign phenomenon. The improvement in the fundamental ratios of the country and its image in the fields in which its moves are never going to be setbacks for progress in the particular programme of each agent, actor or social or political force. Thereafter, by virtue of the particular form of operating of the democratic system, the range of possibilities will be richer and more diverse. But we now need to capitalise internationally on the country, position it in the world, open it up and soak it in the foreign trends.

This collective corporation, in which no actor can be assessed as being without importance or disinterested, thus merits the opening up of an internal space of understanding.

The promotion, monitoring and coordination of Galicia's foreign action requires that we furnish ourselves with administrative and political formulas that guarantee a high level of cohesion in order to prevent dispersions and gain in efficacy. The inevitable decentralisation of foreign action requires the consideration of an active form of coordination, the search for complementary elements and the definition of the fields of convergence.

Infrastructures

Galicia's foreign action has to have mechanisms that are suitable for its development. However, this is not a question of constructing a costly bureaucratic apparatus, but rather one of implementing scenarios and policies which, with the necessary dose of administrative assistance, pushes for and facilitates the progressive, systematic and coherent shaping of the basic guidelines conceived of in this paper and avoiding the atomisation and dispersion of our efforts. By evaluating the significant baggage accumulated in the experience of recent years, we can draw up the following proposals.

In the political field

Foreign Dialogue Forum. In the perspective of defining a broad consensus on Galicia's foreign action, by increasing the importance of and social awareness about this issue, this conference will be a collective body for foreign participation and consultation. Such a summit could be held on a bi-annual basis.

Galicia-Portugal Civil Forum. Given the importance of the neighbouring country in Galicia's foreign action, this Forum would make it possible to create a framework for reflection that can be used as a source of ideas so as to reinforce the presence and image of Galicia, even though it may be weak, in the North and in the whole of Portugal. It would likewise allow for the activation of mechanisms in order to help towards improved synergies in the respective societies and shaping greater development opportunities. The implied and strategic identification of the interests of the Euro region, with a definition of the lines of influence that make it possible for this to be satisfied in all of the national and

supra-national spheres, could be seen to be facilitated by having a mechanism that is permanent and periodic, plural and interdisciplinary. This mechanism could assist the exchange of information, encouraging and promoting bilateral relations, which would facilitate both the intensification of communication and the configuration of a steady network of relations.

The utility of these mechanisms is essentially based on the capacity to facilitate important individuals from different bodies and both communities meeting up, making use of the authorities but transcending them, in an informal atmosphere but with the irreplaceable vocation of being a lobby.

Latin American Forum. The leading role that Galicia plays in the establishing of ties between the old Western Europe and what was called the “new world” enables us to enjoy a starting position that is unequivocally excellent and privileged, serving to encourage reflection and the bonds with the Latin American world. Galicia can lay claim to and develop a leading role in the dynamisation and dissemination of economic, cultural, social and institutional exchanges with Latin America, and establish a solid return route between Galicia and Latin America. This contributes towards the recognition of this role, which is today semi-hidden and unknown, at such a meeting between the two worlds. This forum has to provide cohesion for the dispersed efforts that are being promoted in our community.

Bilateral Forums. These respond to the need to overcome the idea that the only way to recover the energies of the Galicians that do not live in Galicia lies in a physical return to the land. The fact that such a statement is inoperable can be verified if we think a little about where the advantages of the Diaspora reside. On both sides we have to make the most of the spatial and social plurality and abandon paternalism in the relations with the Diaspora. Without overlooking the support that may be necessary in certain circumstances, and the fact that the duties of the public authority will have to be provided as if they were dealing with residents, the relations have to be established on the basis of equality and in turn offer them what they request. The fora come about from the idea of reciprocity in such a way that diasporic activity will involve both the installation of an industrial initiative in Galicia with capital or skills from Galicians living abroad and similar initiatives established overseas with Galician knowledge or capital. The fora will articulate common spaces for activity without necessarily benefitting or eliminating the internal spaces of each one.

Local Foreign Action Committee. The existence of a space for the exchange of information and the definition of the basic lines of orientation of municipalism in the field of the brotherhoods, development cooperation, the relations with Portugal, the local Diaspora, etc. would make it possible to make gains in coherence and coordination. Both elements would further be reinforced if we tie them in with the general guidelines for foreign action of the Xunta de Galicia. The existence of this committee within the Galician Federation of Municipal and Provincial Councils (Federación Galega de Municipios e Provincias, FEGAMP), would assist consultancy, informative fluidity and cooperation.

In the legislative field

Standing Committee for European Affairs and Foreign Policy. The Galician Parliament needs to go further into the political discussion about the importance of the foreign factor. In this sense, it would be appropriate to extend the scope of competence of the current committee on European affairs so as to be able to deal with matters regarding the reflection on, control of and commitment to those issues that affect the foreign profile of Galicia.

In the commercial-economic field

Galician Institute for Commercial Promotion and Investments. Its objective will be to encourage the process of internationalisation of the Galician companies and foreign trade. In addition to the Xunta de Galicia, the Institute should be composed of the Chambers of Commerce and the main sectorial and exporting associations, together with the entities related to the business and financial world and training in foreign world. The Business Promotion Centres abroad would report to this Institute and an informative pool that unifies this field of activity in the form of an overseas observatory.

In the cultural field

The Galician Society for Cultural Action Overseas. This is to have the goal of consolidating cultural promotion endeavours abroad and support the initiative and creative spirit of Galicians. Guilds of publishers, culture associations, etc. should form part of this society, in addition to the Administration. Its goal will be to help develop contacts between the Galician cultural offer and foreign demand, manage cultural exchange programmes and stimulate Galician participation at festivals, trade fairs, in markets and at other international events. It will likewise oversee the survival of our language and culture amongst the collectives of the Diaspora.

In the field of foreign representation

Galicia House [Casa de Galicia] in Madrid. Our form of representation in Madrid, which traditionally serves as a scenario for disseminating the culture, economy and tourism of Galicia, should assume functions of greater political significance, especially in the field of foreign action, serving as a link or host or the development of certain activities. This is why it would be good to integrate it into the Foreign Action Commission.

Galicia House [Casa de Galicia] in Porto. Relations with Portugal are of great importance for Galicia, but it is necessary for all of the citizens to get further involved and perceive it as a strategic project at its service. Up to now, this citizenship dimension in bilateral relations has been developed with the intervention of a very spontaneous component. It is necessary to enrich this with planned initiatives that are concerned with important issues in

order to satisfy the variables of any citizens: consumption, leisure, employment opportunities, health, etc. in such a manner that all borders can be progressively eliminated.

So as to easily channel and visualise this scenario, Galicia needs its own House that it can use as a permanent shop window for our economic, social, cultural reality etc. but which also assists and encourages a citizenship dimension in relation to the two communities. This is to be a place that is used both to display our paintings, introduce our photographers, writers and researchers, or to acquire tickets for a concert in A Coruña and a football match in Vigo. Alternatively, it can serve as an antenna for information and the development of awareness that enables everyone to be conscious of the positive aspects of cooperation, coping with issues and bringing intentions together. A Galicia House would make it possible to relieve the asymmetric institutional presence of Galicia in the north of Portugal.

Galicia Europe Foundation (Fundación Galicia-Europa). With the first stage having been covered, Galicia's representation in Europe needs to extend its range of representativeness and reinforce itself in line with the progressive assumption of responsibilities that our community has in the European sphere. Without discarding the thrust for a new model which –in line with the interests of the most involved sectors- reinforces the political-representative dimension of Galicia as a community, this is the time to explore formulas which make it possible to substantially broaden its membership, allowing other (local) authorities and agents of the civil society to gain entrance to its structure. This would occur in parallel to these entities assuming greater commitment to European integration.

Representative Offices. This mechanism, with its functions of promotion, monitoring and coordination of the foreign profile measures of the Galician Administration, can assume responsibilities for the support activities for the Galician entities and organisms with a presence abroad, and even in the development coordination and aid measures. Presently established in Brazil and America, its means have to be suitable for dealing with the multiple tasks related to the promotion and image of Galicia abroad in all spheres.

Instruments

• Coordination

Internal:

Within the autonomous community Administration, it is necessary to reinforce the role of the Foreign Action Committee as an inter-departmental body. The general secretaries of each Department should form part of this committee and have to report to the General Secretary for Relations with the European Union and Overseas Cooperation of the projects and activities in the foreign sector. As well as the exchange of information, the committee will take account of the general foreign action guidelines.

With other administrations:

a) State Administration. Strengthening the dynamism of the bodies in which Galicia plays a part (Conference for Affairs related to the European Communities) and the

cooperation of all those bodies that have to be the subject of ongoing contact due to the matter being dealt with.

b) Local Administration. It is important for the autonomous community Administration to cooperate with the local one, whether in the role as a consultant or simply creating mechanisms that provide an overall vision and overcome the inevitable element of dispersion, or reporting on foreign activities. This is done in such a way that it guarantees a smooth exchange of information in issues such as brotherhoods, exchanges and development cooperation. Another line of steady cooperation with this administration takes place within the field of cross-border cooperation, in order to facilitate the overcoming of obstacles that may come up in tackling projects of this nature.

With other actors:

It is important for the autonomous community Administration to undertake a leadership function that does not cancel out the initiative or hinder private participants from taking part, but which always contributes the added value of capacity for orientation and the concern for establishing synergies that contribute towards overcoming individual defects. Naturally, this intention has to be reciprocal. To this end spaces and formulas must be set up that are not necessarily permanent but that open up pathways for an active form of concertation that could transform this dialogue, if it is ongoing, into an effective operative mechanism. It can then crystallize as commitments to orientation that can be assumed by all of the interested parties.

• Participation

The essential lines of Galicia's foreign action can be agreed upon by the leading political and social actors of our community. The degree of commitment and awareness of each one of these is variable, but it lies in an overall context of positive conception. Authorising instruments that make broad participation possible not only assists greater democratisation of public activities, but it also augments the importance of foreign affairs and obliges all of the actors to consider the foreign profile. Consequently, it lends help to proposals and initiatives that improve Galicia's position in the world.

Furthermore, this participation can guarantee an easier form of adhesion of all of the participants to the basic foreign action proposals that the Galician Administration promotes. In this way it can facilitate the overcoming of the dispersion factor and assist convergence and the inclusion of more policies and of more actors who today hold minority positions or implement de-contextualised policies.

• Consultation and cooperation

Encouraging a policy of ongoing cooperation with universities and research centres in international matters have to be an irrenounceable constant in order to furnish us with the degree of analysis required in order to normalise and make full progress with our

foreign action and provide it with the necessary rigor. This takes place in a process of ongoing assessment, diagnosis and permanent adjustment to our needs and to the changes that could take place in the international scenario.

Likewise, this line of consultation and cooperation has to be extended to the consular representations located in Galicia, cultivating institutional contact.

• **Information**

It is necessary to explain and publicise foreign action further, on the one hand by finding a common language with the mass media and on the other, by investing in particular resources that result in Galicia becoming opened up to the world. In addition to the political value of a suitable informative strategy, this can facilitate and increase the potential value of the Galician resources located abroad. In this way they would be more in contact with Galicia. This would mean an easier form of participation in the achieving of common goals. The existence of a Documentary Record that could be consulted by any actor by means of the electronic resources could bring about a greater form of use of all of the information available.

Foreign action administration

The complexity and magnitude of the challenges that involve stimulating a foreign action that is adapted to our needs and potential, together with the importance of the success of an ongoing strategy that favours the effective internationalisation of the economy and of Galician society as a whole, leads to the recommendation that the administrative-bureaucratic range of this policy goes as far as it acceptably can, with a form of support that directly links it to the upper decision levels of the Xunta de Galicia.

Galicia's foreign action goals can be classified into two large groups: those that have a thematic framework and do not have geographic restrictions, and those that are addressed to a specific part of the world.

Thematic measures

The main axes of Galicia's foreign action cover the following matters:

- Promotion of regionalism, Celtism, Europeanism and universalism.
- Backing for initiatives of an international nature organised by local entities, or social or agents of Galicia.
 - Support and stimulus or the internationalisation of Galician business.
 - Development of greater scientific business and technological cooperation.
 - Maintenance of the ties and support for the Galician Centres abroad.
 - Promotion of Galician culture abroad.
 - Dissemination of the Galician reality and unique nature in the World.
 - Assistance and financing of the development cooperation actions carried out by Galician NGOs.

- Direct and immediate aid in cases of humanitarian crisis with own resources and lending support and coordination to private assistance.

Geographical priorities

The main priorities for the area of Europe are:

- Participation in the European Union Institutions (Regions Committee, Commission Committees, etc.). This entails progressively gaining spaces in order to have a more direct institutional presence.

- Institutional participation in the Council of Europe (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities –CLRAE -, specific programs, etc.).

- The cooperation in the Atlantic area (Atlantic Arch) and, very particularly, within the people of the Celtic origin.

- Cross-border cooperation with Portugal.

- Bilateral cooperation agreements (Opole, Pays de la Loire, Bretagne, Piamonte).

- The European regionalist movement (Conference of Peripheral and Maritime Regions, the Assembly of European Regions...)

- Inter-regional cooperation.

The priorities for the extra-European area are:

- Inter-regional cooperation with regions located outside the Western Europe area.

- Brazil and Latin America in general, and in particular those countries that register an emigrant presence of meaningful relevance.

- USA, with respect to the immense consumption capacity and general strength of its economy.

- The Portuguese-speaking world. Despite its diversity, the cultural and linguistic factor, the inheritance from the Portuguese colonial past, favours a Galician approach that has to be considered with generous attention to development cooperation, solid bases for promoting commercial and economic exchange strategies, both in the fishing sector and in general, in the agro-food sectors and others.

- Asia-Pacific, with particular attention to the Chinese world (China and Taiwan above all), the key reference points for consolidating and extending our Asian presence.

In all of these fields we must act by being guided by the achieving of the following goals:

a) The deepening of political relations, through programmes of bilateral visits that include, as the case may be, the institutionalisation of periodic contacts and the opportune conclusion of agreements or accords in sectors or topics of interest for Galicia, which stimulate mutual knowledge. For these agreements to be activated, it is of interest to follow certain formulas (commissions, exchange workshops, interchange of materials and geographical areas, involvement of third parties) that permit a programme that defines specific horizons of activities and goals.

b) The increase in volume of our exports and of the foreign presence of our companies with the aim of improving our market share in the different areas, and the increase of the number of Galician companies that have a direct presence in the respective regions.

c) Developing the potential of the image of Galicia by means of the holding of events of a commercial and cultural nature, offering a modern vision and the development of our country and of our companies, safeguarding the best of our traditions that offer a top-draw tourist attraction. Likewise, we have to make profits from the opportunities that give rise to the growing dynamism of global networks and structures, in a clearly upward trend, based on the complexity of contemporary international society. The objective of this is to make Galicia (and in particular, Santiago de Compostela) a place of reference for the holding of international events and meetings.

d) The improvement of the training of economic and commercial experts, as well as the quality and layout of the information available -even though it may still be excessively dispersed- so that our economic and commercial agents, together with our social and institutional representatives at all levels, can make best use of the opportunities and make them profitable.

e) The strengthening of development cooperation, very particularly in the area of Portuguese-speaking Africa. The attention to solidarity in the struggle against poverty and under-development contributes towards the vertebration of a foreign action that aspires to establishing active ties between our society and others. These are solid principles that can be further developed later on or in parallel to other relations and measures of common interest.

The mass media should be a topic of particular attention. Our complete insertion into the information society requires an added endeavour of foreign localisation. Taking on the overseas element means rather more than featuring the foreign activity of the Administration. It also implies a call to attention regarding the importance of domestic production. This term covers the need to deal with this nearby overseas, since these are political realities which, for diverse reasons, are closer to us, in countries that may not have such a presence in the informative offices of the large news agencies, but which may particularly interest us for autochthonous reasons.

Training policies

The staff training associated with the development of Galicia's foreign action must be the subject of special attention in two aspects. Firstly, training in foreign languages, through specific courses (with different levels and degrees of specialisation) and linguistic stays abroad. Secondly, specialist training for the technical staff, facilitating attendance and participation at specialist seminars and sessions in its areas of responsibility, so that they have the chance to constantly update their knowledge about international topics.

On the other hand, it is necessary to develop a generous and ambitious policy on grants that stimulates the presence of Galicians in those international bodies that are of most interest to Galicia, starting with the preserving of the market share that we currently enjoy and that could shrink in the coming years due to their process of natural renewal.

It is likewise necessary to regulate a permanent programme that improves the material and personal provisions of Galician research centres, with a programme of grants for the carrying out of practices that heighten expectations for those new graduates interested in handling this problem in a professional manner, and measures that make it possible to promote and develop contacts with the research centres of the most strategically relevant countries, along with assistance in specialist publications, the exchange of documents of analysis and better possibilities for participating in international seminars and forums.

Chapter VII

An alliance for Galicia in foreign action

Galicia's foreign action seeks to ensure a leading position in the markets, international institutions, scientific and cultural cooperation networks, etc. for our community that make it possible to avoid being marginalised in the "global village" and to make progress in the new international context. The profile of our position in the world is an integrating part of our identity, which is ordinarily analysed in its internal dimension, but without which this foreign vision would clearly be incomplete.

Once the social agents, the economic agents and the political forces of the country have assumed that the globalisation process is here to stay, it is necessary to press for a dialogue stage so as to establish the bases of a true and genuine public foreign action policy, that melds into one basic unit as far as its design and undertaking are concerned. Both in terms of the human, organisational and financial resources that Galicia can make use of in this public policy, and because of the breadth of the scenario where our interests are in play, it is not a priori credible to consider other alternatives in terms of elemental efficiency.

At the same time, this rule of unified policy action has its naturalization papers in what we could refer to as the minimum room for manoeuvre in foreign action. It is not just that the suitability of the analysis and the possibility of carrying out the practical measures proposed are continually conditioned by the fact of the external elements and trends that are being considered behaving in the way anticipated, according to a table of short and medium term stable vectors. Also, the evaluation of the balance sheet of the different initiatives ordinarily carried out cannot take place annually, or even coincide on occasions with the particular period of time of a legislature. This error in the consideration of the temporal measure unit applicable to the maturing of the foreign action strategies is usually ignored, and has to be taken particularly into consideration.

It follows from this that, following the agreed identification of the lines that make up the minimum common denominator of the nature of ad extra Galicia, unity of action is a top rank tool. If we add our socio-political separation and restriction of resources and measures to the inherent uncertainty of the international scene, the difficulty in conceptualising it and the complexity in measuring it, we will find it difficult to achieve the desired results.

On the basis of this shared profile lies the conviction that the future of Galicia is going to largely depend on its capacity to provide itself with a framework of operations that situate it in the complex modern World on the basis of its own economic and social potentialities. Internationalism and universalism are the two general key points that have to impregnate and provide the backbone for the specific measures that it is necessary to undertake in all of the aspects.

If we are simultaneously capable of tacking measures in the political, economic, cultural or social field, with the full support of the different political forces (an alliance

for Galicia in foreign action), we will be in a position to make the qualitative leap that Galicia and Galicians require in this troubled entrance into a new century.

The White Paper on the Foreign Action of Galicia entails a totalling up and diagnosis of the measures and the experiences that have been accumulated up to today. However it is first necessary to put forward two considerations. The first one is that today foreign matters are much more than the sum of the secondary foreign dimensions of the global policies of each one of the departments of the Xunta de Galicia, of the political parties, of the confederations of businessmen, of trade union organisations, etc. Secondly, this sum of individual factors requires an internal globalising qualitative leap that that can only be headed up by the Galician Administration in order to endow all matters concerning Galicia's foreign action with particular substance, being carried out in a way that is wholly faithful to the institutional framework in force.

The proposals that are put forward in both the instrumental and the strategic sphere can favour this qualitative leap, this Foreign Thrust that we are longing for and that requires a commitment by everyone for the benefit of everyone as a substantive condition. It also requires a change in the possible mentality in a scenario in which pragmatism abounds and with respect to which, with good intentions, it is possible to establish a responsible and supportive agreement. This would transform the outside world into a space for meeting in which it is possible to make a rapprochement of positions between the different political forces viable, and define a stable model of foreign action.

Appendices

List of individuals who made contributions:

Francisco Javier Álvarez Barbeito
Jaime Barreiro Gil
Francisco Carballo Carballo
Fernando Criado Alonso
Andrés Freire Rodríguez
Alberto García Cerviño
Xoán López Facal
Marco López López
Santiago F. López Ponte
Basilio Lourenço Fondevila
Ramón Maceiras
Edmundo Moure Rojas
Mario Moure Rojas
Jesús A. Núñez Villaverde
Gonzalo Parente Rodríguez
Antonio Carlos Pereira Menaut
Fernando Pérez-Soba
José Antonio Rico Adega
Manuel Rodríguez Viqueira
Pilar Romero Rodríguez
Enrique Sáez Ponte
Félix Soria
Xavier Vence

List of entities and individuals that were also consulted:

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