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From Fear to Disorder. A Vision from Spain

Introduction: escaping Spain's peripheral syndrome

In 2001, *El País* was a daily newspaper with the highest circulation in Spain and, on 11th September, had two issues. The first, delivered before the terrorist attacks in the US, stressed on its front cover that Spain's Prime Minister Aznar organised a meeting with the 97 Spanish Ambassadors accredited by Spain across the world. This meeting aimed to direct and coordinate diplomatic activities in support of the future European Union Council Presidency that Spain was about to hold during the first half of 2002.

At that moment, Spain was involved in the challenge of consolidating her deserved place in international institutions, especially the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). After decades of Spain's peripheral syndrome¹, the purpose of increasing the Spanish presence and influence at the centre of those institutions was always on the Spanish governments' agendas, most of the times pursuing great ambitions but producing moderate tangible outcomes.

This paper will review the evolution of Spain's national security since 2001. Even with different approaches, depending on the political party in power, Spain's national security has had a common element. Spain has always wanted to be a relevant security actor, with a global reach, protecting her national interests through the main multilateral organizations. Therefore, enhancing Spain's role and influence

¹ E. Barber, *La Política Europea de España*, Ariel, Barcelona 1999, p. 19.

in each of these organizations has always been a strong national priority and the best option to protect her citizens.

Before the terrorist attacks of 11th September 2001, Spain had focused on trying to find outside a solution to the problems at home. It has been the philosophical discussion since Ortega y Gasset opened the debate at the beginning of the 20th century: Spain is the problem; Europe – the solution.² It was the time when Spain was trying to link the country's modernisation with the process of European integration. The main priorities were to gain credibility as a reliable partner, enhance the presence at every European institution according to Spain's relevance, and build the capacity to exercise leadership to promote and defend her national interests.³

The EU Council rotatory Presidency exercise is one of the best opportunities to 'satisfy the national preferences within the confines of its formally designated institutional role.'⁴ Spain would try to develop more significant influence in the EU that could support her potential growth in political and military stature within NATO. That was why Prime Minister Aznar organised the Ambassadors' meeting on that day.

As one of top priorities, Prime Minister Aznar's outline for the EU Council Presidency included fight against terrorism – a threat that, unfortunately, was not new to Spain as she was suffering terrorist attacks for many decades, especially by the terrorist group ETA.⁵ Spain's plan for this Presidency included the possibility to enlarge the EU with new members in Central and East Europe, an option that was strongly supported and promoted by Spain at that moment.

One of the main political effects of the terrorist attacks on 11th September 2001 and the US response in self-Defence was the disappearance of consensus both in NATO and the EU. The EU and NATO members' political stability changed as a result of the domestic tensions that emerged due to the different perceptions about how to prevent and fight against terrorist attacks. Spain was about to take the responsibility of the EU Council Presidency in a radically new political scenario, with a substantial impact on security and Defence.

Suppose we could paint a picture of Spain's security situation before the terrorist attacks would show the transformational moment the country was immersed in. Spain was coming from a military organisation only focused on territorial Defence, where the national Defence was only a matter of military concern. The globalisation process and the accession to NATO and the EU presented new opportunities and challenges for Spain's national security: opportunities to engage with allies and partners; and the challenges created by the asymmetric globalisation and the limitations to use conscription as the primary source of recruitment while engaging with allies and partners outside Spain. The greatest opportunity was the military contribution

² J. Ortega y Gasset, 'La pedagogía social como programa político', *Obras Completas, Tomo II*, Revista de Occidente, Madrid 1966, pp. 503–521.

³ O. Elgström (ed.), *European Union Council Presidencies: A Comparative Analysis*, Routledge, London 2003, Chapter 11.

⁴ *Ibidem*, Introduction.

⁵ Real Instituto Elcano, *Basque Terrorist Group ETA Disbands After 60 Years*, 2018, <https://blog.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/basque-terrorist-group-eta-disbands-after-60-years> [accessed: 29.03.2021].

to the UN-backed peace support operations which presented an excellent chance to help close the gap between civil society and the armed forces in Spain and rebuild trust and mutual civil-military understanding still weak at the time.

When the terrorist attacks in the US took place in 2001, Spain was involved in a profound transformational process to review her security and Defence frameworks and align them with the new security requirements faced by Spain as a member of NATO and the EU.

One of the most relevant documents Spain developed to transform and reorganise her national security was the 'Defence White Paper', published in 2000.⁶ The White Paper represented an unusual phenomenon because it was a product of an agreement between the two main political parties, the PP (People's Party) and the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Worker's Party), which included 308 out of the 350 representatives at the Congress of Deputies. Its purpose was to present a realistic and transparent outline of the Defence Policy in Spain, based on a solid political consensus within the Parliament. This consensus would allow the Government to define and execute long-term policies to transform the Spanish armed forces into a professional service, opening the door to a full access for women, and modernising the equipment to close the transformational gap between her allies and partners. It also delivered guidance on implementing the commitment to participate in the European Defence and Spain's full integration into NATO.⁷

The relevance of the White Paper stemmed from the broad national political agreement on the strategic environment and the security challenges, noting that globalisation was one of the essential characteristics of this environment, especially since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Globalisation was supposed to be a stabilising factor through free trade and economic interdependence, but in reality, it was a process that was not risk-free.⁸ The White Paper predicted a more stable global security environment because of the end of the antagonistic bipolarity, yet it identified new security challenges for the European security. This document also acknowledged Spain as an integrated element of the European collective security for the first time. The most relevant security challenges identified in this document, approved in 2000, were not limited to territorial Defence but to the potential conflicts Spain could be involved in together with allies and partners to defend their common values and shared national interests.

Finally, the White Paper proposed a strategic framework for the way-ahead, emphasising developing several strategic documents to tackle threats and challenges more comprehensively. The approval of successive National Security Strategies followed the White Paper and revealed different governments' views of the national security challenges and the prioritised options for response. The White Paper was a milestone in modern Spain's Security and Defence Policies, but it was not the only one. It was fully integrated and coordinated with the Foreign Policy defined in accordance with the guidelines of Spain's External Action Strategy.⁹ With strong

⁶ Spain's Ministry of Defence, *Defence White Paper 2000*, Madrid 2000.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

leadership of the Ministries of Defence and Foreign Affairs, this comprehensive framework included the elements which would shape the first modern intent to define a National Grand Strategy, fully integrated with our allies and partners' strategies.

The age of fear. Spain after 11th September 2001

The terrorist attacks against the US eroded all the political consensus and long-term agreements to develop Spain's Grand Strategy. The attacks produced a violent impact on the collective psychology and the perception of security. The most visible consequence was the opening of an intense domestic political debate on who, how and where should respond to such attacks. This internal debate weakened the possibility of achieving consensus, as a polarisation process, seriously affecting the national stability, started in the nation and among political parties. The Age of Fear, characterised by the lack of a clear threat and the feeling that terrorists were now capable of attacking everybody at their homes, had now begun.

For Spain and her allies and partners, the fight against terrorism became a top priority. Consequently, the strategic option to use the military forces in ways broader than peace-keeping or peace-enforcing operations emerged on the national security agenda.

With the intention to follow the consensus path opened by the White Paper, the Spanish Ministry of Defence took the lead to develop a collective reflection process designed to help identify and develop the military capabilities required to meet Spain's Defence needs, to accomplish the Armed Forces mission and those shared with allies and partners. This initiative was published as the Strategic Defence Review (RED) in 2003.¹⁰ RED included a summary of Spain's vital national interests, aligned to her national values established in the Preamble to the Spanish Constitution from 1978. Moreover, it identified security challenges and stated that the national security was intrinsically and primarily linked to the security of the European continent, supporting a united Europe with the capability for autonomous decision-making and action in military affairs.¹¹ It was clear support for the EU continuous search to achieve the required strategic autonomy.

RED also anticipated most of today's security challenges (among others terrorism, climate change, environmental attacks, uncontrolled migrations and weapons of mass destruction) and called for a comprehensive and integrated approach to fight them. However, the domestic and international tensions caused by the political support and military contribution to the US operations in response to the terrorist attacks blocked many possibilities to intensify cooperation and fuelled domestic radicalisation.

In their book *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, Tony Judt and Timothy Snyder defined this period as the Age of Fear, characterised by a 'fear of an unknown future, and a fear that our current governments cannot any longer control the circumstances of

¹⁰ Spain's Ministry of Defence, *Strategic Defence Review*, Madrid 2003.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 42.

our lives.¹² Fear produces paralysis and the feeling of insecurity. Terrorism is just one element of this fear. In the end, it deteriorates a political consensus, both national and international, and can be used to exacerbate political and social radicalisation. One of the sources of such fear was citizens' difficulty to understand the threats, especially terrorism, and the disconnection between their views, the political and military definitions of such threats, and the ways to fight them. It is easier to understand the threat in a bipolar global competition, but in the transition to a unipolar moment, the threat perception blurs, and a lack of trust fuels the growth of political extremism.

During this Age of Fear, Spain developed additional security framework elements and approved several national laws and strategic documents. The first and most urgent step was to redefine the Government responsibilities on National Defence. The Parliament approved the Organic Law on National Defence 05/2005 to limit the Government's capacity to agree and launch military operations abroad without the approval of the National Congress.

As we have read in the previous paragraphs, the Age of Fear marked a turning point for Spain and broke the political consensus which was hard to reach. Prime Minister Aznar was one of the prominent political supporters of the US fight against terrorism, and many citizens did not fully understand this support. The path just opened by the White Paper and RED suffered a blow. During that time, the development of security and Defence policies and strategies was not supported by the same solid political consensus in Spain as within the leading security organisations in Europe.

Paradoxically, because of the political disagreement and the need to refine processes, that period was very productive for the development of documents assigning responsibilities and clarifying a strategic framework. Between 2013 and 2015, the National Security Council was established and made responsible for approving policies and strategies related to national security. Two other documents were also approved: the State External Action and Service, and the National Security Law 36/2015 which defines the concepts of National Security and National Security Policy, establishes the National Security System, and describes a new concept: 'the culture of National Security'. During that period, Spain revitalised the relevance of geography to exercise her global aspirations,¹³ as stressed in the National Security Strategy 2017 (NSS 2017). This document states that

Spain's national security is conditioned by its singular geostrategic position. The country's European, Mediterranean and Atlantic profile determines the importance of these regions for her security, stability, and prosperity. However, beyond its geostrategic environment, in the new international scenario, the contingencies and developments that arise in areas at a great distance from Spain's borders and its areas of immediate interest can also have an impact on its national security.¹⁴

¹² T. Judt with T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, The Penguin Press, New York 2012, p. 613.

¹³ Government of Spain, *National Security Strategy 2017, A Shared Project by All and for All*, Departamento de Seguridad Nacional, Madrid 2017, pp. 37–51, https://www.dsn.gob.es/sites/dsn/files/2017_Spanish_National_Security_Strategy_0.pdf [accessed: 30.03.2021].

¹⁴ *National Security Strategy 2017, A Shared Project by All and for All*, p. 9.

Spain's National Security Strategies during the Age of Fear tried to combine, balance, and make sense of the different perspectives: to enhance her role in the new emerging Europe and to fulfil her ambition to achieve strategic autonomy; to lead and promote NATO to embrace a 360° security approach distributing the Alliance's centres of gravity also to the Mediterranean and the South; to support any multilateral cooperation in support of freedom, peace and security especially under the UN leadership; to emphasise that the transatlantic partnership with the US is vital for security in Spain and Europe; and finally, to be a bridge for cooperation with the Spanish American countries.

Nevertheless, the NSS 2017 also stresses the need to integrate many different elements and instruments of power to provide the appropriate level of security demanded by Spanish citizens. This is why this document calls to integrate all the actors to develop and implement a national strategy due to the multidimensional composition of the current threats and challenges. The Government of Spain considers that

National Defence, public security, and external action, supported by the State intelligence and information services, constitute key components of national security. However, many of the areas of special interest included in the Strategy, such as cybersecurity or energy security, require the action of not only these key components, but also of all levels of administration, and of society in general.¹⁵

At the end of the Age of Fear, Spain has a well-developed strategic framework and a strong position in international organisations related to European security. Yet, Spain has not fully developed the concept of 'security culture'. Changing a country's culture is a complex process which requires efforts and resources, but which could be the cornerstone of national security during the coming Age of Disorder.

Age of disorder. Building security culture and resilience

We don't know when the Age of Disorder started. However, it is characterised by a period of growing entropy, with the emergence of a new global system which Sean McFate defines as a 'durable disorder',¹⁶ which contains rather than solves problems. It is a transition from a unipolar world to another that could be multipolar, with the risk of non-polar gaps between those shifts, and the exacerbated uncertainty and volatility of security during the transition between phases. McFate tries to describe the main characteristics of this period when he writes

This condition will define the coming Age. The world will not collapse into anarchy; however, the rules-based order we know will crumble and be replaced by something more organic and wild. Disorder has taken over the Middle East and Africa, significant portions of Asia and Latin America, and is creeping into Europe. Soon it may be in North America.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

¹⁶ S. McFate, *The New Rules of War*, William Morrow, New York 2019, p. 15.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

Strategic atrophy of the West also characterises this new Age. An inadequate focus on the military solutions to problems that may have many other dimensions produced a degree of strategic incompetence.¹⁸ The trees, representing the conflicts Western countries engaged in during the Age of Fear, made us unprepared to see the forest, which is the modern non-conventional conflict. During the Age of Fear, Western countries, including Spain, were not able to develop real Grand Strategies with full integration of the instruments of power, especially diplomatic, military, economic and information ones.¹⁹ The chief reaction against the fear was prompt application of the military tool to solve the problem. It is a natural reaction as the military is an ever-ready machinery which sometimes is the only tool available. Nonetheless, last decades have shown that today, the most effective weapons are not bullets, but non-kinetic elements like information, refugees, ideology, and time; and these elements are being weaponised by adversaries.²⁰

According to the Deutsche Bank 2020 report on the Age of Disorder,²¹ we are at the end of the second era of globalisation and the beginning of a new 10-year structural super-cycle that may shape everything from economies to asset prices, politics, to our general way of life. In terms of geopolitics, the tension between the US and China will increase, as China continues on the path to restoring its historic role as a global economic superpower while not willing to incorporate the values offered by Western liberalism, preferring its own set of values instead.

It could also be 'a make-or-break decade for Europe', with potential for further integration and post-COVID-19 stress effects that may increase economic and political divergences.²²

It is difficult to predict how Spain will go through this new Age. Based on the current process to update two fundamental documents of the National Security framework, we can try to anticipate some of the main guiding principles. These documents are the future External Action Strategy and the future National Security Strategy.

The External Action Strategy will encourage 'a more federal European Union' with greater strategic autonomy, competence over more policy areas, and an increase in the use of qualified majorities rather than unanimous votes.²³ The four main guiding principles of Spain's future external action will be: 'More Europe', with a more integrated and autonomous Europe that plays a leading role in world affairs; 'Better Multilateralism', with Spain as a facilitator of better global governance and a manager of interdependence; 'Strategic Bilateralism', which is selective in prioritising our bilateral relations; and a 'Commitment to Solidarity' through a new vision of development cooperation.²⁴

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

¹⁹ H. Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, MacGraw-Hill, New York 1958, p. 204.

²⁰ S. McFate, *The New Rules of War...*, p. 16.

²¹ J. Reid, et al., *The Age of Disorder – the new era for economics, politics and our way of life. Summary*, Deutsche Bank, 9 September 2020, https://www.dbresearch.com/servlet/reweb2.ReWEB?rwsite=RPS_EN-PROD&rwbj=ReDisplay.Start.class&document=PROD000000000511857 [accessed: 29.03.2021].

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation, *Press Release 09*, 26 January 2021, http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/en/SalaDePrensa/NotasdePrensa/Paginas/2021_NOTAS_P/20210126_NOTA009.aspx [accessed: 29.03.2021].

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

Similarly, the National Security Department started a process to update Spain's National Security Strategy. The process will include the participation of many different institutions, trying to achieve a solid consensus on where to build the future national Grand Strategy. The Joint Parliamentary Commission participates in the process, bringing on board a majority of the Parliamentary political groups, and many other institutions are invited to contribute.

Together with the development of the future National Security Strategy, an Integral Plan for the National Security Culture will be developed for the first time, incorporating citizens as well as regional and local authorities into a debate on national security issues, and promoting mutual trust and better understanding.

At the same time, Spain will participate in the development of strategies by NATO and the EU, aimed at influencing their strategic thinking in a way that they are better aligned with her national strategic security perimeter. This perimeter must consider initiatives such as the NATO 360° approach to expand the allied focus resourcefully to the South, and the EU Strategic Compass which the EU is developing through a multidimensional and comprehensive process. Spain will defend the security of the Mediterranean Sea, North of Africa and the Middle East as the key regions for the future European security; and will try to include these regions in the front line of any strategy with her allies and partners.

Conclusions. Spain's commitment to the European security will prevail during durable disorder

Strong leaders are essential to progress and survive in the global disorder. Yet, no leaders can be strong if they are not fully accountable to their citizens. Today, there is an urgent need to develop new frameworks which help develop strategic leaders' capability to understand and analyse the features of complex and adaptive systems. Undoubtedly, this will help define strategies that can prevail in highly competitive strategic environments defying permanent solutions.²⁵

Spanish leaders will face dangerous environments collaboratively, trying to lead or promote cooperation to solve domestic and international problems. The need for a Grand Strategy will be more present today as the complexity of future international relations will require strategic guidance and well-defined long-term political goals which are not always instantly apparent.

Spain might need to be ready to play dual-track approaches to face complex security challenges. This dual-track approach means that Spain ought to be prepared to cooperate, compete and even tolerate some level of hybrid confrontation, below the level of armed conflict, and all this with other international actors, state or non-state. It will have to be possible to anticipate or, at least, to manage the consequences of the global, collective challenges of this new kind of multidimensional, asymmetric international relations.

²⁵ T. Galvin and D. Watson (eds.), *Strategic Leadership. Primer for Senior Leaders*, 4th ed., US Army War College Carlisle, p. 13.

Spain's future Grand Strategy will probably include all the available tools to produce statecraft. The traditional Spanish means of Diplomacy and Military will be complemented by enlargement of the frequently smaller instruments of power, Information and Economic. All of them combined (DIME) will be fully integrated into the strategic approaches that the EU and NATO will take to find efficient ways to deter or respond to hybrid interferences. Spain will be a significant actor in developing future strategies by both organisations, ensuring that national interests and prioritised regions are adequately considered in the joint efforts.

Spain is a key security actor with a global reach.²⁶ Most of the times, dialogue and strategic empathy allow finding common grounds to collaborate with others and to anticipate the danger of global challenges. Soft power, the power of attraction and influence, is a source of resilient dynamism. Using this national power component wisely could be more potent than coercion, reducing the risk of conflict escalation. But the use of soft power alone may not be enough in an environment of continuous hybrid interferences. How to deter such behaviours will be a crucial part of a future security debate. New concepts, such as democratic deterrence, must be explored to define how democratic values cannot be just the vulnerabilities of the system but can also work as opportunities and strengths.²⁷

Resilience will be one of the magical words in Spain's strategic documents. Resilience can only be achieved if based on the broadest consensus and it will require adapting national and international frameworks to the new requirements. The future European security must be built on a resilient foundation which will need very creative formulas to adapt the European security architecture. It means that all the relevant actors sit around the same table with a firm voice to express their concerns and to listen and accommodate others' concerns.

Under the US security umbrella and through gradual European integration, the last decades of peace and prosperity helped Spain forget her peripheral syndrome and isolationism. Today, Spain has no fear of the future but has to learn how to live in a world of durable disorder produced by the transition of global power and the unstoppable force of various forms of globalisation. Spain cannot escape the Age of Disorder. A new world order is probably growing, with plenty of durable disorders, but it might develop into a more predictable and stable equilibrium.

Spain is a strong supporter of the progressive European integration and autonomy, synchronising the security component with NATO and preferring multi-national solutions to complex and adaptive security challenges. New security challenges do not recognise physical borders, and joint efforts to fight those challenges will be indispensable, including collaborative efforts with potential economic or military adversaries. Nevertheless, geography still matters, and Spain's privileged position as a bridge between Europe, Africa and America must be taken into consideration when defining new security strategies. Spain will play her leadership role to reinforce those geographical and historical connections.

²⁶ *National Security Strategy 2017. A Shared Project by All and for All*, pp. 38–53.

²⁷ M. Wigell, 'Democratic Deterrence: How to Dissuade Hybrid Interference', *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2021, pp. 49–67.

To summarise the main components of the Spanish approach to security during the Age of Disorder, we can stress three key priorities: to transform the culture of security to allow citizens to understand the challenges of the new era; to extensively use strategic empathy in her international interactions, always finding a place to accommodate the others' interests and priorities when developing joint strategies; and to support and promote further European integration to enable the EU to be a key political actor with the autonomy to protect its security requirements. The Age of Disorder will create tensions among allies and partners. Those three priorities can only be effective when the transatlantic connection is based on a solid alliance of understanding and trust. The partnership with the US has allowed Spain and Europe to grow and live in peace for many decades. The discrepancies between Europe and the US are natural amid competition, but the shared values that frame their respective Grand Strategies are strong and must allow them to face the challenges posed to democracies in the Age of durable Disorder.

The Age of Disorder, characterised by the decline of the international liberal order aggravated by the COVID19 pandemic effects, could produce the Westnessless²⁸ and the end of the US as the only superpower. Spain is in the front line of European security and will continue her commitment to achieving the level of security required by her citizens, even during a durable disorder.

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²⁸ Munich Security Conference, *Munich Security Report 2020. Westnessless*, February 2020, https://securityconference.org/assets/user_upload/MunichSecurityReport2020.pdf [accessed: 29.03.2021].

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Od strachu do chaosu. Spojrzenie z Hiszpanii *Streszczenie*

Po wielu dekadach pozostawania na uboczu głównego nurtu politycznego w ramach NATO oraz Unii Europejskiej, na początku XXI wieku w Hiszpanii przyjęto tzw. Białą Księgę Bezpieczeństwa (The Defence White Paper). Jej głównym przesłaniem było określenie możliwości realizacji dalekosiężnych celów w sferze bezpieczeństwa, co pozwoliłoby na transformację hiszpańskich Sił Zbrojnych i zmniejszenie dystansu między sojusznikami i partnerami. Atak na Centrum Handlu Światowego był wielkim szokiem dla społeczeństwa hiszpańskiego, efektywnie wpływając na zaburzenie procesu zmian środowiska bezpieczeństwa w Hiszpanii. Autor charakteryzuje wysiłek hiszpańskiego rządu na drodze do przewyciężenia wyzwań w tzw. Okresie Chaosu (Age of Disorder). Wskazuje także na przyjęte w Hiszpanii rozwiązania pozwalające na uporządkowanie i kontrolę sytuacji w sferze bezpieczeństwa narodowego.

Słowa kluczowe: Hiszpania, Biała Księga Bezpieczeństwa, bezpieczeństwo, chaos, WTC, Westnessless, DIME

From Fear to Disorder. A Vision from Spain *Abstract*

After decades of Spain's peripheral syndrome, Spanish authorities tried to increase her presence and influence in NATO and the European institutions. In 2000, the Government approved the Defence White Paper, opening a path of political consensus to allow the Government to define and execute long-term policies to transform Spain's armed forces and close the transformational gap with her allies and partners. The attacks on 11th September 2001 caused a terrible shock to the Spanish population. The fear created by

terrorism, and the proper way to react against such a threat, broke the successful consensus achieved just one year before. The growth of global powers candidates, with an opposed set of values and interests, results in a transition to the Age of Disorder. Spain is facing this Age without fear. She is strongly committed to European integration and will prioritise finding common grounds with allies and partners to have a stronger joint European position to overcome the turbulence of the unstable transition of power and face together the global challenges such as COVID-19. Spain is reviewing her security strategy. NATO and the EU are also in similar processes. Spain will use her leadership and strategic empathy to secure her national interests, allowing others to accommodate their interests as well. A substantial element of the future National Security Strategy will be to enhance the security culture among the citizens, to help them better understand the threats and the options to deter or respond against aggression or hybrid interferences.

Key words: Spain, White Paper, Mediterranean Sea, Europe, Resilience, DSN, ESN

Von der Angst zum Chaos. Eine Vision aus Spanien *Zusammenfassung*

Nach einem Jahrzehnte lang währenden Peripheriesyndrom war die spanische Regierung bestrebt, ihre Präsenz und ihren Einfluss in der NATO und den europäischen Institutionen zu erhöhen. Im Jahr 2000 verabschiedete die Regierung das Weißbuch der Verteidigung und ebnete so den Weg zu einem politischen Konsens, um langfristige Politikstrategien zur Transformation der spanischen Armee zu definieren und umzusetzen und die transformationsbedingte Kluft zwischen Spanien und seinen Verbündeten und Partnern zu schließen. Die Terroranschläge vom 11. September 2001 erschütterten die spanische Bevölkerung sehr. Die Angst vor dem Terrorismus und die geeignete Reaktion auf diese Gefahr brachen den erfolgreichen Konsens, der erst im Vorjahr erzielt worden war. Der Aufstieg von potenziellen Weltmächten mit entgegengesetzten Werten und Interessen führte zum Übergang ins Zeitalter des Chaos. Spanien steht dieser Ära ohne Angst gegenüber. Das Land unterstützt die europäische Integration kompromisslos und wird die Suche nach Gemeinsamkeiten mit Verbündeten und Partnern vorantreiben, um eine stärkere gemeinsame europäische Position zu erreichen, die Turbulenzen des instabilen Wandels der Machtverhältnisse zu überwinden und gemeinsam globale Herausforderungen (z.B. COVID-19) anzugehen. Spanien überarbeitet aktuell seine Sicherheitsstrategie. Auch NATO und EU durchlaufen derzeit ähnliche Prozesse. Spanien wird seine Führungsposition und strategische Empathie nutzen, um eigene nationale Interessen zu sichern und auch anderen die Verfolgung ihrer Interessen zu ermöglichen. Ein wesentliches Element der zukünftigen nationalen Sicherheitsstrategie wird sein, eine Sicherheitskultur in der Bevölkerung zu verankern, damit die Menschen Gefahren besser verstehen und Optionen einschätzen können, um gegen Aggression oder hybride Einflussnahmen vorzugehen oder zu reagieren.

Schlüsselwörter: Spanien, Weißbuch, Mittelmeer, Europa, Belastbarkeit, DSN, ESN

От страха до беспорядка. Взгляд из Испании *Резюме*

После многих десятилетий пребывания в стороне от политического мейнстрима НАТО и Европейского Союза, в начале XXI века в Испании была принята так называемая «Белая книга безопасности» (The Defence White Paper). Ее основной посыл заключался в указании возможности достижения долгосрочных целей в области

From Fear to Disorder. A Vision from Spain

безопасности, что позволит трансформировать испанские вооруженные силы и привести к более тесному сотрудничеству с союзниками и партнерами. Нападение на Всемирный торговый центр (ВТЦ) было большим потрясением для испанского общества и значительным образом повлияло на процессы изменения среды безопасности в Испании. В статье дана характеристика усилий испанского правительства, направленных на преодоление проблем в так называемый «период хаоса» (Age of Disorder), а также рассмотрены принятые в Испании решения, позволяющие упорядочить и контролировать ситуацию в сфере национальной безопасности.

Ключевые слова: Испания, Белая книга безопасности, безопасность, хаос, ВТЦ, Westnessless, DIME