# Polityka zagraniczna w hiszpańskiej literaturze przedmiotu – wstęp do badań

#### Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie wycinka hiszpańskich badań na temat teorii polityki zagranicznej państwa na tle europejskich, amerykańskich i latynoamerykańskich ustaleń. Źródłem analizy były przede wszystkim publikacje Luisa V. Pérez Gila oraz Rafaela Calducha Cervery. Artykuł ten jest wstępem do dalszych badań. Podjęto problemy badawcze zmierzające do odpowiedzi na następujące pytania: 1) Jak hiszpańscy szkolarze definiują politykę zagraniczną i na których badaczy teorii stosunków międzynarodowych się powołują? 2) Jakie fazy i cele polityki zagranicznej wyróżniają? 3) Jak hiszpańscy naukowcy definiują interes narodowy i na których badaczy teorii stosunków międzynarodowych się powołują? Przy pisaniu artykułu wykorzystano metody analizy i krytyki źródeł.

**Słowa kluczowe:** polityka zagraniczna, stosunki międzynarodowe, interes narodowy, polityka wewnętrzna, racja stanu, bezpieczeństwo

#### Summary

The aim of this article is to present a section of Spanish research on the theory of foreign policy of the state against the background of European, American and Latin American arrangements. The publications of Luis V. Pérez Gil and Rafael Calderch Cervery were the basis of the analysis. This article is an introduction to further research. Research problems have been tackled in order to answer the following questions: 1) How do Spanish teachers define foreign policy, and which theorists of international relations do they relate to? 2) What are the phases and goals of foreign policy? 3) How do Spanish scientists define the national interest and which theoretical researchers of international relations do they refer to? The article uses methods of analysing and criticising sources.

**Key words**: foreign policy, international relations, national interest, internal politics, raison d'État, security

Przegląd Europejski Nr 2 (44), 2017

Małgorzata Mizerska-Wrotkowska

Institute of European Studies, Faculty of Political Science and International Studies, University of Warsaw

# Foreign policy in Spanish literature – an introduction to research

The fact that some scholars call it a "marrow of international relations" proves how important the analysis of foreign policies is within the process of examining international relations (Russett<sup>1</sup>, Starr<sup>2</sup> 1996; quote: Pérez Gil 2012: p. 89).

In Spanish publications on the external relations of the state there are many definitions of foreign policy: both of native and foreign authors. It is worth to quote a few of them. Recalled in the bibliography, Léon Nöel<sup>3</sup> defined foreign policy as "the art of maintaining a relationship of one state with other states" (Nöel 1959: p. 99, quote: Pérez Gil 2012: p. 90). Luis V. Pérez Gil<sup>4</sup> perceives foreign policy as a way in which states – integral parts of the international system – maintain their relations. The author believes that only then can we talk about foreign policy when the external actions of the state are based on a specific plan and are characterised by continuity and cohesion (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 90–91, 104–105). Mario Amadeo<sup>5</sup> perceives foreign policy as "an activity that every country implements internationally" (Amadeo 1978: p. 19; quote: Pérez Gil 2012: p. 93). According to Rafael Calduch Cervery,<sup>6</sup> foreign policy only con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bruce Russett (born in 1935) – American professor of political science and international relations, associated with Mac Millan Center - Yale University.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Harvey Starr (born in 1946) – American researcher, professor at the Department of Political Science at the University of South Carolina.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Léon Nöel (born in 1888, died in 1987) – French diplomat and lawyer; from 1935 ambassador to France in Poland, then (to 1940) ambassador to the Polish government in exile in France.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Luis V. Pérez Gil (born in 1971) – Spanish researcher of foreign policy and international relations, Universidad de La Laguna.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mario Amadeo (born in 1911, died in 1983) – Argentine diplomat, writer and politician.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Rafael Calduch Cervera (born in 1952) – Spanish professor of international public law and inter-

cerns states, because "only they fulfill two conditions to conduct it fully: internationally recognised legal capacity and full, autonomous and effective political capacity" (Calduch Cervera 1993: p. 4; quote: Pérez Gil 2012: p. 93). The European Union is one exception to this rule, as it runs the Common Foreign and Security Policy. What differentiates international organisations in the analysed context from the states is that their aim is not to remain important internationally at all costs, but that is the aim for every state (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 91). Calduch Cervera defines foreign policy as part of a general policy of the state that deals with decisions and actions that define goals and measures to initiate, modify or suspend relations with other members of the international community (Calduch Cervera 1993).

In the Spanish literature of the subject we find references to the publications of Philip Alan Reynolds<sup>7</sup>, Marcelo Lasagni<sup>8</sup>, Bruce Russett and Harvey Starr. For Philip Alan Reynolds foreign policy is "the whole of the state's actions in relations with other actors that function on the international stage primarily to promote their national interests" (Reynolds 1977: p. 45–46, 60). Marcelo Lasagna perceives foreign policy as "an area of intergovernmental activity that deals with relations between the state and other actors, especially other states (but not only) in the international system" (Lasagna 1995: p. 387–409, quote: Pérez Gil 2012: p. 93–94). On the other hand, Bruce Russett and Harvey Starr consider foreign policy simply as "a state activity within the international system." Foreign policy is, according to them, the result of "interactions between domestic and international affairs in the process of continuous interaction" (Russett, Starr 1996: p. 162–163; quote: Pérez Gil 2012: p. 94, 96).

Foreign and domestic policies have different recipients. Only the first one is addressed to countries and other international entities. Until recently, foreign policy has often been defined by contrasting it with internal policies. For example, according to French researcher Marcel Merle<sup>9</sup>, "foreign policy is part of an outward-oriented activity, that is, it is, in contrast to internal politics, about problems that arise outside the borders" (Merle 1984: p. 7; quote: Pérez Gil 2012: p. 98). Eladio Arroyo Lara<sup>10</sup> takes a similar position and assumes that states "operate and interact in two spheres: internal and exter-

national relations associated with the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, politician.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Philip Alan Reynolds (born in 1920, died in 2009) – British historian, international relations researcher associated with the London School of Economics and the University of Lancaster.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Marcelo Lasagna – professor of political science at the University of Pompeu Fabra

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Marcel Merle (born in 1923, died in 2003) – French political scientist associated with the universities of Bordeaux and Paris I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Eladio Arroyo Lara – Spanish researcher, professor at the Universidad de La Laguna.

nal policies - addressed to other actors" (Arroyo Lara 1998: p. 353–381). However, other researchers have argued that it is not possible to separate foreign policy from internal policies because it also serves the political and social stability of the political system (Fraga<sup>11</sup> 1960: p. 16). Diego Liñán Nogueras<sup>12</sup> believes that this fundamental change in the traditional division of state policy into internal and external is due to the phenomenon of internationalisation. This makes every subject taken on national soil gain an international dimension (Liñán Nogueras 1988: p. 45–73).

### Phases and goals of foreign policy

There are several phases in the shaping of foreign policy: concept development and decision making, implementation of findings, verification and political and legal control. At every stage, but especially at the first, foreign policy is influenced by internal politics: the political system, division of powers between the centre and periphery, the party system, interest groups and the public opinions (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 91–92).

Essential foreign policy theoretical issues include its goals. Mario Amadeo divides foreign policy goals into general (or permanent, long-term) and concrete (ie. those that are not common to all states and depend on political, historical and social factors) (Amadeo 1978: p. 150–151). In turn, Raymond Aron<sup>13</sup> distinguishes fixed goals (which are divided into abstract and concrete) and historical goals (Aron 1985: p. 101–126). Ángel Viñas<sup>14</sup> distinguishes between primary and secondary goals (Viñas 1984: p. 73–101), Pierre Renouvin<sup>15</sup> and Jean-Babtiste Duroselle<sup>16</sup> (Renouvin, Duroselle 1968:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Manuel Fraga Iribarne (born in 1922, died in 2012) – Spanish politician, diplomat and scientist. Associated with the University of Valencia and Complutense in Madrid. The creator of *Alianza Popular* - an alliance of conservative parties that later transformed into the *Partido Popular*. He served as Minister of Information and Tourism (1962-1969), Minister of the Interior (1975-1976) and President of Galicia (1900-2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Diego Liñán Nogueras – Spanish researcher, director of the Center for European Documentation (Centro de Documentación Europea) and professor at the Department of International Public Law and International Relations at the University of Granada.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Raymond Aron (born in 1905, died in 1983) – philosopher, political theorist, sociologist associated with the Sorbonne, the École Nationale d'Administration and the Institut d'Études Politiques.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ángel Viñas – Spanish historian, economist and diplomat, professor at Complutense University in Madrid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Pierre Renouvin (born in 1893, died in 1974) – French historian, professor of history of international relations at the Sorbonne.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Jean-Babtiste Duroselle (born in 1917, died in 1994) – French historian associated with the Sorbonne and temporarily with the University of Saarbrücken.

p. 367–375) as well as Alexander George<sup>17</sup> and Robert Keohane<sup>18</sup> - national (indisputable) and collective (supporting) (George, Keohane 1991).

Spanish researchers differently define the goals of foreign policy. Pérez Gil defines them as states' long-term aspirations based on broad internal consensus and resulting from a specific conception of international relations and the position it holds in the world. These goals are influenced by factors such as the structure of internal power, history, culture, collective memory (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 118–119; Russett, Starr 1996: p. 170). That is why foreign policy objectives change when the political organisation of the state or its social structures change. Rafael Calduch Cervera, on the other hand, believes that foreign policy objectives are intended by the state to be implemented in the short or long term through specific external actions (Calduch Cervera 1993: p. 35).

One of the key objectives of the foreign policy of the state is to maintain the independence and territorial integrity of the state. This is a sine qua non condition for all other objectives, such as: protection of the population, socio-economic system, promotion of well-being, preservation of national identity. International goals include international peacekeeping and security, peaceful dispute resolution, fulfilment of international obligations, promotion of economic development, protection of human rights, protection of the environment. The above aims are obligatory for the state because the preservation of the international system depends on their full implementation (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 122; Bobbio<sup>19</sup>, Matteucci<sup>20</sup>, Pasquino<sup>21</sup> 1976).

Individual countries are setting a multitude of goals for foreign policy. Interestingly, the achievement of some may interfere with the realisation of others. For example, the American authorities in the official discourse often declared the promotion of democracy and human rights. On the other hand, they supported authoritarian regimes and subversive regimes in states that did not respond to their global policies and imperial interests (Kornbluh<sup>22</sup> 2003). Another problem consists of internal tension that arises at the time of foreign policy formulation and execution. As a result, it is very difficult to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Alexander L. George (born in 1920, died in 2006) – American international relations researcher, professor at Stanford University.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Robert Keohane (born in 1941) – professor of political science, one of the representatives of American neo-liberalism, professor of international relations at Princeton University.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Norberto Bobbio (born in 1909, died in 2004) – Italian political scientist, lawyer and philosopher.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Nicola Matteucci (born in 1926, died in 2006) – Italian political scientist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Gianfranco Pasquino (born in 1942) – Italian political scientist, professor of political science at the University of Bologna.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Peter Kornbluh (born in 1956) – responsible for the *Cuba Documentation Project* and the *Chile Documentation Project* within the National Security Archive in Washington.

have a coherent foreign policy, ie. one that has clear objectives, defined mechanisms for achieving them and the means needed for implementation.

The security usually takes first place in the directory of foreign policy goals. It is followed by socio-economic development, where the following factors need to be taken into account: population growth, new manufacturing processes, technological change, intangible factors, a change in the system of values, beliefs and expectations. Energy security is also very important for the functioning of the state. Every country is fighting for energy diversification and those countries that have large resources – the status of energy superpowers. Russia can be an example, for which the energy factor is key in maintaining an appropriate international status (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 126–128).

## National interest

The national interest is a very important issue in the context of foreign policy objectives, which is investigated in two ways by the Spanish researchers. One group of researchers believes that there is one definite and objective national interest. Others, on the other hand, claim that the term is ambiguous and the national interest itself may change under different circumstances (Infante Caffi<sup>23</sup> 1980: p. 37–43). The concept of David Clinton<sup>24</sup> is interesting, he distinguishes the two meanings of the national interest. National interest as the welfare of society and as a set of values on the basis of which countries negotiate with each other on the international stage. As a result of these negotiations, the state sometimes subdues and sometimes imposes its will on others. Clinton notes that only actions that take into account both the meanings of national interest may be judged ethical (Clinton 1991; quote Pérez Gil 2012: p. 164).

National interest is often identified with the rationale and the public interest. Niccolò Machiavelli<sup>25</sup> believed that politicians should be guided by the national interest, that is, "follow the path that will save the life of the homeland and preserve its freedom" (Machiavelli 1987: p. 410–411). The problem arises when defining a specific scope of national interest. It certainly depends on the rulers in the state, that is, on the political system: from head of state or government (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 164–165). According

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> María Teresa Infante Caffi – lawyer associated with the Institute of International Studies at the Universidad de Chile.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> David Clinton – American political scientist associated with Baylor University.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli (born in 1469, died in 1527) – Florentine political writer, historian and diplomat.

to the realist - Hans Morgenthau<sup>26</sup> - the realisation of national interest should be the primary goal of the government and more importantly: the interest of one's own state should be treated as a priority compared to the interests of other countries (Morgenthau 1979). Also, Arthur M. Schlesinger<sup>27</sup> assumes that a state that does not pursue its national interest policy cannot survive (Schlesinger 1972: p. 29). Kenneth Waltz, in turn, equates the national interest with state security. He believes that all diplomatic and military actions should be designed to ensure survival (Waltz 2010). Similarly, Arnold Wolfers<sup>28</sup> defines three components of national interest: territorial integrity, independence and the survival of the nation (Wolfers 1962: p. 73). Donald E. Nuechterlein<sup>29</sup> distinguishes four basic interests of the state: defending against the threat of external aggression, increasing economic prosperity, maintaining a stable international order in which citizens and trade can function peacefully and protecting values recognised by the fact that national interests are interdependent but may be contradictory and each national community may have a different understanding of the common interest.

Conflicts of interest between states pose a threat of war. Therefore minimising tension and adjusting interests is the greatest challenge for diplomacy (Morgenthau 1963). As Stanley Hoffmann<sup>30</sup> says, "we ought to renounce the belief that we know what is best for others, we should leave room for a wide range of interests and learn how to handle differences" (Hoffmann 1991). Renouvin and Duroselle point to a very important aspect: they point to a conflict of interest between the various groups and individuals within the state. This leads them to the conclusion that there can be no question of a single, objective national interest (Renouvin, Duroselle 1968: p. 174).

Luciano Tomassini<sup>31</sup>, on the other hand, says explicitly that national interests are defined according to the interests of the ruling group or those who are able to make

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Hans Morgenthau (born in 1940, died in 1980) – American researcher of international relations, one of the fathers of the realist mouvement in the contemporary theory of international relations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger (born in 1917, died in 2007) – American historian associated with Harvard University.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Arnold Wolfers (born in 1892, died in 1968) – Swiss-American political scientist, one of the main representatives of realism in international relations, associated with Yale University and Johns Hopkins University.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Donald E. Nuechterlein (born in 1925) – American political scientist and writer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Stanley Hoffmann (born in 1925, died in 2015) – researcher of French origin, studied at Sciences Po, affiliated with Harvard University.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Luciano Tomassini (born in 1935, died in 2010) – political scientist of Chilean nationality, associated with the Universidad Católica, the Universidad de Chile and the University of Georgetown.

decisions at the moment (Tomassini 1989: p. 171). Richard Barnet<sup>32</sup> goes one step further, arguing that the consideration of national interest is of little importance, as this concept hides what the policy makers decide (Barnet 1974). For these skeptical researchers three important issues are related to the national interest: 1) the question on how to separate what is the actual interests of the national community from what is not (eg. the interests of political elites, intellectuals and pressure groups) in oral and written declarations of foreign policy makers; 2) difficulty (due to progressive interdependence on the international stage) with the maintenance of a coherent set of priorities in foreign policy and the defense of unchanging national interest; 3) the question on whether the target for implementation appearing on the horizon is the goal of foreign policy in itself or an intermediary serving another purpose (in practice, the boundary between the two phenomena is very thin) (Morgenthau 1979: p. 107–113).

L.V. Pérez Gil, after having analysed all the above studies, concludes that the state understood as a superstitious structure has no interests. The government, yet, does. And when it comes to the interests of the state, it is briefly defined as the interests of the government associated with this superior structure (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 177). It is not surprising that Reynolds triggered a debate about the hypothetical clash between state (and its existence) and society (and its survival). "If the attempt to uphold the existence of a state condemns its society to death, then we cannot speak of the national interest. (...) What has to be emphasised with all its force is the fact that the national interest that can come into play is the interest of the society, not the state" (Reynolds 1977: p. 55–56, 58, quote: Pérez Gil 2012: p. 177).

The most important elements of the national interest are, as already mentioned, the preservation of the state as a structure of power, the maintenance of a certain pace of socio-economic development, the survival and prosperity of the national community. If there is no integration between these elements - the state ceases to exist and, consequently, the discussion on state security and national interest loses meaning. The classic example of a situation in which one element of national interest (the behaviour of the state) was devoted to another (saving the national community) was Austrian policy in 1938. The rulers considered better to surrender and bring about the collapse of the state than to expose the innumerable numbers of human beings to death (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 177–178).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Richard Barnet (born in 1929, died in 2004) – American Harvard University teacher who co-founded the Institute for Policy Studies.

Other researchers (Keohane, Nye 1977; Tomassini 1989: p. 173–174; Tomassini 1987: p. 125–157; Waltz 2010), to which Pérez Gil refers, point to the increasingly important sectoral interests characteristic for a complex and interdependent international system. Those scholars who replace the term "national interest" use the term "international agenda". This is a collection of clearly defined interests of the state. There is a hierarchy among them so that one knows which one can be sacrificed for the realisation of another, of greater importance. This international agenda differs from the national interest in the fact that its interest spectrum is much broader. The interests analysed consist of economic, commercial, financial, technological, energy and environmental and human rights interests (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 180).

George and Keohane make the distinction between national primary and secondary interests. The first group are: 1) physical survival (in short: "life"); 2) freedom; 3) economic existence (in short: "property"). None of these three interests can dominate another. This means that every politician should maneuver intelligently with foreign policy so as not to have to choose between physical survival, freedom or prosperity (George, Keohane 1991: p. 227–232). The group of secondary interests may include supporting interests, the implementation of which serves the nation and can contribute to the increase or maintenance of the influence of the state internationally. It is up to the rulers to select these interests because they are not all the same. In fact, some of the interests in this group may be contradictory (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 181).

Samuel Huntington<sup>33</sup> defines American national interest as a "public good that affects all or most Americans. A vital national interest is one in the defence of which they are able to shed blood or sacrifice their goods. National interests concern safety issues on the one hand and ethical issues on the other" (Huntington 1998: p. 184). Joseph Nye<sup>34</sup> analyses the problem of national interest in the context of a democratic system. He argues that in this case, "the national interest is simply a collection of all priorities recognised by the rest of the world. This directory goes beyond strategic interests, but may include it. It can embrace human rights and democratic values when a community feels that these values are so important to its identity that it is able to incur the costs of promoting them. (...) The definition of national interest in the context of a democratic system does not allow

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Samuel Huntington (born in 1927, died in 2008) – American political scientist associated with Yale, Chicagos, Harvard and Columbia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Joseph Nye (born in 1937) – American political scientist who co-founded the theory of interdependence in international relations (along with Robert Keohane), with links to Princeton and Harvard universities.

for a division into a foreign policy based on morality or business. Moral values are only treated as intangible interests" (Nye 1999, p. 23; quote: Pérez Gil 2012: p. 182).

Cited by Spanish researchers, Gene M. Lyons<sup>35</sup> and Michael Mastanduno contributed to the discussion as well<sup>36</sup>. They think that great powers have the habit of concealing their particular interests under the guise of moral principles so that others would accept them (Lyons, Mastanduno 1995). For example, in the National Security Strategy of the United States throughout the 1990s, it has been bluntly stated that the creation of a new international system in accordance with its own national values and ideals is the historic opportunity of the United States. The 1999 version of this document refers to three categories of national interests. Vital interests are those that are decisive for the survival, security and vitality of the nation. The use of weapons is justified in their defence. Important national interests are those the realisation of which guarantees national prosperity and international order. These include, inter alia, security and economic cooperation in the region, environmental protection, prevention of humanitarian crises. The third category is humanitarian and other. These include: the response to natural and humanitarian disasters, the promotion of human rights, the promotion of the rule of law, democracy, civilian control of the military, the promotion of sustainable growth and the protection of the environment (Pérez Gil 2012: p. 182-183).

William Pfaff<sup>37</sup> notes that such a strategy in US foreign policy is possible through a tactical alliance between democrats and republicans. Politicians of both parties agree that world leadership of the United States, in extreme cases imposed by force, is consistent with the American national interest (Pfaff 2001: p. 63–76). Hence the conviction that the United States are "necessary" on the international arena (Albright<sup>38</sup> 1998: p. 50–64). Such a policy was strongly criticised by George Kennan<sup>39</sup>. He argued that there was no need for relations with other states to engage in the issue of the protection of democracy and human rights. Instead, he stressed the importance of internal policy problems (Kennan, Ullman<sup>40</sup> 1999: p. 51–60).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Gene M. Lyons – American scientist, lecturer at Dartmouth College.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Michael Mastanduno (1956) – American scholar, Dean of Arts and Sciences at Dartmouth College, formerly of Princeton University and State University of New York at Albany.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> William Pfaff (born in 1928, died in 2015) – American writer and commentator for the University of Notre Dame.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Madeleine Albright (born in 1937) – US Secretary of State of Bill Clinton (1997-2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> George Kennan (1904-2005) – American diplomat and sovietologist, author of the concept of containment policy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Richard Ullman (born in 1933) – American international relations researcher at the Princeton University.

## Conclusion

In summary, the preliminary results of the study in this article show that in Spanish literature we find references to many foreign policy definitions of authors both native and foreign (mainly European, American and Latin American). However, a common point for all these definitions, which is not surprising, is the reference to state activity in the international arena or its relations with other actors.

Even greater diversity prevails in the Spanish literature of the subject in defining and classifying foreign policy objectives. However, the majority of authors mention state security as the overriding aim and the condition sine qua non for achieving the other goals. In practice, it turns out that states often have a problem with a coherent foreign policy, that is, with clearly defined objectives and with the resources needed to implement them.

National interest is also not easy to classify. A group of researchers quoted in the Spanish literature of the subject believes that we can speak of one objective national interest. Others, on the other hand, claim that the term is ambiguous and the national interest itself may change under different circumstances. In the practice of functioning of the state we may encounter a conflict of interests between the ruling group and society, and internationally - with the phenomenon of concealment by the state of its particular interests under the guise of moral principles.

The above article is an introduction to research. As part of further research, the research material will be supplemented by successive articles of Spanish authors in the field of foreign policy theory. The subject of research on the theory of international relations and diplomacy will also be extended. The attempt to systematise the definitions and theories cited, and the comparison of the content of Spanish literature with the findings of Polish researchers will will the ultimate accomplishment of the paper.

#### References

- ALBRIGHT Madeleine (1998), *The testing of American foreign policy*, "Foreign Affairs", no. 3.
- AMADEO Mario (1978), *Manual de política internacional: los principios y los hechos*, Buenos Aires.

ARON Raymond (1985), Paz y guerra entre las naciones (2 vols.), Madrid.

- ARROYO LARA Eladio (1998), El ámbito material de la política exterior de la Unión Europea, w: Fernando M. Mariño Menéndez (ed.), Acción exterior de la Unión Europea y comunidad internacional, Madrid.
- BARNET Richard (1974), Guerra Perpetua. Los hombres y las instituciones responsables de la política exterior de los Estados Unidos, México.
- BOBBIO Norberto, MATTEUCCI Nicola, PASQUINO Gianfranco (1976), *Diccionario de política*, Turín.
- CALDUCH CERVERA Rafael (1993), Dinámica de la sociedad internacional, Madrid.
- CLINTON W. David (1991), *The national interest: normative foundations*, w: Richard Little, Michael Smith (ed.), *Perspectives on World Politics*, London.
- FRAGA Manuel (1960), *La diplomacia en el sistema actual de las relaciones internacionales*, "Revista de Política Internacional", no. 52.
- GEORGE Alexander L., KEOHANE Robert (1991), *El concepto de interés nacional: usos y limitaciones. La decision presidencial en política exterior*, Buenos Aires.
- HOFFMANNStanley(1991), Janoy Minerva. Ensayos sobre laguerray paz, Buenos Aires. HUNTINGTON Samuel (1998), Intereses exteriores y unidad nacional, "Política Exterior", no. 61.
- INFANTE CAFFI María Teresa (1980), *El interés nacional: alcances de un concepto*, "Seguridad Nacional", no. 190.
- LASAGNA Marcelo (1995), Las determinantes interenas de la política exterior: un tema descuidado en la teoría de la política exterior, "Estudios Internacionales", no. 111.
- KENNAN George, ULLMAN Richard (1999), *Los Estados Unidos y el mundo*, "Política Exterior", no. 72.
- KEOHANE Robert, NYE Joseph, *Power and interdependence. World Politics in Transition*, Boston 1977.
- KORNBLUH Peter (2003), Los EEUU y el derrocamiento de Allende. Una historia desclasificada, Santiago de Chile.
- LIÑÁN NOGUERAS Diego (1998), *Cooperación política y Acta Única Europea*, "Revista de Instituciones Europeas", no. 1.
- LYONS Gene M., MASTANDUNO Michael (1995), *Beyond Westphalia: State Sove*reignty and International intervention, Baltimore.
- MACHIAVELLI Niccolò (1987), Discursos sobre la primera década de Tito Livio, Madrid 1987.
- MERLE Marcel (1984), La politique étrangère, Paris.

- MORGENTHAU Hans (1963), La lucha por el poder y por la paz, Buenos Aires.
- MORGENTHAU Hans (1979), Otro 'gran debate': el interés nacional de los Estados Unidos, w: Stanley Hoffmann, Teorías contemporáneas sobre las relaciones internacionales, Madrid.
- NÖEL Léon (1959), Politique et diplomatie: les affaires étrangères, París.
- NUECHTERLEIN Donald E. (1979), *The concept of 'national interest': a time for a new approaches*, "Orbis", no. 23(1).
- NYE Joseph (1999), Redefining National Interest, "Foreign Affairs", no. 4.
- PÉREZ GIL Luis V. (2012), Elementos para una teoría de la política exterior, Valencia.
- PFAFF William (2001), La hegemonía de Estados Unidos, "Política Exterior", no. 80.
- RENOUVIN Pierre, DUROSELLE Jean-Babtiste (1968), *Introducción a la política internacional*, Madrid.
- REYNOLDS Philip Alan (1977), Introducción al estudio de las relaciones internacionales, Madrid.
- RUSSETT Bruce, STARR Harvey (1996), *World politics. The menu for choice*, New York.
- SCHLESINGER Arthur M., *National interest and moral absolutes*, w: Ernest W. Lefever (ed.), *Ethics and World Politics: Four Perspectives*, Baltimore 1972.
- TOMASSINI Luciano (1987), *Elementos para el análisis de la política exterior*, "Estudios Internacionales", no. 78.
- TOMASSINI Luciano (1989), *Teoría y práctica de la política international*, Santiago de Chile.
- VIÑAS Ángel, *Estrategia national y entorno exterior: el caso de España*, "Revista de Estudios Internacionales", no. 1.
- WALTZ Keneth N. (2010), Struktura teorii stosunków międzynarodowych, Warszawa.
- WOLFERS Arnold (1962), Discord and Collaboration. Essays on International Politics, Baltimore 1962.