

Utrecht University

MA International Relations in Historical Perspective

MA Thesis

Pablo Sánchez Esquivel

2983770

Supervisor: Dr. Frank Gerits

Word count: 15,763

An Inalienable Inheritance?

A securitization theory approach to the Western Sahara issue in Spain's relations
with Morocco



Figure 1: The Moroccan Green March, carrying flags and Qurans, moves over Spanish Sahara in November 1975. Source: EFE.

Table of Contents

List of figures.....	4
Acknowledgments.....	5
Abstract.....	5
Introduction.....	7
1. Historiography.....	8
2. Methodology.....	11
1. Chapter I: Theoretical Framework.....	12
1.1. Securitization theory in phases.....	12
1.1.1. Identification of the threat.....	13
1.1.2. Mobilization against the threat.....	16
1.1.3. Desecuritization/institutionalization.....	17
1.2. Political transition and securitization.....	17
1.3. Conclusion.....	19
2. Chapter II: Francoist securitization in Western Sahara – the last sunset of the Spanish Empire (1975).....	19
2.1. The American friend of Franco.....	21
2.2. The stormy twilight of Francoism.....	23
2.3. Iberian (mis)fortunes in Africa.....	26
2.4. The Spanish Sahara Crisis.....	30
2.5. Conclusion.....	42
3. Chapter III: The institutionalization of the Madrid Accords – the inalienable legacy of Francoism? (1976-2002).....	44

3.1. The new aspirations of the young Spanish democracy(1976-1981)	46
3.2. President González changes his mind (1982-1995)	51
3.3. New government, same problem: the Aznar era (1996-2002)	56
3.4. Conclusion	59
4. Conclusions	60
5. Bibliography	62

List of figures:

1. **Figure 1:** The Moroccan Green March, carrying flags and Qurans, moves over Spanish Sahara in November 1975.....**1**
2. **Figure 2:** conceptualization of the process of securitization developed by Hubert Zimmerman.....**18**
3. **Figure 3:** map of Spanish Sahara (referred to as “Western Sahara”) and the Spanish protectorate in the north of Africa as of 1912.....**29**
4. **Figure 4:** cartoon published in *El País* on 13th January 1978, showing Carlos Arias Navarro facing the call to declare in Congress about the Madrid Accords.....**49**

Acknowledgments

Writing a Master's Thesis during a pandemic is not an easy task. The already slow and complicated development of the investigation does not benefit from lockdowns, closed archives, curfews and daily news loaded with tragedy and suffering. It is for this reason that the gratitude I am about to unfold in these lines is most sincere and profound. First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Frank, for his good advice, patience and dedication to making this paper work and do so properly. Then, I would like to thank Anouk, for her unconditional support, love and faith in me, and for being there, no matter why, no matter when, no matter where. Next, I would like to acknowledge the effort my parents, Pedro and Juana, make out of simple belief in me and my dreams, so that I can be here, handing in this Thesis to complete the Master's that marks the beginning of the rest of my life. Finally, I want to thank my friends and classmates, who have accompanied me in this difficult, sometimes frustrating yet fascinating trip of knowledge and self-discovery.

Abstract

In November 1975, authoritarianism came to an end in Spain. After Franco's death, political transition led to the birth of a democracy eager to distance itself from the dictatorial past and thus claim its place in Europe and in the world. However, a decision taken during the agony of the previous regime, motivated by pressing circumstances, conditions Spain's policies and stains its democratic identity: Francoist abandonment of Western Sahara amid the Moroccan invasion known as the "Green March". This Thesis employs a model of securitization theory divided into three phases -identification of the threat, mobilization against it and desecuritization/institutionalization- to explore the effect of political transition in a process of securitization through Spain's case study.

In Chapter I, this theoretical frame is explained and articulated. Then, in Chapter II, a display of the internal and external circumstances motivating the identification and mobilization of Francoism to securitize the Green March proceed. Finally, in Chapter III, a study of the evolution of the Spanish democratic identity in relation to the Western Sahara question in Spain's affairs with Morocco concludes

the body of the work. An analysis of UN documents and resolutions on the issue, newspaper articles from a series of journals reflecting relevant events and statements, declassified CIA documents concerning important actor's interests, public letters, decreets and court rulings shows that the core of the problematic relations between Spain and Morocco lies at the evolution of the priorities and values defended by the different securitizing actors of a dying dictatorship and those of a flourishing democracy.

Introduction

In November 1975, dictator Francisco Franco on his deathbed, Spain abandoned what was the last territory of its once vast colonial empire: Spanish Sahara¹. The region, invaded by the Moroccan Green March on 6th November², saw its administration become subject to the Madrid Accords between this country, Mauritania and Spain, meaning the effective resignation of the Spanish government over the territory³. The Sahrawi people and the international community represented by the United Nations jointly claimed what they understood as an intolerable betrayal⁴. Spain evolved past Francoism and transformed into a democracy that progressed, partook into European integration and acquired notoriousness... with a stain that appears unerasable: Western Sahara.

This research project will employ phased securitization theory, a framework connected with constructivism⁵, which will be explained in Chapter I. Then, in Chapter II, this frame will be used to examine how the context in which the agonizing Francoism found itself in 1975 determined its move to avert a colonial war against Morocco for a territory it had been preparing to grant self-determination for years. Finally, in Chapter III of this thesis, the evolution of the priorities and self-perception of the Spanish democracy, with special attention to its relations with Morocco in the period 1975-2002, will be put under analysis to observe how the institutionalization, this is, the embedding of the Western Sahara issue in their routine, affects them. This period results of utter interest because it encapsulates the Spanish transition from dictatorship to democracy, the first democratically elected government, the first left-wing government, the right-wing one that followed, and the Crisis of Perejil, in July 2002, which was the closest

¹ 'Cómo Fue El Abandono Español Del Sahara Occidental Día Por Día', *ECSaharai* (blog), 21 June 2020, <https://www.ecsaharai.com/2020/06/como-fue-el-abandono-espanol-del-sahara.html>.

² Jerome B. Weiner, 'The Green March in Historical Perspective', *Middle East Journal* 33, no. 1 (1979): 20–33, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4325817>.

³ SaharaOccidental.es, 'Los Acuerdos Tripartitos de Madrid', *Sahara Occidental* (blog), 21 November 2020, <https://saharaoccidental.es/quizas-te-interese/los-acuerdos-tripartitos-de-madrid/>.

⁴ Tomás Bárbulo, *La Historia Prohibida Del Sáhara Español*. (Barcelona: Destino, 2002), 93–95.

⁵ Thierry Balzacq, 'Constructivism and Securitization Studies', in *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies* (London, New York: Routledge, 2009), 56–72.

Spain and Morocco have actually been to an armed conflict in the democratic era⁶. Hence, the main research question of this paper is:

- *How did the Francoist securitization in Western Sahara condition the relations between the Spanish democracy and Morocco?*

First, in order to emphasize the capital relevance of the internal and external contexts in which Spain found itself at the moment of the abandonment of its last colony, this first sub-question will articulate Chapter II:

- *How did both the internal and external context in which Spain found itself in late Francoism influence the securitizing move of the agonizing dictatorship?*

Then, in Chapter III, and once the history of the Spanish policy on this conflict is dealt with in sufficiency allowing for the contextualization of its inception, the operationalization of securitization theory will naturally flow toward the proposition of one more sub-question, regarding the evolution of the Spanish democratic identity and the shift in the national priorities this encompassed:

- *How did the Spanish democracy handle the consequences of its non-democratic predecessor's policy on Western Sahara in the period 1975-2002?*

Historiography

Securitization divided into phases, as presented in the theoretical frame of this paper, allows for an enhancing and comprehensive illustration of how actors, audiences and referent objects can vary from phase to phase. Traditionally, authors analyzing Spanish position on Western Sahara tend to see late Francoism and the following democracy as two clearly separated periods and do not delve into the nexus between them. Securitization allows for investigation of this link, of how these two State models, non-democratic and democratic, differ in much of

⁶ 'La invasión de Perejil, el otro conflicto entre España y Marruecos: "Al alba y con viento de levante"', El Plural, 19 May 2021, https://www.elplural.com/politica/invasion-perejil-conflicto-espana-marruecos-al-alba-viento-levante_266816102.

their core values and security priorities on a determinant issue, but also, how irreversibility forces the latter to contradict some of these.

Regarding the different academic approaches this conflict has received, two aspects must be noted. The first one is a result of the above described very limited divulgation of information and perspective about this issue: in general, there is not much literature focused on it, in contrast with other comparable conflicts like the Israeli-Palestinian one. The second feature references the general dynamic of applying liberal and/or realist approaches to this issue. Identity-based approaches are not common, although some authors timidly engage with them. This is the chosen approach in this paper since it is considered to be the one who can most accurately illustrate the evolution of the Spanish state self-perception concerning the changes in its ruling system, and the repercussions that these had in the progression of its understanding of its international role, linking this evolution to its perception of the Western Sahara issue.

Isaías Barreñada, professor of International Relations at the Complutense University of Madrid has been most prolific and, has edited multiple materials approaching the topic from different angles. His most recent work “Sáhara Occidental: 40 años después (Western Sahara: 40 years later)”, which he co-edited with Raquel Ojeda and published in 2016 develops a panoramic perspective of the conflict, in which they include multiple national and international approaches⁷. In the sections dedicated to Spain, written by Hernando de Larramendi, this compilation looks at the role of civil society and articulates the democratic period’s position on Western Sahara through a *realpolitik* approach arguing that circumstantial economic and political factors led the dynamic⁸. This compilation of chapters based on different fields and understandings of the conflict serves as an excellent option to acquire a decent understanding of the evolution of the perceptions of and dispositions within Spain’s policy, and a general yet very insightful overview of the Western Sahara conflict.

⁷ Barreñada, I, Ojeda, R. (2016), “*Sahara Occidental: 40 años después (Western Sahara: 40 years later)*”. Catarata Eds., Madrid.

⁸ Miguel Hernando de Larramendi, ‘La Cuestión Del Sáhara Occidental En La Política Exterior Española’, in *Sáhara Occidental: 40 Años Después*. (Madrid: Catarata, 2016), 263–77.

The practicality of all academics, regardless of the scope they use to analyze this issue, agree on criticizing that Spain as a political entity has evolved past the dictatorial⁹ and secret nature¹⁰ of the agreements that handed Western Sahara over to Morocco and Mauritania in 1975¹¹. There is also a broad assertion that said treaty was the seed of the protraction of the conflict in our days¹². In summation, there is a scholarly consensus which points out to the Spanish guilt in abandoning those who used to be Spanish citizens¹³, in a context of an agonizing dictatorship leaving a historical stain, a structural legacy in the Spanish relations with the North of Africa¹⁴ that is yet to be corrected¹⁵. However, there is a lack of study on the evolution of the Spanish democratic identity and ambitions, considered central in the analysis proposed in this research.

Finally, journalistic work on the Western Sahara conflict and the Spanish vision of it must be acknowledged insofar as it has been proved to play a remarkably important role in understanding the extreme political complexity beneath the process of abandonment of the colony. The works of two journalists especially, Tomás Bárbulo¹⁶ and Pablo-Ignacio de Dalmases¹⁷, have shined a light

⁹ José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, *Agonía, Traición, Huida: El Final Del Sáhara Español*. (Madrid: Crítica, 2015).

¹⁰ Bernabé López García, 'Las Relaciones de España Con Los Países Del Magreb.', *Islamismo, Democracia y Seguridad. Actas Del XIII Curso Internacional de Defensa, Jaca.*, 2006, 377–90.

¹¹ Rocío Velasco de Castro, 'Las relaciones hispano-marroquíes durante el gobierno de Aznar: visiones y versiones encontradas a ambos lados del estrecho' (España en democracia: actas del IV Congreso de Historia de Nuestro Tiempo, Universidad de La Rioja, 2014), 321–30, <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4847694>.

¹² Yahia H. Zoubir, 'Protracted Conflict and Failure to Achieve Prenegotiation in the Western Sahara Conflict.', *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 20, no. 2 (1995): 1–44, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23262757>.

¹³ Tomás Bárbulo, *La Historia Prohibida Del Sáhara Español*. (Barcelona: Destino, 2002).

¹⁴ Miguel Larramendi and Bernabé García, 'El Sáhara Occidental, Obstáculo En La Construcción Magrebí', *Documentos de Trabajo (Real Instituto Elcano de Estudios Internacionales y Estratégicos)*, N^o. 15, 2005, 1 January 2005.

¹⁵ Bernabé López García, 'Marruecos En La Política Española, Coyuntura Internacional y Política Española (1898-2004)', Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid 2010, Pp. 237-254', accessed 29 April 2021, https://www.academia.edu/2966146/_Marruecos_en_la_pol%C3%ADtica_espa%C3%B1ola_.

¹⁶ Bárbulo, T. (2002), "*La historia prohibida del Sáhara Español (The Forbidden History of Spanish Sahara)*", Península Atalaya, Madrid.

¹⁷ Pablo-Ignacio de Dalmases, *Sáhara Español: El Gran Fraude. Los Papeles Del Coronel Rodríguez de Viguri*. (Madrid: SIAL, 2016).

on the hidden interests and the unknown figures who played a determinant part in the process that resulted in the Accords of 1975. Their work, although rigorously and thoroughly documented and analytical, is, like practically all existing literature, adhered to a chronological and/or thematical thread around which their investigation is articulated.

The most relevant innovation regarding the existing literature lies in the ambition to construct a critique of the Spanish policy on the Western Sahara conflict since the abandonment of the territory to 2002, allowing for an illustration of the weight of political transition in it, under the scope of phased securitization proposed by Zimmermann¹⁸, elaborating on the constructivist notions proposed by Copenhagen School's securitization theory¹⁹, incorporating critics to it realized by a series of scholars. This will allow for an enhanced understanding of how the emergence of the conflict was seen and dealt with as an existential threat to the stability of a regime in a very delicate moment of transition, why it was tackled the way it was, and how this decision proved not only to be unsuitable for the democratic values that Spain hoped to implement after the end of Francoism, but also a structural flaw in the relations with Morocco.

Methodology

Unfortunately, the COVID-19 pandemic has hampered the research options that would normally be available for an analysis like this. However, much of the documents and sources used are available online. Such is the case of Spanish newspapers "El País", "La Vanguardia" and "ABC", all of which maintain a thorough online archive in which articles from the 1960-70s onwards can be found for analysis, since they report the different historical developments given within the topic investigated in this paper, which results in an eminently useful method to research the consecution of events regarding this topic. These sources are free to access and offer a history of the topic in chronological order which can provide an

¹⁸ Hubert Zimmermann, 'Exporting Security: Success and Failure in the Securitization and Desecuritization of Foreign Military Interventions', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 11, no. 2 (3 April 2017): 225–44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2017.1310174>.

¹⁹ Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. (London: Lynne Renner Publishers, 1998).

insightful understanding of the issue if the pieces are put together correctly and analyzed through the frame established. However, it is true that they too tend to lack thoroughness since they often abstain from explaining the events they describe. However, to make up for this, secret documents declassified by the CIA and/or leaked by WikiLeaks, offer an insightful perspective on assessments and evaluations of the different developments surrounding the Western Sahara question by different actors. These include interests, decisions, advice and etcetera, which will definitely be useful to depict the importance of who-wants-what-when. Nonetheless, these documents are scarce in number and much of the key information they contain is coded or occulted, though what they reveal has much potential if contextualized and assessed properly and coherently with the frame established in this paper.

Moreover, letters by diverse securitizing actors like Franco or Juan Carlos of Bourbon are available for inspection, plus the multiple resolutions adopted at the UN Security Council and General Assembly concerning Western Sahara, which are easily accessible online. These sources provide official statements and outcomes, but do not reflect the debate and political negotiation process beneath them. Interviews with diplomats and UN Spanish representatives would have been appreciated and were requested, but unfortunately, these were not possible. However, it is believed that the depicted available sources should suffice to research political pressures as well as to gauge who is who and who is interested in what in the history of the Spanish position on the Western Sahara conflict.

Chapter I: Theoretical Frame

1.1.: Securitization theory in phases.

As explained, the purpose of this thesis is to investigate how political transition can affect a process of securitization. In more amplitude, it will attempt to examine the problems that arise when a democratic regime (the Spanish democracy) must deal with political conditions in a certain context (relations with Morocco), as a result of the decisions taken and actions carried out by a previous dictatorial system within it (handing over of Spanish Sahara to Morocco through the Madrid Accords of 1975), through a historical analysis driven by securitization

theory. What will be contended is that these limiting conditions emerge from a change in the securitizing actors from one regime to the other, but overall, in the interests and priorities they defend and feel responsible for protecting and promoting.

Thus, the selected theoretical frame to articulate this investigation will be that of securitization theory, phased into three steps: identification of the threat, mobilization against the threat, and desecuritization, or institutionalization of the threat and the measures to avert it. This model, proposed by Hubert Zimmermann²⁰ employing elements firstly introduced by Paul Roe²¹, allows for clear observation of the several changes and evolutions that can occur at the different moments of a given securitization process: from stage to stage, securitization actors may change, audiences may vary and referent objects (that what is threatened) may be modified.

It will be argued that, in this securitization process, Francoism identified the invasion of Spanish Sahara as a threat and mobilized its resources against it by signing the Madrid Accords to hand the territory over to Morocco, whilst the Spanish democracy “inherited” the integration of the previous phases’ outcomes in its institutional relations with Morocco. Given that in the case study of this thesis there is a radical political transition (autocracy to democracy) in the midst of the securitization process, it is presumable that the aforementioned shifts take place, and they do so in a prominent manner, becoming problematic. This theoretical frame will thus pin these developments down and place them at the core of the findings of this investigation.

1.1.1: Identification of the threat

Scholars Waever, Buzan and de Wilde, of the known as Copenhagen School, were first to introduce the concept of “securitization”. Securitization theory was

²⁰ Hubert Zimmermann, ‘Exporting Security: Success and Failure in the Securitization and Desecuritization of Foreign Military Interventions’, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 11, no. 2 (3 April 2017): 225–44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2017.1310174>.

²¹ Paul Roe, ‘Actor, Audience(s) and Emergency Measures: Securitization and the UK’s Decision to Invade Iraq.’, *Security Dialogue* 39, no. 6 (December 2008): 615–35, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010608098212>.

born as a means to broaden the scope of what security *could mean* and the sociopolitical processes which could lead up to these new significations. Therefore, it seems accurate to place it under the umbrella of constructivism²², insofar as securitization theory contends that threats are not simply out there, an objectivity, but rather depend on who interprets them and on the cultural and historical experiences and characteristics of the interpreter, alas, on its given interests, priorities, identity or self-perception at a given moment²³.

Hence, *threats* are but the result of an intersubjective process of construction in which a securitizing actor, like a government, a parliament, or any other type of power elite, identifies an issue as a somehow existential threat to a referent object (something that is being subjected to danger, like stability, prosperity, etc.), which is as well dependent on the securitizing actor's interests and priorities, through a performative speech act (an utterance with potential to alter reality) and proposes measures that escape the normalcy of policy and are to be accepted by an audience allegedly concerned about the safety of the referent object (its right to exist or the convenience of its existence), legitimizing both the move and the securitizing actor in question in this way²⁴.

Nonetheless, the body of this investigation includes the analysis of the above-described process carried out by a dictatorship. This is particular, since as illustrated by Balzacq²⁵ and pointed out by Vuori²⁶, most empirical studies on securitization use case studies framed in liberal democratic systems. This does not imply that the notions of securitization cannot be applied to study a case given in a non-democratic system: it simply means that there needs to be a key adjustment,

²² Thierry Balzacq, 'Constructivism and Securitization Studies', in *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies* (London, New York: Routledge, 2009), 56–72.

²³ Alexander Wendt, 'Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics', *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391–425, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706858>.

²⁴ Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. (London: Lynne Renner Publishers, 1998), 23–27.

²⁵ Thierry Balzacq, Sarah Léonard, and Jan Ruzicka, "'Securitization" Revisited: Theory and Cases', *International Relations* 30, no. 4 (1 December 2016): 494–531, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117815596590>.

²⁶ Juha A. Vuori, 'Illocutionary Logic and Strands of Securitization: Applying the Theory of Securitization to the Study of Non-Democratic Political Orders', *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 1 (March 2008): 65–99, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066107087767>.

encapsulated in the introduction of the “strategic/pragmatic” approach to securitization theory proposed by Balzacq. This understanding remarks the importance of the contextual circumstances surrounding a securitization process to identify and comprehend its mechanisms, its elements and its outcomes²⁷. This approach allows for a wider analysis, insofar as it observes that “speech acts” might be constructed and delivered in several different manners, depending on the context in which they are developed²⁸. For the analysis of a dictatorial securitization, like the Francoist one in Western Sahara in 1975, the pragmatic approach benefits and facilitates the examination.

This is such because, by the common logic of dictatorships -characterized by the accumulation of all powers in a singular or very few political and/or military figures²⁹-, the speech act or acts that would otherwise necessarily be public, accessible and aimed at an ample enabling audience, may be discreet, even secret, diffuse in their shape, and aimed at a very reduced relevant audience. As displayed by Vuori, in a “tense crisis situation, securitization process may be restricted to inter-elite audiences and struggles. Which form the security argument takes depends on which audience it is directed at [...]”³⁰. What this means is that in dictatorial regimes, relevant securitization audience/s may likely belong to the same power elite sector to which securitizing actors belong³¹. This case study will serve as a test for this hypothesis.

The first stage of Zimmermann’s securitization model, namely the identification not only of the threat, but also of what is threatened and how, will be, in these terms, realized by the late Francoist dictatorship. In the analysis of this phase, coherently with the premise of this thesis, the interests, circumstances,

²⁷ Thierry Balzacq, ‘The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context’, *European Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 2 (June 2005): 171–201, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066105052960>.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ Jun Koga Sudduth, ‘Strategic Logic of Elite Purges in Dictatorships’, *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 13 (1 November 2017): 1768–1801, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414016688004>.

³⁰ Vuori, 72.

³¹ Adam Côté, ‘Agents without Agency: Assessing the Role of the Audience in Securitization Theory’, *Security Dialogue* 47, no. 6 (December 2016): 541–58, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010616672150>.

priorities and hence, the identity features (the acquired “rules based on historical and social contingencies”, as put by Vuori³²) of the agonizing Spanish regime in 1975 will be examined as necessary contextual conditions for the identification of the Moroccan Green March as an existential threat to hypothetical continuity of the regime after Franco’s death. As will be developed, the identification of the Green March as a referent subject was aimed at two different audiences: publicly, to the United Nations, where “international peace and security” were referenced as the referent subjects; and secretly, to the power elite of the Spanish regime, to which the safety of the regime, the stability of the upcoming political transition in Spain and the prestige of the Armed Forces were paramount. This phase will be subjected to analysis in Chapter II of this paper.

1.1.2.: Mobilization against the threat.

Once the identification of the threat or the “referent object” has been established, the claim is delivered to the relevant audience, which by its acceptance, enables or agrees on the mobilization of resources to stop the menace³³. Thus, in this phase of the process light is shed on how the audience/s accept the claim and how they accept or reject the proposed measures for its aversion. Moreover, in this stage, the audiences will reveal themselves as enabling or participants of the proposed move (through the signing of a treaty, a law, etc.) or as merely consenting of it³⁴.

In the case studied in this thesis, the analysis of this phase will reveal who the critically relevant audiences of the Francoist claim for securitization of the Moroccan invasion of Spanish Sahara truly were. The argument for this assumption will rest upon the nature of the outcome -the Madrid Accords/abandonment of the Spanish Sahara- in relation to the interests of the two

³² Juha A. Vuori, ‘Illocutionary Logic and Strands of Securitization: Applying the Theory of Securitization to the Study of Non-Democratic Political Orders’, *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 1 (March 2008): 69, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066107087767>.

³³ Hubert Zimmermann, ‘Exporting Security: Success and Failure in the Securitization and Desecuritization of Foreign Military Interventions’, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 11, no. 2 (3 April 2017): 225–44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2017.1310174>.

³⁴ Balzacq, (2011, 9) cited in Zimmermann, ‘Exporting Security: Success and Failure in the Securitization and Desecuritization of Foreign Military Interventions’, 5.

sets of audiences to which the security claim was directed, mentioned in the previous section of this theoretical frame. Hence, this phase will be examined in Chapter II of this paper and will bind its end to the beginning of Chapter III.

1.1.3.: Desecuritization / Institutionalization of the securitization move.

The notion of “institutionalization” regarding security issues was already introduced by Wæver, Buzan and de Wilde in their first developments of securitization theory. If a given threat is, they argued, recurrent then the response to it and the sense of urgency become “institutionalized”³⁵. Zimmermann’s innovation is the link between said explanation and the notion of “desecuritization”. As previously pointed out, this phase contends the implementation of the proposed measures for threat aversion and their embedding into institutional normalcy. Once the problem has been dealt with through its escalation into the realm of extraordinary politics, it seems only consequential that desecuritization proceeds. Zimmermann accepts this assumption³⁶, and so does the theoretical frame of this paper.

Under this consideration and following these terms the assessment of the Spanish democracy’s handling of the institutionalization of the Saharan issue and the consequences of the Madrid Accords in the institutional normalcy of its relations with Morocco in the period 1975-2002 will be developed in Chapter III. Such analysis will arise the important differences regarding the securitizing actors between late Francoism and the Spanish democracy but especially, it will unveil the crucial shifts in the interests, priorities and identity features they deem fundamental at each moment and context. This point leads to the last conceptual aspect of this theoretical frame: the effect of political transition in securitization.

1.2.: Political transition and securitization.

As explained in the above sections of this theoretical frame, most of the empirical studies on securitization have taken case studies framed within liberal

³⁵ Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. (London: Lynne Renner Publishers, 1998), 27.

³⁶ Hubert Zimmermann, ‘Exporting Security: Success and Failure in the Securitization and Desecuritization of Foreign Military Interventions’, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 11, no. 2 (3 April 2017): 5, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2017.1310174>.

democratic contexts. Then, scholars like Balzacq prepared the floor so that others like Vuori raised the question of how the notions of securitization theory, could be applied to non-democratic regimes. However, a terrain that appears to be unexplored, perhaps due to the lack of empirical use of the phased-securitization model proposed by Zimmerman in existing literature, is that one of the scrutiny on how a political transition, democratization in this case, can affect a securitization process.

In this case study, this transition, from Francoism to democracy, takes place immediately after desecuritization/institutionalization is carried out, leaving the new Spanish democratic power elites to deal with the consequences of the actions and decisions taken by their non-democratic predecessors in the realm of relations with Morocco. In other words, a democracy inherits a situation a dictatorship created in a given context. This circumstance is precisely where the potential for problematics lies since, using securitization terminology, the securitizing actors, the referent objects and subjects, the audiences and the characteristics surrounding the speech act respond to different interests, priorities, values and identities in each of the political systems at stake. Therefore, this dynamic will be applied and examined in the upcoming chapters of this thesis.

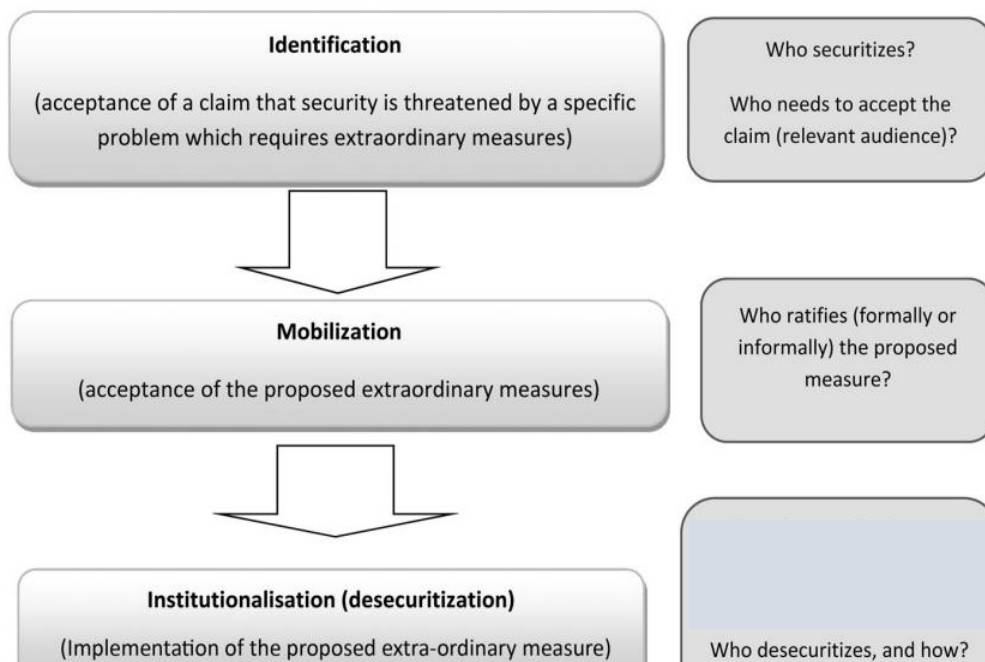


Figure 2: conceptualization of the process of securitization developed by Hubert Zimmermann. Source: Hubert Zimmermann, *Exporting Security: Success and Failure in the Securitization and Desecuritization of Foreign Military Interventions*, 2017.

1.3.: Conclusion

In this first chapter, the different elements of the theoretical framework to be operationalized in the upcoming research have been explained. Securitization theory observes the capital role of identity and self-perception of actors, determined by their priorities and interests, in identifying the threats around them, what these threaten, and what reaction is most convenient. The phased securitization model proposed by Zimmermann poses a thorough and comprehensive framework to analyze how these parameters change from stage to stage, which can lead, as in the Spanish case, to apparently completed securitizing moves becoming contested and problematic. This articulation is what constitutes the skeleton of this investigation, since the purpose of it is to unveil how the Spanish political transition from dictatorship to democracy altered those factors in relation to the position adopted by late Francoism with its emergency abandonment of Western Sahara in 1975, in the field of relations with Morocco.

Chapter II

Francoist securitization in Western Sahara: the last sunset of the Spanish Empire (1975)

In this chapter, the notions of securitization theory divided into phases explained in the previous chapter will be applied to examine how the circumstances in which Francoism found itself in 1975 crucially influenced the way it identified the Moroccan Green March over Spanish Sahara as an existential threat, as much as the nature of the measures agreed upon to avert it (this is, the mobilization), and the manner in which these agreements were reached. Hence, in this chapter, the explanation of the sheer weakness of Francoism in 1975, which determined its priorities and interests at the time, will be followed by the application of the securitization phases of identification and mobilization to the chain of events unleashed when Moroccan King Hassan II announced the civilian invasion of Spanish Sahara in October 1975. In summation, this question will attempt to respond to the following research sub-question: how did both the internal and external contexts in which late Francoism found itself in 1975 condition the way it securitized the Moroccan Green March over Spanish Sahara?

The historiography surrounding the Spanish abandonment of Western Sahara in 1975 acquires some diverse points of view. Fuente Cobo and Mariño Menéndez, for instance, frame this event in the bigger picture of the history of the Western Sahara conflict and approach it from a predominantly military-strategic point of view³⁷. Others, like Rodríguez Jiménez, embed it in a much larger research on the Spanish colonial history in the territory in which the scope used is majorly realist³⁸, insofar as it aspects like the disdain of Francoism for international order in its pursuit of becoming a more important colonial power in Africa³⁹. Finally, scholars like Cortado⁴⁰, Zoubir⁴¹ and Joffé⁴² merely mention the Spanish abandonment of the territory as the starting point of the conflict, in which they focus later on, introducing realist and liberal terminologies.

Nonetheless, what this thesis aims to establish are the ideological contradictions that emerge in relation to the Spanish position on Western Sahara once the democracy is established after Franco's death in 1975, which, as it is argued, can best explain the nature of such dynamic. The capital importance of relations with the US in the context of the Cold War, the violence and social unrest of late Francoism, the twilight of dictatorships in Western Europe, and the extremely fragile health of Franco, all are key to understand the strategy to abandon Western Sahara. Therefore, what this chapter will bring to the table is a securitization-termed analysis based on identities and priorities to explain why the Francoist decisions on its Saharan province in 1975 were such, what can,

³⁷ Ignacio Fuente Cobo and Fernando Mariño Menéndez, *El Conflicto Del Sáhara Occidental*, Conflictos Internacionales Contemporáneos (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2006).

³⁸ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Relations* (London, Amsterdam: Addison-Wesley, 1979).

³⁹ José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, *Agonía, Traición, Huida: El Final Del Sáhara Español*. (Madrid: Crítica, 2015).

⁴⁰ Rosa Riquelme Cortado, 'Marruecos frente a la (des)colonización del Sáhara Occidental', *Anuario Mexicano de Derecho Internacional* 1, no. 13 (1 January 2013), <https://doi.org/10.22201/ij.24487872e.2013.13.430>.

⁴¹ Yahia H. Zoubir, 'Protracted Conflict and Failure to Achieve Prenegotiation in the Western Sahara Conflict.', *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 20, no. 2 (1995): 1-44, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23262757>.

⁴² George Joffé, 'Sovereignty and the Western Sahara', *The Journal of North African Studies* 15, no. 3 (1 September 2010): 375-84, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2010.520237>.

embedded in the totality of this paper, explain why problems arise once the dictatorship meets its end and democracy is conceived.

2.1.: The American friend of Franco

The first aspect to be subjected to analysis is the construction of Spanish-American relations after World War II, which rescued Francoism from the absolute isolation it encountered due to its ideological and symbological affinity with the Axis powers. After the Republican army was defeated in April 1939, Franco gained effective control over the totality of the Spanish territory and the autocratic regime commanded by his undoubted figure became a reality⁴³. Catholic traditionalism, channeled from the first steps of Francoism through the characterization of the Civil War as a religious “crusade” against communism (in the shape of the II Republic), complemented the capital weight of the military and the *National Movement*⁴⁴ to constitute the three most important pillars of Francoist Spain⁴⁵. At the same time, Francoism promoted a reinterpretation of the national history to adapt it to the identity of the new regime, combining the previously mentioned features with the glorification of the Spanish imperial past⁴⁶.

In the Civil War (1936-39), the support provided by both Nazi Germany and fascist Italy to the rebels in the Spanish conflict, which weighed in very importantly in their success, responded to an ideological alignment between the three regimes⁴⁷. In retaliation, the winners of World War II denied Francoism admittance to the United Nations in 1945⁴⁸. Nonetheless, the ideological polarization of the Cold War would help Francoism overcome the international

⁴³ Helen Graham, ‘The Spanish Civil War’, ed. Paul Preston et al., *The Historical Journal* 30, no. 4 (1987): 989–93, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2639131>.

⁴⁴ The “Movimiento Nacional” was the name given to the collective of institutions and politico-social mechanisms that ruled over life in Francoist Spain.

⁴⁵ Miguel Ángel Giménez Martínez, ‘El Corpus Ideológico Del Franquismo: Principios Originarios y Elementos de Renovación’, *Estudios Internacionales, Universidad de Chile* 180 (2015): 13.

⁴⁶ Cristina Gómez Cuesta, ‘La Construcción de La Memoria Franquista (1939-1959): Mártires, Mitos y Conmemoraciones-’, *Historia Contemporánea* 25 (2007): 87–123.

⁴⁷ Albert Carreras and Xavier Tafunell, ‘The Isolation from the International Economy: Civil War and Autarkyautarky(1936–1951)’, in *Between Empire and Globalization: An Economic History of Modern Spain*, ed. Albert Carreras and Xavier Tafunell, Palgrave Studies in Economic History (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 135–54, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-60504-9_6.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

rejection it faced in its early years. Conscious that the regime would not achieve stability should the international blockade continue, the Spanish High Command decided to attempt to change Francoism's external perception from the one of a ferreous fascist dictatorship to that one of a solid regime fully committed to the fight against communism. Thus, the government decided to gradually dispose of fascist symbology and reemphasize the determined anticommunist character of Francoism⁴⁹. This strategy did not take long to deliver results, in the form of American interest for the inclusion of Spain among its strategic allies in the first years of the Cold War.

A realist approach⁵⁰ would situate the geographical position of Spain at the gate of the Mediterranean at the basis of American interests in the country, and it would not be fully wrong. However, this understanding would neglect the evolution of the US and Spain's mutual perceptions, improved due to each other's consolidated assertion of anticommunism as an identity⁵¹. It was this shift, in the context of the abrupt change in the international structure caused by the ideological radicalization of the Cold War, that prompted both actors to establish friendly relations. Contacts between the two nations regarding American intentions to install naval and air bases in Spanish territory began in 1951⁵². Two years later, in September 1953, formal agreements were reached: American military bases were to be built in Spain in exchange for -much needed- financial aid and, perhaps even more importantly, American sponsorship in Spain's process of international opening⁵³.

⁴⁹ Lorenzo Delgado, '¿El "amigo americano"? España y Estados Unidos durante el franquismo', *Studia Historica. Historia Contemporánea* 21 (2003): 238, <https://revistas.usal.es/index.php/0213-2087/article/view/5952>.

⁵⁰ W. Julian Korab-Karpowicz, 'Political Realism in International Relations', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Summer 2018 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2018), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/realism-intl-relations/>.

⁵¹ 'United States - The Red Scare', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed 9 June 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/United-States>.

⁵² Rosa Pardo Sanz, 'España y Estados Unidos En El Siglo XX: De La Rivalidad, El Recelo y La Dependencia a La Cooperación', *Ayer* 49 (2003): 13–53.

⁵³ Antonio Niño, '50 Años de Relaciones Entre España y Estados Unidos', *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 25 (2003): 25–28.

In 1955, the Francoist regime would finally be awarded admittance to the United Nations⁵⁴. American economic help would sustain the transition from the autarchic production scheme that characterized the first decade of Francoism, to the gradual opening of Spain to the international market⁵⁵. A liberalist approach, like the one taken by Niño⁵⁶, would argue that Spain and the US increased their prosperity through the establishment of cooperation in various fields. However, it would fail to account for the fact that despite the US and Spain having diametrically opposite political systems (dictatorship vs liberal democracy), what according to liberalist tenets would theoretically complicate understanding⁵⁷, the relations became progressively solid with time, up until the end of Francoism in 1975.

Also, Spanish-American relations became gradually more asymmetric, which reflected their respective interests and capabilities, and consolidated the mutual vision between Francoist Spain and the United States: whilst Spain struggled to gain influence and find its place among the more powerful and prosper European democracies, the US sought to increase its strategic presence and capabilities in the European Cold War theatre⁵⁸. In this light, the US' endorsement became crucial for any move Francoism attempted to execute in the international sphere, which included its last: the securitization in Spanish Sahara. The relation with the US, as well as American interests in the region, were key referent objects accounted for in the stage of identification, and as priorities in the logic of Francoist interests, they weighed in considerably.

2.2.: The stormy twilight of Francoism

⁵⁴ Alberto José Leonart Amsélem, 'El Ingreso de España En La ONU: Obstáculos e Impulsos.', *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 17 (1995): 101–19.

⁵⁵ Pardo Sanz, 'España y Estados Unidos En El Siglo XX: De La Rivalidad, El Recelo y La Dependencia a La Cooperación'.

⁵⁶ Antonio Niño, '50 Años de Relaciones Entre España y Estados Unidos', *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 25 (2003): 9–33.

⁵⁷ Robert O. Keohane, 'Twenty Years of Institutional Liberalism', *International Relations* 26, no. 2 (1 June 2012): 125–38, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117812438451>.

⁵⁸ Lorenzo Delgado, '¿El "amigo americano"? España y Estados Unidos durante el franquismo', *Studia Historica. Historia Contemporánea* 21 (2003): 231–76, <https://revistas.usal.es/index.php/0213-2087/article/view/5952>.

The last years of Francoism were characterized by instability, illness of the dictator, social and political unrest, economic crisis and international pressure. All these elements weakened the regime's self-perception and political capabilities, what determined the precipitation of events in October-November 1975, regarding the securitization in Western Sahara. When Hassan II announced the Green March in October 1975, Franco had spent the last few years battling several grave health issues which, as they aggravated, prognosticated an undeniable reality: the dictator was approaching his death. At 81 years old, Franco suffered from Parkinson's disease, constant internal hemorrhage, and struggled with the multiple war injuries sustained in his days in Africa⁵⁹. It was more certain than ever that the regime would, sooner than later, have to face its own end. In relation to the Saharan securitization, what this caused was a dispersion of securitizing actors since the undisputed character of Franco's leadership faded away with his health⁶⁰. Although power was shared by a fistful of personalities, one of the most preeminent figures -and thus securitizing actors- in the last days of Francoism was Prince Juan Carlos of Bourbon.

Arrangements for the safeguard of the future of Francoism had been made at the end of the previous decade. Before the establishment of the II Republic prior to Francoism (1931-36), the King in Spain was Alfonso of Bourbon, or Alfonso XIII⁶¹. When the Republic was declared, he left Spain, never to come back. During Francoism, the *Generalísimo* was in favor of the eventual restoration of the Bourbon dynasty once he could no longer captain the regime⁶². Hence, the chosen candidate for Franco's succession was Alfonso's grandson, Juan Carlos. Franco

⁵⁹ César Cervera, 'Así fue la agónica muerte de Franco: párkinson, hemorragias y tres operaciones a vida o muerte', ABC, 19 November 2018, https://www.abc.es/historia/abci-agonica-muerte-franco-parkinson-hemorragias-y-tres-operaciones-vida-o-muerte-201811192326_noticia.html.

⁶⁰ Abdón Mateos López and Ángel Herrérin López, 'La interpretación del final del franquismo' (La España del presente: de la dictadura a la democracia, Asociación Historiadores del Presente, 2006), 5–10, <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2370627>.

⁶¹ 'Alfonso XIII | King of Spain', Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed 13 June 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Alfonso-XIII>.

⁶² Antonio de Senillosa, 'Franquismo y monarquía', *El País*, 27 April 1977, sec. España, https://elpais.com/diario/1977/04/28/espana/231026419_850215.html.

officially appointed him on 22nd July, 1969⁶³. Thus, post-Francoist Spain established its most fundamental certainty: the restoration of the monarchy. By appointing Juan Carlos as his heir, Franco granted him the necessary notoriousness and legitimacy for him to be able to increase his relevance and power decision as Franco's diminished, following the rules of succession established by Francoist laws. The creation of this structure allowed Juan Carlos to arise as a major securitizing actor when Franco agonized and Morocco invaded Spanish Sahara.

Withal, the years following the ascension of Juan Carlos to the first-order political scene in Spain were marked by severely disruptive setbacks that further weakened the stability of Francoism and limited its margins of action in the event of a crisis. This was such because these events eroded the already sensible international perception of Francoism, pushing it into a state of paranoia in which risk aversion progressively became a more and more paramount priority.

First, in June 1972, the regime police arrested 10 men accused of belonging to the illegalized Communist Part of Spain. These activists repeatedly denied the accusations on them, with the objective of portraying the late Francoist regime as an anachronic, despotic, repressive system with no respect for basic human rights⁶⁴. Demonstrations condemning Francoism were celebrated⁶⁵ nationally and internationally⁶⁶. This judicial process, known as "*Proceso 1001*", would provoke the most intense international pressure for democratization since the years of global isolation of Francoism⁶⁷. This severely affected the Francoist interest in achieving international acceptance and resuscitated the fear of going back to the traumatic years of isolation in the 1940s, which influenced the attempt to bring the issue of the Green March to the UN for securitization.

⁶³ RTVE, *Don Juan Carlos de Borbón nombrado 'sucesor al título de Rey' (22 de julio 1969)* - RTVE.es, 2012, <https://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/archivo-casa-real/don-juan-carlos-borbon-nombrado-sucesor-titulo-rey-22-julio-1969/1492323/>.

⁶⁴ Francisco Gago Vaquero, 'El Proceso 1001: Desmantelamiento de La Coordinadora Nacional de Comisiones Obreras', *Tiempo y Sociedad* 13 (n.d.): 45–49.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, 69-95

⁶⁶ Demonstrations against Francoism took place in from France to Venezuela, Australia, the US, The Netherlands or the UK.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

Internally, however, the “Proceso 1001” caused great social and political unrest that added up to the already fragile state of Francoism⁶⁸. The Oil Crisis of 1973 and the damage it caused to the Spanish economy⁶⁹ given the sheer dependency on fossil fuel it had⁷⁰ further deepened the tense situation. The escalation of domestic volatility in late Francoism culminated with the assassination of Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco by the terrorist band ETA in December 1973. Carrero, who had been one of the most important political and military figures of Francoism⁷¹, President of the Government at the time⁷², and presumed to be one of the key figures of post-Francoist Spain⁷³, was killed by a bomb planted in his car when he was on his way to the vespertine service at his local church⁷⁴.

With Franco in an intermittent comatose state, worsening social turmoil, deteriorating economic situation, and one of the top leaders of the regime murdered, the national context of Francoism in 1975 could hardly be more distressing. Thus, given the compelling circumstances, the self-perception of the moribund Spanish regime was severely harmed. Facing the Moroccan invasion of Spanish Sahara in these conditions determined its securitization, especially because Carrero was one of the most powerful men in the regime and his weight as a securitizing actor would have been considerable.

2.3.: Iberian (mis)fortunes in Africa

⁶⁸ RTVE.es, ‘El Proceso 1001, en “Documentos RNE”’, RTVE.es, 15 February 2013,

<https://www.rtve.es/radio/20130215/proceso-1001-documentos-rne/608597.shtml>.

⁶⁹ Ildefonso Camacho Laraña, ‘Economía española: raíces históricas y alcance de la crisis’,

Proyección: Teología y mundo actual, no. 122 (1981): 227–46,

<http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=7323587>.

⁷⁰ Julio Martín Alarcón, ‘Guerra sindical, fin de régimen y crisis del petróleo: España sufrió como nadie’, *La Información*, 23 August 2020, <https://www.lainformacion.com/economia-negocios-y-finanzas/guerra-sindical-regimen-tesis-petroleo-espana-sufrio/2813213/>.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*.

⁷² Pilar Toboso Sánchez, ‘Luis Carrero Blanco | Real Academia de La Historia’, *Real Academia de la Historia*, accessed 28 May 2021, <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/10875/luis-carrero-blanco>.

⁷³ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁴ Julen Agirre, *Operación Ogro: Cómo y Por Qué Ejecutamos a Carrero Blanco* (Hendaya, Paris: Ediciones Mugalde, Ruedo Ibérico, 1974), 7–20.

In order to understand what African colonialism represented for the Francoist identity and how this influenced the conceptualization of the Green March during the identification stage of securitization, it is necessary to examine its history. The Spanish presence in the Northwestern region of the African continent dates back to the 15th Century, when the Crown of Castile complemented its expansion to the Canary Islands with the construction of a few small fortresses on the nearby African coast⁷⁵. A few centuries later, in 1884, a young military man called Emilio Bonelli was commanded to organize an expedition to the Sahara by the Spanish government to claim the rich fishing banks of the Saharan coast⁷⁶. By 1900, the official border of the Spain territory became effective after a treaty with France, who established its own protectorate in Morocco in 1912⁷⁷.

In 1959, after explorations by the regime had resulted into findings of potential oil deposits, richer fishing banks and one of the world's largest phosphates' reserves⁷⁸, the attention of Francoism was centered almost exclusively on the Western Saharan province. Finally, the regime saw a good chance to truly enrich itself with colonial resources, like the other important European empires had been doing in Africa for decades⁷⁹. Although, of course, by this time most of these were actually withdrawing from the continent or crumbling apart because of their African adventures⁸⁰. Realist approaches would determine that Franco's intentions were simply to increase his regime's wealth and power despite the UN's opposition and the general dynamic of African decolonization. However, constructivism can more properly assess the Francoist longing for Spain to be able

⁷⁵ Tomás Bárbulo, *La Historia Prohibida Del Sáhara Español: Las Claves Del Conflicto Que Condiciona Las Relaciones Entre España y El Magreb*. (Madrid: Ediciones Península, 2011), 23–24.

⁷⁶ Ibidem.

⁷⁷ Ibidem. 24–25.

⁷⁸ Isaías Barreñada and Raquel Ojeda, *Sáhara Occidental: 40 Años Después*. (Madrid: Catarata, 2016), 161.

⁷⁹ Leander Heldring and James Robinson, 'Colonialism and Development in Africa', *VoxEU.Org* (blog), 10 January 2013, <https://voxeu.org/article/colonialism-and-development-africa>.

⁸⁰ Frederick Cooper, 'Decolonization and Citizenship: Africa between Empires and a World of Nations', in *Beyond Empire and Nation*, ed. ELS BOGAERTS and REMCO RABEN, The Decolonization of African and Asian Societies, 1930s-1970s (Brill, 2012), 39–68, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w8h2zm.6>.

to actually benefit economically from its colonies' connection to the nationalist and imperial discourse with which Francoism was born in the first place.

Since Spain lost its last Asian and American colonies at the end of the 19th Century⁸¹, it had become a second-order colonial power overshadowed by France and Britain, the latter even possessing the colony of Gibraltar in the Iberian Peninsula⁸². Back at the dawn of Francoism, in 1940, Hitler and Franco met in the city of Hendaya to discuss the conditions under which Spain could enter the war in Europe in alignment with the Axis powers that had assisted him in his campaign in Spain⁸³. The recent war had left the country completely ravaged, and a majority of the population starved. Thus, besides the supply of military equipment, grain and fuel, the main condition that Franco put on the table for the Spanish participation in the war was the annexation of part of Algeria, the French Moroccan protectorate, great portions of the French African colonial empire, and the enclave of Gibraltar⁸⁴.

These pretensions were aimed at legitimizing the national discourse he had imposed as the core of his regime, based on the mythification of the Spanish imperial era⁸⁵. Thus, and provided that these aspirations were frustrated, the prospect of profitable exploitation of the Saharan colony's resources functioned as a historical redemption. This factor explains why the decolonization of Spanish Sahara was delayed and avoided indefinitely, despite the UN's demands and resolutions requesting it⁸⁶. On the contrary, Francoist priority concerning the territory was to instrumentalize it to protect and promote its identity discourse. However, the African colonial experience of Franco's geographical and ideological neighbor, Portugal, showed him how rapidly and uncontrollably the situation

⁸¹ M. Tuñón de Lara, J. Andrés-Gallego, J., and J. L. Abellán, 'El Desastre Del 98', *Cuadernos Historia* 16 30 (1985): 32.

⁸² 'Gibraltar Colony', The British Empire, accessed 9 June 2021, <https://www.britishempire.co.uk/maproom/gibraltar.htm>.

⁸³ James W. Cortada, 'Spain and the Second World War', *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 4 (1970): 65–75, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/259865>.

⁸⁴ Donald S. Detwiler, 'Spain and the Axis during World War II', *The Review of Politics* 33, no. 1 (1971): 36–53, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1406358>.

⁸⁵ See Page 23.

⁸⁶ United Nations, 'A/RES/1514 (XV)', 14 December 1960, [https://undocs.org/en/A/Res/1514\(XV\)](https://undocs.org/en/A/Res/1514(XV)).

could escalate in a continent in which decolonization movements were spreading fast.



Figure 3: map of Spanish Sahara (referred to as “Western Sahara”) and the Spanish protectorate in the north of Africa as of 1912. Source: Wikipedia, based on Jean Sellier, “Atlas des peuples d’Afrique”.

While Spain began the construction of mining infrastructure in Western Sahara in 1960⁸⁷, Portugal encountered itself involved, during the 1960s and up until 1974, in three colonial wars in Africa⁸⁸. The first conflict broke out in Angola in March 1961, followed by Guinea in 1963 and Mozambique in 1964. The Portuguese authoritarian government led by António de Oliveira Salazar aimed to diffuse the anti-colonial wars by force, which entailed mass recruitments and the disagreement of multiple high-rank military officials⁸⁹. Divisions among sectors of the army aggravated and, the unwinnable character of the wars becoming

⁸⁷ Tomás Bárbulo, *La Historia Prohibida Del Sáhara Español.*, 18.

⁸⁸ José Javier Olivas Osuna, ‘The Deep Roots of the Carnation Revolution: 150 Years of Military Interventionism in Portugal.’, *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, London School of Economics, 13 (2014): 215–31.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem.* 222.

progressively more evident, led to the external sphere's grave deterioration resulting in an unsustainable internal context.

The regime would collapse after the military coup d'état of 25th April 1974, known as the "Carnation Revolution"⁹⁰. An already severely ill Franco saw the only other surviving authoritarian system in Western Europe fall at the mercy of its own military. Francoism then stood alone as the only remaining non-democratic regime in Western Europe, after Portugal, who also ignored the UN's demands for decolonization and preferred to suffocate the independentist movements by force, succumbed to this priority. These conditions would further shrink the capabilities of late Francoism when Morocco launched the Green March, since they posed a clear example of what colonial wars could result in for a regime that refuses to follow the general trend of decolonization and chooses force when responding to anti-colonialist movements. Thus, the Portuguese experience did not only affect the Francoist identification of the Green March as a threat and of the objects it was threatening, but it determined the choice for mobilization against it.

2.4.: The Spanish Sahara crisis.

In this section, attention will be placed upon the concrete events that directly marked the identification and the mobilization stages of the Francoist securitization in Western Sahara. In May 1967 Francoism created the General Assembly of the Sahara, or the "*Yemaa*", an organism to work as the local administration of the territory⁹¹, integrating members of the different tribes and groups constituting the Saharan local population, who would in theory be granted autonomy to decide on which issues they considered relevant⁹². In 1973, the Saharan anti-colonialist sentiment crystallized in the "*Front POLISARIO*"⁹³.

⁹⁰ Stewart Ed. by Lloyd-Jones and António Costa Pinto, *The Last Empire: Thirty Years of Portuguese Decolonization*, Cultural Studies (Bristol, Portland: Intellect, n.d.), 5.

⁹¹ 'Decreto 1024/1967, de 11 de Mayo, Por El Que Se Modifica El de 29 de Noviembre de 1962 Sobre Ordenamiento de La Administración Local Para La Provincia Del Sahara, Creando La Yemaa o Asamblea General.' (BOE 120, 20 May 1967), 6782–83.

⁹² Pablo-Ignacio de Dalmasas, *Sáhara Español: El Gran Fraude. Los Papeles Del Coronel Rodríguez de Viguri*. (Madrid: SIAL, 2016), 54.

⁹³ *Frente Popular de Liberación de Seguiya el Hamra y Río de Oro / Popular Front for the Liberation of Seguiya el Hamra and Rio de Oro*, which were the names of the sub-regions constituting the Spanish Sahara.

Polisario emerged as an anti-colonialist, nationalist, socialist force, which rapidly aligned it with Algeria, as well as the regional rivalry between Morocco, Polisario's enemy together with Spain at the time⁹⁴.

In 1973, the *Yemaa* picked up on the UN's pressure on Spain to forward a letter to Franco requesting further steps in the direction of independence. The reply by the Head of the Spanish state would come in September that year: he stated that the Sahrawi people were "the only owners of their destiny and no one has the right to violent their will [...] The Spanish state will defend the freedom and free decision of the Sahrawi people. The Spanish state guarantees the territorial integrity of the Sahara [...] The Spanish states reiterates and solemnly guarantees that the Sahrawi population will freely determine its future"⁹⁵.

Jaime de Piniés, the Spanish representative to the United Nations, rushed to present the letters exchanged by his government and the *Yemaa* to the UN as proof of Spanish commitment to decolonization in September 1973⁹⁶. This responded to the interest of Spain in improving its international perception amid the concerns on its decolonization policy in Africa, and at the same time, developed the common structure between the UN and Spain around the Saharan question, which was later operationalized by Spain to claim there for the securitization of the Moroccan invasion.

Evidently, news of Spanish plans for progressive autonomy in Western Sahara did not match Moroccan pretensions for this territory. The reason lies at the core of the Moroccan independence process. In 1943, the Moroccan Istiqlal ("Independence" in Arabic⁹⁷) party was created in secrecy in the French

⁹⁴ José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, *Agonía, Traición, Huida: El Final Del Sáhara Español*, 212.

⁹⁵ MoroccoMail, 'Carta de Franco a la Yemáa (21 de septiembre de 1973), enviada a la ONU como justificación de la política descolonizadora del gobierno español. - Maghreb Online', 5 June 2019, <https://moroccomail.fr/2019/06/05/carta-de-franco-a-la-yemaa-21-de-septiembre-de-1973-enviada-a-la-onu-como-justificacion-de-la-politica-descolonizadora-del-gobierno-espanol/>.

⁹⁶ UN General Assembly, 'A/9176 - Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples', 1 October 1973.

⁹⁷ E. G. H. Joffé, 'The Moroccan Nationalist Movement: Istiqlal, the Sultan, and the Country', *The Journal of African History* 26, no. 4 (1985): 289–307, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/181651>.

protectorate⁹⁸. Previously that year, in January, the Moroccan sultan Muhammad V met with American President Franklin D. Roosevelt in Casablanca, in a conference to which no French representation was invited. This meeting is considered to represent American recognition of Morocco's right to self-determination, as well as the beginning of the political alliance⁹⁹ between these nations¹⁰⁰. Following a series of anti-French demonstrations and violent escalations during the first half of the 50s, Morocco achieved its independence on 2nd March 1956¹⁰¹. Spain would give up its possessions north of the extinct French protectorate between 1957 and 1959, preserving only its Saharan colony until 1975¹⁰².

Subaltern realism as proposed by Ayoob¹⁰³ would see this sequence of events as Morocco imitating the classical European state-building processes seeking to increase its power and settle its place in an international system ruled by the bipolarity of the Cold War. However, a constructivist approach enhances the understanding of the particularities of Moroccan nationalism and the historical processes that led to the construction of its most important elements. This handling responds to the notion of "Greater Morocco", a crucial element in the Moroccan nationalist imaginary of the immediate post-colonial times. After the French departure in 1956, the Istiqlal party who had assumed the main weight of anti-colonialist activism, also carried out the redefinition of the recently

⁹⁸ Charles F. Gallagher, 'A Moroccan Political Party: The Istiqlal.' (American Universities Field Staff, 23 July 1956).

⁹⁹ The key importance of American mediation and interests in the Western Sahara crisis of 1975 finds its origin in these events.

¹⁰⁰ Amira El Masaiti, 'How in 1943, Casablanca Played a Determining Point in Modern Human History', <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/>, accessed 29 May 2021, <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2018/01/238836/1943-casablanca-anfa-conference-modern-human-history-roosevelt>.

¹⁰¹ 'Independence for Morocco and Tunisia - Decolonisation: Geopolitical Issues and Impact on the European Integration Process', CVCE.EU by UNI.LU, accessed 29 May 2021, <https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/dd10d6bf-e14d-40b5-9ee6-37f978c87a01/2796f581-3e5a-4dff-9fbe-fd3d48966b38>.

¹⁰² Juan B. Vilar, 'Franquismo y Descolonización Española En África.', *Historia Contemporánea* 30 (2005): 140–44.

¹⁰³ Mohammed Ayoob, 'Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism', *International Studies Review* 4, no. 3 (2002): 27–48, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3186462>.

independent nation's identity¹⁰⁴. Allal el-Fassi, leader of the party, recovered the claim for the lands surrounding Morocco that had allegedly been under political and military influence of the Sherifian Empire in the 16th Century¹⁰⁵. These included Mauritania, portions of Algeria, and the Spanish Sahara.

“Greater Morocco” became a capital aspiration of the Kingdom, first with Muhammad V on the throne, and then with his son, Hassan II¹⁰⁶. As such, it constituted a crucial element in national cohesion in a country facing the delicacy of its first years of independence under postcolonial borders that did not necessarily match its historical experience, or its territorial desires. By 1974, Hassan II had survived two coup d'état attempts^{107 108}. In this context, the creation of a common national objective based on the idea of Greater Morocco was perceived as a safeguard for his regime's stability¹⁰⁹. The same securitization model used for this paper can be applied here.

The claim over sovereignty of Spanish Sahara was identified as an existential priority for Hassan's regime, who mobilized thousands of civilians and other resources to secure it. This articulation helps explain why UN alternatives and plans for the territory were invalidated in the mobilization stage: given the life-or-death character of Hassan's move over Spanish Sahara, a retreat was not an option. This was but another crucial conditioner of Spanish options regarding the securitizing move on the Green March in November 1975, also because it

¹⁰⁴ Robert Rézette, *The Western Sahara and the Frontiers of Morocco* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1975), 93–94.

¹⁰⁵ Lyakat Ali, 'The Western Sahara Issue - Decolonization or Greater Morocco.' (New Dehli, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1997), 10–11.

¹⁰⁶ Anthony S. Reyner, 'Morocco's International Boundaries: A Factual Background.', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 1, no. 3 (1963): 314–15.

¹⁰⁷ 'Soldiers Attack Moroccan Palace; King Keeps Power.', *The New York Times*, 11 July 1971, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/07/11/archives/soldiers-attack-moroccan-palace-king-keeps-power-hassan-on-radio.html>.

¹⁰⁸ 'Morocco Puts 220 on Trial for Attempt on King Hassan's Life', *The New York Times*, 18 October 1972, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1972/10/18/archives/morocco-puts-220-on-trial-for-attempt-on-king-hassans-life.html>.

¹⁰⁹ Lyakat Ali, 'The Western Sahara Issue - Decolonization or Greater Morocco.' (New Dehli, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1997).

conceptualized how far the threat could escalate up to if nothing was done about it (identification stage).

Moroccan pretensions over Spanish Sahara were first identified as a potential threat to “international security and peace” in a letter addressed to the UN Secretary-General by De Piniés¹¹⁰ in which he specified that after communicating the plans for the Saharan Statute to Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria in July 1974, King Hassan II had condemned said plans and threatened to “recover the Moroccan Sahara under Spanish administrative control” under the duty to “safeguard Our legitimate rights” and “reserving the right to act accordingly”. In the meantime, Hassan congregated around 12,000 troops near its border with the territory¹¹¹.

The King’s words were reported to the SG by De Piniés in his letter, where he confirmed his fears that Morocco was “ignoring the UN’s mandates over Spanish Sahara”¹¹². Later, in August 1974, De Piniés transmitted the SG the Spanish promise to celebrate a self-determination referendum in the territory in the first half of 1975¹¹³. This move was framed within the UN-Spain structure regarding the decolonization of Western Sahara. Given the Portuguese colonial experience and the dire internal and external circumstances surrounding late Francoism, the sources suggest that the priority shifted from maintaining the Spanish presence in Africa amid economic interests to agreeing on a UN’s agreed decolonization that helped Spain’s international image heal. At this moment, the panic and urgency created by the announcement of the Green March in October 1975 were absent and unsuspected.

However, it was at the UN in September 1974¹¹⁴ that Morocco accused Spain of “not consulting what the will of the Sahrawi people actually was”, forcing the decision on whether there were sufficient historical ties between Morocco and Western Sahara to constitute the supposed right to sovereignty over the territory

¹¹⁰ The White House, ‘Henry A. Kissinger - Abdelaziz Bouteflika Interview’, 19 December 1975.

¹¹¹ Bureau of Intelligence and Research, ‘CIA-RDP86T00608R000200020013-5’, 3 October 1975, 2.

¹¹² Jaime De Piniés, ‘A/9655’, 11 July 1974.

¹¹³ Jaime De Piniés, ‘A/9174’, 21 August 1974.

¹¹⁴ José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, *Agonía, Traición, Huida: El Final Del Sáhara Español*. (Madrid: Crítica, 2015), 280.

to the Court of International Justice in The Hague. On 13th December 1974, the Moroccan initiative was approved, and the question sent to the Court¹¹⁵. The referendum in Western Sahara was put on hold, with the positive vote of the United States¹¹⁶. This last fact hints at the American inclination regarding the solution for Spanish Sahara. As explained, both Morocco and Spain were viewed as strategic allies.

In October 1974, US State Secretary Henry Kissinger visited Rabat and met with Hassan II¹¹⁷. For the Americans, aware both of the regional competition between Morocco and socialist Algeria and of the revolutionary alignments of Hassan's internal enemies, the position was undebatable: the stronger Morocco was, the better¹¹⁸. Declassified CIA documents reveal that the most visible part of the American position regarding the Saharan problem between Spain and Morocco was that one of open-conflict aversion. In these documents, it is reflected that what the Nixon/Ford administrations feared the most was the actual internationalization of the conflict should Morocco militarily invade the Spanish Sahara, for varied reasons. American-Algerian relations were progressing much in the previous years, yet they remained delicate given the higher ideological affinity of the Algerian regime with Soviet standards¹¹⁹.

The African country's reserves of natural gas already represented the fourth largest on the planet, which consequently, was gradually increasing Algeria's geopolitical interest¹²⁰. Should an open war arise around Western Sahara, Americans feared Algeria would actively support Polisario with Soviet weapons¹²¹ amid its rivalry with Morocco, which would enable the USSR to demand significant

¹¹⁵ United Nations, 'RES/3292', 12 December 1974.

¹¹⁶ UN Digital Library, 'Question of Spanish Sahara ', 13 December 1974, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/651029>.

¹¹⁷ Bernard Gwertzman, 'Kissinger Returns After Progress With Algerians', *The New York Times*, 16 October 1974, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1974/10/16/archives/kissinger-returns-after-progress-with-algerians-economic-relations.html>.

¹¹⁸ Tomás Bárbulo, *La Historia Prohibida Del Sáhara Español*. (Barcelona: Destino, 2002), 83.

¹¹⁹ Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 'CIA-RDP79R00003A002500100001-6', 30 June 1978, 15.

¹²⁰ Ibidem.

¹²¹ Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 'CIA-RDP79R00603A002500090001-8', 6 September 1974, 13.

use of Algeria's Mediterranean ports, considerably increasing Soviet presence in the area¹²². Moroccans, who imported most of their weapons from the US¹²³, would then request American assistance, and the conflict would be officially embedded in the long list of Cold War power and influence battles between Americans and Soviets when the former had barely left Vietnam.

Regarding the US perspective on Spanish potential actions, it was feared that a long colonial war with Morocco, regardless of the actual military chances of winning it, would further erode the already fragile regime in its weakest moment¹²⁴, developing into a potential revolutionary proneness in a country hosting four strategically important American bases and up to 9,500 military personnel¹²⁵. Hence, for the US, any diplomatic bilateral decision that was both satisfactory for Spain and Morocco, would be acceptable. To what exact extent the US cooperated in the design of Morocco's final move is not clear through existent evidence, although some of it suggests that Kissinger was, at least, aware of what Hassan II's plans were¹²⁶. What this suggests is that the power elite of the United States was a potential crucial audience in the Francoist securitization of the Green March. The sources analyzed above do not place the US directly at the core of the bilateral Spanish-Moroccan negotiations previous to the Madrid Accords of November 1975, but they do suggest that its role as approving audience was paramount.

Therefore, with the self-determination referendum on hold awaiting the CIJ's verdict, this was released on 16th October 1975. Due to the apparent inconclusiveness of the resolution, Hassan II chose to interpret that the ICJ had in fact justified his claim on Western Sahara, because it stated that due to the traditionally nomadic nature of Saharan peoples, in the precolonial era there had indeed been incursions into territory under the domain of the Moroccan Sultan¹²⁷.

¹²² Ibidem.

¹²³ José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, *Agonía, Traición, Huida: El Final Del Sáhara Español*, 420.

¹²⁴ Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 'CIA-RDP86T00608R000200020013-5', 5.

¹²⁵ Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 'CIA-RDP79R00603A002500090001-8', 14.

¹²⁶ The White House, 'Henry A. Kissinger - Abdelaziz Bouteflika Interview' 12 December 1975.

¹²⁷ International Court of Justice, 'Western Sahara: Advisory Opinion of 16th October 1975', 16 October 1975, <https://www.icj-cij.org/public/files/case-related/61/6197.pdf>.

The evening of 16th October, the Moroccan King announced a pacific march of around 350,000 civilians to penetrate the territory, claiming in this way Morocco's "rightful" sovereignty over it¹²⁸. He called it the "Green March". In the following month, events precipitated dramatically. The sudden announcement of the March surprised Francoism, who was immersed in its inner problems and the crumbling health of its leader.

The first known information concerning the identification of the Green March as a potential threat came from the Unified Command in the Canary Islands, in charge of intelligence in Western Sahara, addressed a letter to the High State Command in Madrid in which it was stated that military criteria indicated that "preparations for offensive action" were taking place beside the announced civilian concentration along the Moroccan-Saharan border"¹²⁹. In any case, the main concern was what to do about the hundreds of thousands of unarmed civilians set to cross the internationally recognized border at any moment then. This is when, Franco practically in his deathbed, securitizing actors and audiences become disperse, posing a dynamic possibly exclusive to the securitization logic of an agonizing dictatorship aware of its condition.

On one hand, diplomats and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in favor of respecting UN's guidelines and promises to Sahrawi people bring the claim for identification and mobilization at the United Nations Security Council, seeking to improve the severely damaged international perception of late Francoism, especially amid the recent "Proceso 1001". On the other, the military high command and the Ministries of Presidency and National Movement, advocating for a discreet bilateral negotiation with Morocco that allowed for a quick solution, not necessarily respecting international laws or previous commitments, but safeguarding one and other's interests and American preferences. These carry out the identification of the threat themselves and perceive other power elites, namely the American ones, as their audiences. Once these agree on the proposed move, negotiations with Hassan II to hand in the Saharan territory to Morocco begin.

¹²⁸ Jerome B. Weiner, 'The Green March in Historical Perspective', *Middle East Journal* 33, no. 1 (1979): 20, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4325817>.

¹²⁹ José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, *Agonía, Traición, Huida: El Final Del Sáhara Español*, 419.

At the UN, the claim for securitization took the shape of, once again, a letter by Spanish permanent representative at the UN, Jaime de Piniés, addressed to the President of the UN's Security Council, on 18th October. In this first letter, the referent objects identified are "international peace and security" and the proposed step toward mobilization is the urge to summon the Security Council¹³⁰. A second claim would follow, on 1st November, reporting "rapid deterioration of the situation in the Spanish Sahara"¹³¹. In a final letter on 6th November, it is affirmed that the border between Morocco and Western Sahara has been violated, calling for the clamorous need of an imperative meeting at the Security Council¹³². In total, three claims for securitization on behalf of the Spanish government, as specified in the letters. Francoism intended to promote the impression that the UN-Spanish structure on decolonization was being used to resolve this problem.

On 7th November, with Moroccan civilians already kilometers deep into Spanish territory, Secretary-General Waldheim proposed that both the March and Spain were to withdraw from the territory, allowing for a temporary UN administration that would organize a self-determination referendum within 6 months¹³³. However, as explained, earlier, Hassan II was not going to withdraw the March. This, plus the late response of the UN, did not favor this proposed solution. In other words, the relevant audiences did not accept the proposed measures. In his examination of these events, Bárbulo takes a journalistic approach which picks up both realist and idealist elements: on one hand, he observes the irrelevance of the UN in the light of major power of the US and its strive for influence, on the other he criticizes the organization's failure in protecting human rights and self-

¹³⁰ Jaime De Piniés, 'S/11851 - Carta de Fecha 18 de Octubre de 1975 Dirigida al Presidente Del Consejo de Seguridad Por El Representante Permanente de España Ante Las Naciones Unidas.', 18 October 1975.

¹³¹ Antonio Elías, 'S/11864 - Carta de Fecha 1 de Noviembre de 1975 Dirigida al Presidente Del Consejo de Seguridad Por El Encargado de Negocios Interino de La Misión Permanente de España Ante Las Naciones Unidas', 1 October 1975.

¹³² Antonio Elías, 'S/11867 - Carta de Fecha 6 de Noviembre de 1975 Dirigida al Presidente Del Consejo de Seguridad Por El Encargado de Negocios de La Misión Permanente de España Ante Las Naciones Unidas', n.d.

¹³³ 'Waldheim Outlines Sahara Role for U.N.', *The New York Times*, 9 November 1975, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/11/09/archives/waldheim-outlines-sahara-role-for-un.html>.

determination through its insufficient actions¹³⁴. Rodríguez Jiménez frames them in the realist context of regional rivalries with amid Cold War superpowers¹³⁵, focusing on geopolitics. A securitization/constructivist approach, though, can better explain why the UN was never an option for a desperate Hassan, and following a domino effect, neither for Francoism.

Thus, a parallel securitization was in motion in Spain. Three figures are critical in this process: Antonio Carro, Minister of Presidency, José Solís, Minister of the National Movement; and Carlos Arias Navarro, President of the Government. On 20th October, 1975, Arias Navarro presided a meeting in Madrid in which these three men, among other members of the High Command of the Military and the government, discussed the Saharan situation¹³⁶. Solís, in an interview in 1985, would declare that in said meeting, the possibility of a war with Morocco in which tens of thousands of civilians could perish in a territory that Spain was preparing to leave, even before the Moroccan claims, was considered real¹³⁷. The prestige of the Armed Forces would be damaged forever, and the rejection of the international community would be unanimous and implacable, which would consequently dynamite the transition to post-Francoism¹³⁸. Thus, this affirmation can be considered to illustrate the main identified referent subjects (what is threatened) in the priority understanding of the Francoist authorities.

Thus, once the identification of the threat is constructed and the proposed measure is allowed by the relevant audience/s, the mobilization against the menace can proceed. Solís, Minister of National Movement, assured that on the morning of 21st October 1975, he received a call from Arias Navarro in which he urged him to travel to Morocco and negotiate the postponing of the Green March, opening the floor for bilateral negotiations, while the government took care of

¹³⁴ Tomás Bárbulo, *La Historia Prohibida Del Sáhara Español*, 76–95.

¹³⁵ José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, *Agonía, Traición, Huida: El Final Del Sáhara Español*, 360–90.

¹³⁶ RTVE, 'La "Marcha Verde". José Solís Ruiz habla de su encuentro con Hassan II en 1975', accessed 31 May 2021, <https://www.rtve.es/alacarta/audios/fue-noticia-en-el-archivo-de-rtve/ct-113804/891619/>.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*.

negotiations, too, with the UN¹³⁹. Solís' trip to Morocco was, factually, the beginning of bilateral negotiations, as confirmed by Pedro Cortina, Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time and also present at the meeting in Madrid, during the Foreign Affairs Commission summoned in 1978 at the Spanish Congress¹⁴⁰. The exact content of these negotiations, which would clearly reveal the interests and priorities of the Spanish authorities to be secured through this means of securitization, is secret.

However, there are hints scattered on the press, for example, in an interview with Hassan II's brother, Mul-ley Abdal-lah, for the newspaper "*La Realidad*". He revealed that Morocco had offered the Spanish part "60% of Saharan phosphates' exploitation" and "military bases to protect the Canary Islands"¹⁴¹. He affirmed the need for both countries to reach an agreement, namely, one that respected Morocco's claim for sovereignty in Western Sahara¹⁴². On 30th October, amid Franco's health worsening further, Prince Juan Carlos temporarily assumed the Head of the State, presiding his first High Command meeting the following day¹⁴³. Pardo de Santayana, a high-rank commander present in these meetings, would write that, regarding the main disjunctive faced by the Spanish authorities, it came down to "opening fire on civilians, women and children, would make a historical toll befall on the Spanish military. But, on the other hand, we could not let the March reach Al-Aaiun¹⁴⁴"¹⁴⁵. Once again, the referent objects to be secured through mobilization are shaped: the prestige of the Armed Forces, avoidance of open conflict and, if possible, relative economic gains.

¹³⁹ RTVE, 'La "Marcha Verde". José Solís Ruiz habla de su encuentro con Hassan II en 1975', accessed 31 May 2021, <https://www.rtve.es/alacarta/audios/fue-noticia-en-el-archivo-de-rtve/ct-113804/891619/>.

¹⁴⁰ Cortes, 'Diario de Sesiones Del Congreso de Los Diputados: Comisión de Asuntos Exteriores', 15 March 1978, 78.

¹⁴¹ Fernando Martínez Láinez, 'Muley Abdal-Lah, Hermano de Hassan, Rechazó Cualquier Posibilidad de Autodeterminación Para Los Saharauis.', *La Realidad*, 24 October 1975, 1.

¹⁴² Ibidem.

¹⁴³ José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, *Agonía, Traición, Huida: El Final Del Sáhara Español.*, 501.

¹⁴⁴ Al-Aaiun was the capital of Spanish Sahara.

¹⁴⁵ Pardo de Santayana, cited in José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, 504.

On 2nd November 1975, Prince Juan Carlos traveled to Al-Aaiun^{146 147}. There, he pronounced these words: “I wanted to personally assure you that everything necessary to preserve our Army’s prestige and honor will be done. [...] We also wish to protect the legitimate rights of the Sahrawi people, since our mission in the world and our history demand it”¹⁴⁸. López Rodó, a renowned member of the Spanish Cortes and relevant political figure of late Francoism, would then write in his memories that Juan Carlos told him the Army would “let the Green March penetrate a few kilometers to avoid bloodshed”. He affirmed he had discussed this with Hassan II on the phone¹⁴⁹. With his trip, Juan Carlos contributed to the double securitization process Spain carried at the UN and secretly with Morocco.

As a matter of fact, during a conversation with the President at the White House on 4th November, Kissinger mentioned Juan Carlos had sent him an emissary with the message that Morocco “could have the Spanish Sahara if Hassan called off the Green March”¹⁵⁰. This information does not only confirm the request for American mediation and the existence of secret negotiations between Morocco and Spain but also that, even before the March effectively penetrated Spanish territory, the possibility of surrendering the territory to Morocco was already on the table. Juan Carlos, Head of State and thus major securitizing actor at the time, publicly confirmed the priority of the government to secure the prestige of the Army. However, at this moment the bilateral negotiations with Morocco remained secret and the problem was still being officially brought for discussion at the UN, a circumstance that demanded his discursive compromise to the Sahrawi people, too.

On the week following the effective entrance of thousands of Moroccan civilians in Spanish Sahara (November 6th, 1975), the events comprising the

¹⁴⁶ ABC, ‘Don Juan Carlos, En El Aaiún’, *ABC*, 4 November 1975.

¹⁴⁷ Lehib Abdelhay, ‘Un Dia Como Hoy En 1975, Juan Carlos Dijo; “España No Dará Un Paso Atrás”. Dos Dias Después, España Abandona El Sáhara.’, *ECSaharai* (blog), accessed 31 May 2021, <https://www.ecsaharai.com/2019/11/un-dia-como-hoy-en-1975-juan-carlos.html>.

¹⁴⁸ La Vanguardia, ‘Don Juan Carlos de Borbón, Con Las Fuerzas Españolas En El Sáhara’, *La Vanguardia*, 4 November 1975.

¹⁴⁹ Laureano López Rodó, *Claves de La Transición. Memorias IV*. (Barcelona: Plaza&Janés, 1993), 163.

¹⁵⁰ The White House, ‘Memorandum of Conversation - President Ford, Henry Kissinger, Gr. Brent Scowcroft’, 4 November 1975, 3.

mobilization stage took place frenetically. On the 7th, after a new High Command meeting in Madrid¹⁵¹, the other securitizing actor in question, Minister of Presidency Carro, was sent to meet with Hassan II in Morocco, where he would return from one day later¹⁵². On 9th November, the King announced the victory and retirement of the Green March. On the 10th, the civilians, who had penetrated a mere 10 kilometers into the Sahara, left by the thousands¹⁵³. On the 12th, Moroccan authorities, together with a Mauritanian delegation, arrived in Madrid¹⁵⁴.

On the 14th, the Joint Declaration of Principles between Morocco, Spain and Mauritania on Western Sahara, also known as the “Madrid Accords”, was made public: the *administration* of Western Sahara was effectively conceded to Morocco and Mauritania, who would abandon it in 1979¹⁵⁵. The last Spanish soldier was to leave the territory by 28th February 1976¹⁵⁶. A war for control of the territory erupted between Morocco and Polisario¹⁵⁷. Spain would be granted preferential fishing rights, and a part of the phosphates’ exploitation¹⁵⁸. In 2002, the UN officialized the legal nullity of the Accords¹⁵⁹, shaping the sentiment it, just like the Sahrawi people, had since their signing: betrayal.

2.5.: Conclusion.

In this chapter, the internal and external circumstances concerning the last years of Francoism have been put into necessary connection with the securitization of the Green March over Spanish Sahara. As explained in Chapter I of

¹⁵¹ ABC, ‘Consejo de Ministros En La Zarzuela’, *ABC*, 8 November 1975, 21.

¹⁵² José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, *Agonía, Traición, Huida: El Final Del Sáhara Español.*, 544–47.

¹⁵³ Tomás Bárbulo, *La Historia Prohibida Del Sáhara Español.* (Barcelona: Destino, 2002), 93–94.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem.*

¹⁵⁵ Encarnación Lemus López and Inmaculada Cordero Olivero, ‘Mauritania y El Sahara Español: Entre Argelia y Marruecos (1969-1979)’, *Historia y Política: Ideas, Procesos y Movimientos Sociales*, no. 41 (20 May 2019): 305–33, <https://doi.org/10.18042/hp.41.11>.

¹⁵⁶ SaharaOccidental.es, ‘Los Acuerdos Tripartitos de Madrid’, *Sahara Occidental* (blog), 21 November 2020, <https://saharaoccidental.es/quizas-te-interese/los-acuerdos-tripartitos-de-madrid/>.

¹⁵⁷ John Damis, ‘The Western Sahara Conflict: Myths and Realities’, *Middle East Journal* 37, no. 2 (1983): 169–79, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4326560>.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Los Acuerdos Tripartitos de Madrid’, *Sahara Occidental* (blog), 21 November 2020, <https://saharaoccidental.es/quizas-te-interese/los-acuerdos-tripartitos-de-madrid/>.

¹⁵⁹ UNSC, ‘S/2002/161’, 12 February 2002.

this paper, a strategic securitization approach requires that these are accounted for, in light of a proper empirical assessment.

The signing of the Madrid Accords concluded the Francoist securitization of the situation in the north of Africa. The Spanish interests reflected in the different characteristics of the process have been illustrated. On the external realm, the regime sought to utilize and revindicate the structure established between it and the UN to promote a perception of respect and seriousness toward the organization's requirements and guidelines for decolonization. However, the announcement of the civil invasion of the territory, the refusal of Hassan II to stop it (invalidating the UN proposal in practice), the American position, the Portuguese precedent, the looming death of Franco and the utter delicacy of the internal social circumstances in Spain dragged the agonizing dictatorship to decide to break its promises with the Sahrawi people, and the rules for decolonization and right to self-determination established by the UN through Resolution 1514 of 1960¹⁶⁰.

Francisco Franco died on 20th November, 1975¹⁶¹. The system he founded and commanded for close to 40 years did not survive him. His successor, Juan Carlos, became King of Spain and led the country's transition to democracy¹⁶². The rules, values, priorities, interests and identity of the Spanish regime completely changed. However, the political consequences of the abandonment of the last territory of the Spanish *empire* could not be erased. Thus, the new Spanish democracy was to deal with the desecuritization, or the institutionalization, of the Francoist securitization in Western Sahara.

Chapter III

¹⁶⁰ United Nations, 'A/RES/1514 (XV)', 14 December 1960, [https://undocs.org/en/A/Res/1514\(XV\)](https://undocs.org/en/A/Res/1514(XV)).

¹⁶¹ Esteban López-Escobar, Teresa Sádaba, and Ricardo Zugasti, 'Election Coverage in Spain: From Franco's Death to the Atocha Massacre', in *The Handbook of Election News Coverage Around the World* (Routledge, 2008).

¹⁶² *Ibidem*.

Institutionalization of the Madrid Accords – the inalienable legacy of Francoism?

In this hereby chapter, the investigation will focus on how the Spanish democratic regime which followed after General Franco's death in 1975 suffered the consequences of the institutionalization phase in the securitization process in Western Sahara. After the Madrid Accords were signed and Francoism ended, the construction of the fundamental contradiction constituted by two diametrically opposite positions on the same issue, namely the Western Sahara conflict, concerning its relations with Morocco, started. On one hand, lied the decision crystallized with the Madrid Accords -abandoning the territory, handing it over to Morocco and Mauritania, neglecting the decolonization process in which the UN had been insisting on since Resolution 1514 of 1960- which responded to the urgency of avoiding an open colonial conflict in the Maghreb and in this way, not only secure what seemed to be a period of political uncertainty following the imminent death of Franco, but also correspond American interests in the region. The other hand, thus, is occupied by, once political transition solidified into democracy in Spain, the intention to somehow amend the offense toward the Sahrawi people and the UN for the sake of asserting the new democratic identity of Spain.

What will be therefore developed in the following pages is the picture of a young democracy attempting to distance itself from the values and priorities that motivated the last decision of its authoritarian predecessor, in the shape of the securitization (identification and mobilization stages) of the Green March through the abandonment of Western Sahara. A historical analysis, sown around to consequences of the Madrid Accords, will show how Spanish-Moroccan relations since 1975 and up until the end of 2002 follow a circular pattern in which the Spanish part sees itself dragged into continuous diplomatic turmoil with its neighbor across the strait of Gibraltar, amid the evolution of the Spanish democratic identity. Hence, this chapter will be aimed towards the construction of the answer to the following research sub-question: how did the Spanish

democracy handle the consequences of its non-democratic predecessor's policy on Western Sahara in the period 1975-2002?

The simplest answer would be: “problematically”. This is what the entirety of the literature on the Spanish-Moroccan relations in this period has in common. However, the approaches and focuses taken differ. Much of the historiography places the Spanish and Sahrawi civil society at the center of their analysis, which they develop to examine how they have become crucial actors in activism against human rights violations during the Western Sahara conflict (1975-1991) and beyond. Such is the case of Gascón¹⁶³, Seisdedos¹⁶⁴ or Barreñada's¹⁶⁵ works. Other scholars like López¹⁶⁶, Velasco¹⁶⁷ and Echeverría¹⁶⁸ have examined this period through a liberalist scope centered on economic and military cooperation between Morocco and Spain as a means to maintain healthy relations. Hence, approaches focused on scaled securitization, allowing for the consequences of previous-to-democracy priorities and identities to be taken into consideration to examine the problems in Spanish-Moroccan relations during the democratic period, are non-existent.

This approach, as explained, allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the progressive shift of interests amid the change of regime what, as will be developed, results crucial to understand why Western Sahara, decades after its abandonment, still posed a central problem in the relations between the country that gave it away and the one that received it. The period selected (1975-2002) illustrates this dynamic perfectly inasmuch as 1975 represents the

¹⁶³ María Luisa Grande Gascón and Susana Ruiz Seisdedos, 'El papel de los actores sociales y políticos en la cuestión del Sáhara: evolución y perspectivas de futuro en un contexto de crisis económica y política', *RIPS: Revista de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociológicas* 12, no. 2 (5 December 2013), <https://revistas.usc.gal/index.php/rips/article/view/1583>.

¹⁶⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁶⁵ Isaías Barreñada, 'Asociacionismo y cuestión nacional en el Sahara Occidental', *Revista de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos*, no. 13 (2012), <https://revistas.uam.es/reim/article/view/888>.

¹⁶⁶ López García, 'Las Relaciones de España Con Los Países Del Magreb.'

¹⁶⁷ Castro, 'Las relaciones hispano-marroquíes durante el gobierno de Aznar'.

¹⁶⁸ Carlos Echeverría Jesús, 'La Cooperación Entre España y Los Países Del Magreb En Materia de Defensa', *Revista CIDOB d'Afers Internacionals*, no. 79/80 (2007): 73–86, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40586303>.

beginning of the Spanish political transition from dictatorship to democracy¹⁶⁹ and in 2002, the Perejil Crisis posed the moment of maximum tension between Spain and Morocco, even encompassing minor military actions taken¹⁷⁰. Hence, in this chapter, the subject of analysis will be the institutionalization (the integration, the “taking for granted”) of the Saharan issue in Spain’s relations with Morocco.

3.1.: The new aspirations of the young Spanish democracy (1975-1980)

Concerning the abandonment of what was considered to be the last Spanish colonial territory, the first years that followed it were defined by a political instrumentalization of the issue aimed internally, toward domestic politics in a new democratic context in which, logically, debate and opposition were allowed under no threat of prison. The first post-Francoist government faced, in the words of a newspaper correspondent in Morocco, a “difficult coexistence” with this country amid the Saharan dispute¹⁷¹. This impression is understandable if it is accounted that the new Spanish democracy aspired to acquire international credibility and aimed at integration with the rest of European democracies, for which the former was considered primordial¹⁷², when the last international move of Francoism had enraged the UN¹⁷³ because of the secret bilateral negotiations that had resulted in an agreement contrary to what Spain had sustainedly promised to do regarding Western Sahara at the UN. In other words, institutionalization of the Madrid Accords meant institutionalization of the UN’s mistrust and suspicion on Spain.

With democracy, the legality of political parties was recovered¹⁷⁴, what meant the return of political contestation, very present in different shapes

¹⁶⁹ Laureano López Rodó, *Claves de La Transición. Memorias IV*. (Barcelona: Plaza&Janés, 1993).

¹⁷⁰ ‘La invasión de Perejil, el otro conflicto entre España y Marruecos’.

¹⁷¹ Domingo del Pino, *La Última Guerra Con Marruecos: Ceuta y Melilla* (Barcelona: Argos-Vergara, 1983).

¹⁷² Juan Carlos Pereira Castañares and Antonio Moreno Juste, ‘España Ante El Proceso de Integración Europea Desde Una Perspectiva Histórica: Panorama Historiográfico y Líneas de Investigación.’, *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*, 1991.

¹⁷³ Tomás Bárbulo, *La Historia Prohibida Del Sáhara Español*. (Barcelona: Destino, 2002), 94.

¹⁷⁴ Enrique Suárez-Íñiguez, ‘La transición a la democracia en España: Adolfo Suárez y la ruptura pactada’, *Estudios políticos (México)*, no. 23 (August 2011): 161–77,

regarding the institutionalization of the Madrid Accords and the Saharan issue in relations with Morocco. Between the end of 1975 and June 1977, when the first elections took place, the first provisional post-Francoist government was presided by Adolfo Suárez, appointed by King Juan Carlos¹⁷⁵. The left, represented mainly by the recently-returned-from-exile “*Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers Party)*” or “PSOE”¹⁷⁶, rushed to present itself as the main unconditional ally of Polisario and the just declared “Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR)”, founded immediately after Spain effectively abandoned Western Sahara in February 1976¹⁷⁷.

Felipe González, leader of PSOE, visited the refugee camps installed in Tindouf, Algeria, where he demanded the nullity of the Madrid Accords, denounced the “bad colonization and even worse decolonization” carried out by Spain and promised that he and his party “would be with them [Polisario] until final victory”¹⁷⁸. PSOE’s delegation even signed a joint document officializing their rejection of the Madrid Accords and the offense to the Sahrawi people¹⁷⁹. In February 1977, the first democratic-era fishing agreement between Morocco and Spain had been signed, and in June that year, Suárez managed to win the first elections and stay in power. After it was known that the agreement included exploitation of Saharan waters, PSOE called it an “act of belligerence” towards Polisario¹⁸⁰. By this time, González was trying to construct a perception of him and

http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S0185-16162011000200008&lng=es&nrm=iso&tlng=es.

¹⁷⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁶ Alicia Alted Vigil, ‘Gobierno y partidos republicanos españoles en el exilio (1950-1962)’, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 27, no. 3 (1991): 85–114, <https://doi.org/10.3406/casa.1991.2595>.

¹⁷⁷ ‘La República Árabe Saharaui Democrática (RASD)’, *Sahara Occidental* (blog), 31 December 2019, <https://saharaoccidental.es/sahara/la-rasd/>.

¹⁷⁸ australopithequez, FELIPE GONZALEZ-14 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1976-CAMPAMENTO DE REFUGIADOS EN TINDUF, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QiDaJvK_ZNM&ab_channel=australopithequez.

¹⁷⁹ Libertad Digital, ‘Felipe González En Tinduf, En 1976: “Nuestro Partido Estará Con Vosotros Hasta La Victoria Final”’, 12 July 2005, <https://www.libertaddigital.com/mundo/felipe-gonzalez-en-tinduf-en-1976-nuestro-partido-estara-con-vosotros-hasta-la-victoria-final-1276256035/>.

¹⁸⁰ López García, B. ‘Marruecos En La Política Española, Coyuntura Internacional y Política Española (1898-2004)’, Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid 2010, Pp. 237-254’, accessed 29 April 2021, https://www.academia.edu/2966146/_Marruecos_en_la_pol%C3%ADtica_espa%C3%B1ola_.

his party based on a frontal opposition to Francoist values, symbolized in the rejection of its last major international move. González was frontally contesting the institutionalization of the Madrid Accords, responding to his purpose of constructing the image of his party in diametrical opposition to the tenets of Francoist securitization.

González, leader of the opposition between 1977 and 1982, in line with the position explained earlier, did not miss the chance to visit Algeria in March 1977 to reiterate his support for Polisario's positions¹⁸¹. PSOE did yet again show its commitment to the nullity of the Madrid Accords by demanding that former president Arias Navarro and some of his ministers and other relevant figures in the abandonment of Western Sahara appeared in Congress to inform on how exactly said accords were reached¹⁸². In this way, he attempted to, yet again, define the identity of PSOE as a revolutionary agent against the non-democratic decisions of Francoism and the Suárez administration who did not question them.

Since PSOE's initiative was approved by the Congress¹⁸³, it may be suggested the highest legislative organism was attempting to at least show some kind of commitment with clarification of what actually had happened in the secret negotiations with Morocco, in an attempt to stage a rupture with the secrecy of the negotiations regarding the securitization of the Green March. The Madrid Accords, though, were not going to be nulled or denounced, and the sessions did not produce excessively revealing information¹⁸⁴. Nevertheless, these events possibly pose the first moment in which the Spanish new administration became aware of how important it was to renew the image of the Spanish system after a pacific transition from authoritarianism. *El País*, one of the most relevant national

¹⁸¹ López García, B. *'Marruecos En La Política Española, Coyuntura Internacional y Política Española (1898-2004)*, Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid 2010, Pp. 237-254'.

¹⁸² Pablo. Sebastián, 'Arias y Algunos de Sus Ministros, Convocados a Informar Sobre La Descolonización Del Sahara', *El País*, 13 January 1978.

¹⁸³ Pablo. Sebastián, 'Arias y Algunos de Sus Ministros, Convocados a Informar Sobre La Descolonización Del Sahara', *El País*, 13 January 1978.

¹⁸⁴ Cortes, 'Diario de Sesiones Del Congreso de Los Diputados: Comisión de Asuntos Exteriores', 15 March 1978.

newspapers of the time¹⁸⁵, published this cartoon alongside the news of the organization of the sessions for clarification of the Madrid Accords in Congress:



Figure 4: cartoon published in *El País* on 13th January 1978. It shows former president Arias Navarro, what he is thinking being (from left to right): “Me declaring... about Sahara? My God! Have they not conceded amnesty?”

In this cartoon, an afraid ex-president Arias Navarro wonders why he is being called to declare in Congress about Sahara, when “amnesty has been granted”. What this suggests is that the perception by the media at the time was that the key figures of the Madrid Accords (this is, the mobilization against the threat of the Green March) were somewhat aware of the lack of legitimacy of their activities in a hypothetical democratic regime. They felt shielded by the secrecy of Francoism, but when the new Spanish democracy was attempting to use them to gain credibility, they felt unsafe. In other words, they were aware of the problematic institutionalization of their decisions on Western Sahara should the key values of the regime change, as they did, with democratization.

Yet again, it is interesting to observe how those responsible for the Accords were called to clarify but claims for the nullity of the agreements were never listened to. Defensive neorealism’s scholars¹⁸⁶ would argue that the State was trying to maintain the status quo as a means to not alter the delicate state of security that young systems characteristically have. Securitization, though, suggests that relations with Morocco were just as important as they were before

¹⁸⁵ ‘Historia de El País’, Escuela de Periodismo UAM - El País, accessed 10 June 2021, <https://escuela.elpais.com/historia-de-el-pais/>.

¹⁸⁶ Steven E. Lobell, *Structural Realism/Offensive and Defensive Realism*, vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.304>.

Franco's death (concerning fishing interests¹⁸⁷, the phosphates' exploitation¹⁸⁸, both countries being neighboring monarchies and the intimate friendship of the respective kings¹⁸⁹, the remaining Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla¹⁹⁰), and questioning the legality of the Accords would severely disrupt not only this, but relations with the US in the still present context of the Cold War. Historiography does not reflect this analysis, but merely focuses on the *realpolitik* of the Spanish transition¹⁹¹.

The Congress, though, was not the only Spanish public institution that attempted to contribute to the shift in the perception of the Spanish identity at the expense of the previous handling of the Saharan problem and in favor of the establishment of international democratic credibility. In June 1979, in the midst of Morocco's war against Polisario, King Juan Carlos and his wife Sofia visited Morocco on an official trip in which they met with Hassan II¹⁹². This visit was truly a national event, in which the Spanish monarchs crossed the Strait of Gibraltar in a warship and Ministers went along¹⁹³. However, probably aware of the potential international impression that this trip had the potential to cause, Juan Carlos addressed a public letter to Hassan II, who he calls his "brother"¹⁹⁴. In this letter, Juan Carlos argued that the Madrid Accords responded to an urgency to preserve "international peace and security" since the UN's calls for the halting of the Green March had not resulted effective in pursuing such goal¹⁹⁵. He also assured the

¹⁸⁷ BOE, 'BOE-A-1983-26944 Acuerdo de 1 de Agosto de 1983, de Cooperación Sobre Pesca Marítima Entre España y El Reino de Marruecos, Hecho En Rabat.', 11 October 1983, https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-1983-26944.

¹⁸⁸ 'Waldheim Outlines Sahara Role for U.N.', *The New York Times*, 9 November 1975, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/11/09/archives/waldheim-outlines-sahara-role-for-un.html>.

¹⁸⁹ Ignacio Cembrero, 'Veinte años de la muerte del rey Hassan II, el compadre de don Juan Carlos', *Veritatis*, 23 July 2019, https://www.veritatis.elconfidencial.com/casas-reales/2019-07-23/hassan-ii-aniversario-20-muerte-juan-carlos-rey_2138847/.

¹⁹⁰ ABC, 'Desde cuándo Ceuta y Melilla son españolas', *abc*, 21 May 2021, https://www.abc.es/historia/abci-desde-cuando-ceuta-melilla-son-espanolas-nsv-202105211559_noticia.html.

¹⁹¹ Hernando de Larramendi, 'La Cuestión Del Sáhara Occidental En La Política Exterior Española'.

¹⁹² El País, 'Los Reyes iniciarán su visita a Marruecos en Fez', *El País*, 11 June 1979, sec. España, https://elpais.com/diario/1979/06/12/espana/297986423_850215.html.

¹⁹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹⁴ Juan Carlos de Borbón, 'Carta de Juan Carlos I a Hassan II', 21 September 1975.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*.

Madrid Accords were reached in the frame of the UN Charter's Article 33 (Pacific Resolution of Disputes)¹⁹⁶. Juan Carlos was in this way trying to reframe the institutionalization of the Accords, aware of how problematic it could get to be should its perception not change.

He finalized the letter by expressing his intention for the Hispano-Moroccan relations to be “exemplary” and immune to “conjunctural” situations¹⁹⁷. It is revealing to observe how in this letter, the King presents “international peace and security” as the referent object of the securitization of the Green March, when in his visit to Western Sahara in November 1975, this had been “the honor and prestige of the Spanish Armed Forces”. This variation is revealing for the purpose of this investigation, since it illustrates a quite radical change of discourse from an actor that acts as a link between Francoism and democracy, reflecting a shift in the priorities he defends. Same securitizing actor, same issue, different referent objects. It is the change in the national identity and interests (Spain aspiring to assert democratic credibility) that motivates this dynamic.

3.2.: President González changes his mind (1981-1995)

The parliamentary elections of October 1982 in Spain accounted for the highest level of participation ever recorded in Spanish democratic history. In the words of historian Santos Juliá, these elections “had a legitimating effect on democracy and the end of the process of political transition can be seen in them”¹⁹⁸. On this occasion, PSOE obtained a remarkable victory accumulating 201 seats in Congress, a number that granted the party full liberty to govern the nation for, at least, the following 4 years¹⁹⁹.

Felipe González, now the president of the first leftist government in Spain since the II Republic, did not wait long to change the positions he had defended as

¹⁹⁶ United Nations, ‘UN Charter’ (United Nations, 1945), <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter>.

¹⁹⁷ de Borbón, ‘Carta de Juan Carlos I a Hassan II’.

¹⁹⁸ Santos Juliá, *Un Siglo de España: Política y Sociedad*. (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 1999), 261.

¹⁹⁹ El País, ‘Mayoría absoluta del PSOE y confirmación de AP como segunda fuerza parlamentaria de España’, *El País*, 28 October 1982, sec. España, https://elpais.com/diario/1982/10/29/espana/404694003_850215.html.

leader of the opposition on a variety of issues. The most (in)famous example is his radical opinion shift in what contended Spain's role in NATO. If up until 1981 he had harshly criticized the previous Spanish administration for the decision of adhering Spain to the Alliance alleging that the population had not been consulted because "Spaniards did not want to align with anyone" and had the right to choose "whether they wanted to belong to a military alliance"²⁰⁰, in 1984 he would be adamant in his defense of the organization and its cruciality in Spain's security interests²⁰¹, celebrating the Spanish permanence in the organization as a "success of the Spanish people"²⁰². This modification reflects the change in González's perception of his responsibility toward the major interest of Spain: international integration. If he had kept advocating for the Spanish abandonment of NATO, this would have had the potential to be perceived by the EEC as a neglect of the country's duties in the defense of the community²⁰³. If Spain was to integrate the common European economic and political structure, its military commitment to the region in the last years of the Cold War could not be doubted.

Under this same consideration, he would abandon his fierce criticism of the Madrid Accords and his recognition of the SADR, all for the sake of what his administration called "a new global policy"²⁰⁴. Securitization theory can explain this shift through the notion of legitimacy, which entails the main interaction between audience and securitizing actor/s. González, now in a position of power, what changes the perception that actors like the EEC or Morocco have of him, is subjected to the context derived from the Madrid Accords in a relevant way. Now, he is acknowledging the American and French²⁰⁵ preference of a Moroccan Sahara

²⁰⁰ 'Así cambió el discurso de Felipe González sobre la OTAN tras ganar las elecciones', *LaSexta*, 12 November 2017, https://www.lasexta.com/programas/el-objetivo/maldita-hemeroteca/asi-cambio-el-discurso-de-felipe-gonzalez-sobre-la-otan-tras-ganar-las-elecciones_2016121858570e880cf20341e409234f.html.

²⁰¹ Carlos Del Castillo, 'Crónica de Un Engaño: 30 Años Del Referéndum de La OTAN | Público', *Público*, 10 March 2016, <https://www.publico.es/politica/cronica-engano-30-anos-del.html>.

²⁰² 'Así cambió el discurso de Felipe González sobre la OTAN tras ganar las elecciones'.

²⁰³ Juan Antonio Martínez Sánchez, 'El Referendum Sobre La Permanencia de España En La OTAN', *UNISCI Discussion Papers* 26 (2011): 283–310, https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_UNIS.2011.v26.37825.

²⁰⁴ Hernando de Larramendi, 'La Cuestión Del Sáhara Occidental En La Política Exterior Española', in *Sáhara Occidental: 40 Años Después*. (Madrid: Catarata, 2016), 267.

²⁰⁵ Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 'CIA - RDP80T00942A000800130002-1', April 1979, 10–11.

explained in Chapter II, and seeks a more neutral approach to the conflict since Ceuta, Melilla and the Canary Islands are sensitive to shifts in the official Spanish position²⁰⁶. In the words of Hernando de Larramendi, González could not afford “another Green March over Ceuta and Melilla”²⁰⁷.

In January 1986, the Spanish democracy saw one of its major aspirations accomplished: effective integration within the European Economic Community (EEC)²⁰⁸. This event meant the international recognition of Spanish democracy’s solidness. Spain’s homologation with the other European democracies was a crucial step in the country’s external and self-perceptions’ improvement. However, this evolution required adaptation to communitarian laws and policies. Spain, possessing territories in the African continent and acting as the closest point between this and Europe, had to invest much effort in reforming its outdated immigration laws, at the expense of the delicate relations with Morocco.

Spanish southern border had then become the EEC’s southern border, and thus, the priority was established to assert Spain’s compromise with the EEC and its laws in immigration. Hence, the year 1986 finished with the establishment of new legislation, which in effect, observed the deportation of anyone staying illegally in Spanish territory²⁰⁹. This caused that many citizens of Moroccan origin in the cities of Ceuta and Melilla became essentially stateless overnight, which, considering that Morocco deemed these two enclaves to be rightfully and historically its²¹⁰, was found unacceptable. Here, the institutionalization of the one major historical Moroccan move claiming sovereignty over Spanish territory (the Green March). This means that given the past mutual experience, Moroccan rage

²⁰⁶ Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 11–12.

²⁰⁷ Hernando de Larramendi, ‘La Cuestión Del Sáhara Occidental En La Política Exterior Española’.

²⁰⁸ Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, ‘España y La Unión Europea’, accessed 29 April 2021, <http://www.exteriores.gob.es/portal/es/politicaexteriorcooperacion/unioneuropea/paginas/espu e.aspx>.

²⁰⁹ BOE, ‘Real Decreto 1119/1986, de 26 de Mayo, Por El Que Se Aprueba El Reglamento de Ejecución de La Ley Orgánica 7/1985, de 1 de Julio, Sobre Derechos y Libertades de Los Extranjeros En España.’, 26 May 1986, <https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1986-15311>.

²¹⁰ Domingo del Pino, *La Última Guerra Con Marruecos: Ceuta y Melilla* (Barcelona: Argos-Vergara, 1983).

over the situation in Ceuta and Melilla is normalized in relations with Spain, regardless of how problematic this can be.

However, the shift in the priorities of the -progressively more credible through international recognition- Spanish democracy was very clear in this decision. As Spain gathered international prestige, its self-perception of political autonomy grew, at a certain cost to the restraints inherited from Francoism, like the ones in the relations with Morocco. Tensions were to be eased in October 1988 with an official visit by King Hassan II to Spain, but after the Spanish delegation at the IV UN Committee supported an Algerian position in favor of Polisario, the visit was canceled²¹¹. It was not until September of the following year that Hassan II visited Spain with all sorts of honors, in an event which was called “historical” by the media²¹². In respect to the conflict in Western Sahara, the Secretary-General of the UN at the time, Pérez de Cuéllar, had presented a settlement plan for the war that both parties initially accepted in August 1988²¹³. In June 1990, the Security Council unanimously supported this plan through Resolution S/21360²¹⁴.

The fact that both Polisario and Morocco supported this plan was used by Spain to try to exclude the Saharan dispute from the normalcy of its relations with the Maghreb region, in an attempt to fill that void with economic interdependencies that developed stronger bonds between the parts²¹⁵. It would seem logical to approach this proposition through liberalist notions, insofar as it seems clear that the establishment of deeper economic relations was thought to constitute the right path for peace and prosperity²¹⁶. Nonetheless, if priorities and identities are brought into the analysis, the Spanish rush to reframe its relations with the Maghreb region in this way can be better explained.

²¹¹ Emma Roig, ‘Hassan II iniciará su visita oficial a España el próximo 25 de septiembre’, *El País*, 8 November 1988, sec. España, https://elpais.com/diario/1989/08/12/espana/618876012_850215.html.

²¹² Ibidem.

²¹³ UNSC, ‘RES/621’, 20 September 1988.

²¹⁴ UNSC, ‘S/21360’, 18 June 1990, <https://undocs.org/en/S/21360>.

²¹⁵ López García, ‘Marruecos En La Política Española, Coyuntura Internacional y Política Española (1898-2004)’, Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid 2010, Pp. 237-254’. p. 267

²¹⁶ Keohane, ‘Twenty Years of Institutional Liberalism’.

Spanish rapidness to displace this problem from its relations with Morocco responds to the intention of reframing the institutional normalcy of bilateral relations with. This suggests the acknowledgment from Spain's democratic securitizing actors that the Saharan question was indeed a cyclic issue, in which they were trapped between the irreversibility of the outcomes of the Madrid Accords and the strategic importance of relations with Morocco, and the priority of strengthening Spain's democratic identity through the amendment of the "betrayal" to the UN that the Accords meant in 1975. The core of Pérez de Cuéllar's plan was the celebration of a self-determination referendum in Western Sahara in which independence was an option²¹⁷. Said referendum, agreed to take place in January 1992, was to be promoted and protected by the dispatch of a UN mission²¹⁸: MINURSO²¹⁹. The main issue concerning the referendum was the census of eligible voters: the last study had been realized by Spanish authorities in 1974 and accounted for roughly 74,000 inhabitants²²⁰. However, Morocco also wanted the colonizers resulting from the Green March to be eligible for vote²²¹.

This dispute constituted the blockage that would sabotage the referendum for the whole decade of 1990²²². During this time, Spain will remain neutral and parapet itself behind the UN resolutions on the issue, while being part of the main group preparing them in the first place: the Group of Friends of Western Sahara, formed by Spain, France, the UK, the US and Russia in 1993²²³. If becoming part of this UN task force further legitimized the Spanish democracy, the presence in it of two of Morocco's most important international allies (the US and France) further restrained Spain's actions to maintain an "active neutrality" approach, which was

²¹⁷ UNSC, 'RES/621'.

²¹⁸ *Mission des Nations Unies pour l'Organisation d'un Référendum au Sahara Occidental*.

²¹⁹ UNSC.

²²⁰ Soroeta Licerias, Juan, 'El Sahara Occidental: La Deuda Pendiente de La Comunidad Internacional', *Meridiano CERI*, February 1998, <https://www.arso.org/01-3-24.htm>.

²²¹ Samir Bennis, 'Western Sahara: Why the Referendum Has Been Impossible Since Day One', <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/>, accessed 10 June 2021, <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2016/04/184361/western-sahara-why-the-referendum-was-impossible-since-day-one>.

²²² *Ibidem*.

²²³ Whitfield, Teresa, 'A Crowded Field: Groups of Friends, the United Nations and the Resolution of Conflict', *Center on International Cooperation: Studies in Security Institutions* 1 (n.d.).

already motivated by its particular security interests with this country. Spain was in this way starting to accept the institutionalization of the Saharan problem in its relations with Morocco although this would not make them less conflictive.

3.3.: New government, same problem: the Aznar era and the Perejil Crisis (1996-2002)

It was in this context that after 14 years of socialist government, PSOE lost the elections to José María Aznar and his "*Partido Popular (People's Party)*" or PP, the major right-wing party of the moment in Spain²²⁴, in 1996. This change in the government brought a significant evolution of Spain's self-perception in the international sphere. After a decade of integration at the -recently renamed- European Union, Spain had acquired notable importance within the organization, and facing the prospect of monetary union in the shape of the adoption of the Euro, one of Aznar's top priorities was to meet the criteria for Spain to be among the first European states to adopt it and thus, assert the status of the country as a participant in the leading processes of the EU²²⁵.

By 1999, this goal was achieved and in the eyes of the Spanish government, all the arguments to redefine Spain as potential European leader and globally recognized consolidated democracy were present²²⁶. Thus, Aznar's administration was marked by the aspiration to become a decisive international actor, and as such, the be able to defend its national interests with autonomy. Given this new approach to Spain's role in Europe and the world, constraints like the ones defined by the institutionalization of the Madrid Accords in the relations with such an important associate like Morocco were not welcomed, and more likely than ever, were capricious.

The escalation that led to the closest to armed conflict Spain and Morocco have been in the democratic era began in March 2001, when Morocco decided not

²²⁴ Carlos Yárnoz, 'Aznar Gana, Pero Necesita Pactos Para Gobernar.', El País, 4 March 1996, https://elpais.com/diario/1996/03/04/espana/825894047_850215.html.

²²⁵ José María Aznar, *Ocho Años de Gobierno* (Madrid: TlTivillus, 2004), 77-80.

²²⁶ Ibidem.

to renovate its fishing agreements with the EU²²⁷, on which southern Spanish fleets almost exclusively depended, causing outrage in Aznar's administration. As depicted, the Aznar administration's discourse was based on the commitment to the protection of Spanish interests and the exercise of full political autonomy. This can be appreciated in the shape of Aznar's reaction to Morocco's refusal to renovate fishing agreements. Not even 24 hours after the announcement, the Spanish president warned about the consequences, even talking about "retaliation"²²⁸.

In this climate, the month of August brought an immigration crisis [namely, hundreds of boats crossing the Mediterranean from Morocco to Spain] for which Spanish Foreign Affairs Minister Piqué blamed the Moroccan authorities²²⁹. In response, King Muhammad VI demanded "shared responsibilities" in an interview with the newspaper *"Le Figaro"*. However, the tipping point of this crisis would come in October 2001, when a non-official referendum for the independence of Western Sahara was hosted by the Andalusian Parliament with knowledge of the national government²³⁰.

This would spark outrage in Morocco, which would develop into the call to consultations of the Moroccan ambassador in Madrid²³¹. In April 2002, President Aznar would publicly blame Morocco for all the bilateral tensions affecting the countries at the time²³². In May, Minister Piqué would say that Morocco "colonizing Western Sahara [...] makes it hardly impossible to reach a unanimously agreed upon solution"²³³. In June, the attacks on one another would continue with Aznar

²²⁷ 'Fisheries: No Agreement between EU and Morocco.', Text, European Commission - European Commission, 26 March 2001, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_01_443.

²²⁸ Rocío Velasco de Castro, 'Las relaciones hispano-marroquíes durante el gobierno de Aznar: visiones y versiones encontradas a ambos lados del estrecho' (España en democracia: actas del IV Congreso de Historia de Nuestro Tiempo, Universidad de La Rioja, 2014), 321–30, <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4847694>.

²²⁹ Ibidem, 323–24.

²³⁰ El País, 'Más de 100.000 Andaluces Participaron En Un Referéndum Simbólico de Apoyo al Pueblo Saharaui', *El País*, 30 October 2001.

²³¹ El País, 'Marruecos Llama a Consultas a Su Embajador En Madrid de Manera Indefinida', *El País*, 28 October 2001.

²³² Castro, 'Las relaciones hispano-marroquíes durante el gobierno de Aznar', 323.

²³³ Ibidem.

declaring during a European summit in Seville that he would like to “punish” the countries not actively contributing to stopping illegal immigration²³⁴. Morocco understood this was being directed to them, and in July 2002, after the European Parliament declared it was in favor of a referendum of self-determination in Western Sahara, it decided to take matters a step further and invade an island 200 meters off the coast of Ceuta²³⁵.

After calling its ambassador in Morocco to consultations too, the Spanish government sent its own contingent and “retook” the island (it never had effective sovereignty over it either)²³⁶. American mediation managed to make both parts agree on restituting the previous status²³⁷. Claims at over Moroccan sovereignty over the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, and their respective response by Spanish delegates, followed in September^{238 239}. In November, amid the celebration of the 27th Anniversary of the Green March that started all the trouble with Spain back in 1975, Muhammad VI called the Saharan dispute “artificial” and affirmed that any potential solution must be adopted with respect to Moroccan national integrity²⁴⁰. This diplomatic crisis would not see its end until December 2002, when French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac mediated and together with Muhammad VI agreed on the creation of several working groups on issues like immigration and economic relations including Spanish and Moroccan officials²⁴¹.

²³⁴ Ibidem.

²³⁵ ‘La invasión de Perejil, el otro conflicto entre España y Marruecos: “Al alba y con viento de levante”’, *El Plural*, 19 May 2021, https://www.elplural.com/politica/invasion-perejil-conflicto-espana-marruecos-al-alba-viento-levante_266816102.

²³⁶ Deutsche Welle (www.dw.com), ‘La crisis de Perejil | DW | 12.07.2002’, DW.COM, accessed 11 June 2021, <https://www.dw.com/es/la-crisis-de-perejil/a-591160>.

²³⁷ Telemadrid, ‘Piqué: “EEUU nos ayudó con Marruecos gracias a que teníamos una relación muy estrecha”’, Telemadrid, 21 May 2021, <https://www.telemadrid.es/programas/buenos-dias-madrid/Josep-Pique-EEUU-resolver-Marruecos-2-2343085678--20210521111459.html>.

²³⁸ *El País*, ‘Marruecos Reivindica En La ONU La “Recuperación” de Ceuta y Melilla’, *El País*, 14 September 2002.

²³⁹ *El País*, ‘España Reafirma Ante La ONU Su Soberanía Sobre Ceuta y Melilla En Respuesta a Rabat’, *El País*, 15 September 2002.

²⁴⁰ *La Vanguardia*, ‘Mohamed VI dice que el referéndum sobre el Sahara ha caducado porque es inaplicable’, *La Vanguardia*, 6 November 2002, sec. Internacional, <https://www.lavanguardia.com/internacional/20021106/51262764143/mohamed-vi-dice-que-el-referendum-sobre-el-sahara-ha-caducado-porque-es-inaplicable.html>.

²⁴¹ Velasco de Castro, ‘Las relaciones hispano-marroquíes durante el gobierno de Aznar’.

A liberalist approach to this last set of events would possibly argue that what caused the crisis in the first place was the refusal of Morocco to partake in the best means for peace: economic cooperation, which was the frame proposed by ex-president González at the ceasefire in Western Sahara in 1991. A realist one, however, would position the struggle for assertion of power that two neighboring nations engage in, even through military action, at the core of the events. However, the truth is that the military team sent by Morocco to the island was formed by about 10 soldiers with shotguns and no advanced war equipment whatsoever²⁴².

Years later, President Aznar would describe the Perejil Crisis as a “Moroccan test to see how far the Spanish reaction would go”²⁴³. This suggests that the intention of the invasion can be better explained through a priorities-based analysis in constructivism terms. Spain and Morocco’s mutual perceptions had gradually worsened in the previous years. As Spain aimed to gain more political autonomy and further solidify its ascendant regional influence, the skepticism and contestation of previous political limitations like the ones constructed by the institutionalization of the Madrid Accords, which constituted a major obstacle in its action margins within one of its most important neighbors, grew proportionally. Morocco, motivated by its own national interests and identity in which its common historical experience with Spain regarding Western Sahara plays a crucial role, sought to reaffirm the irreversibility of the consequences of the Madrid Accords and thus, push Spain to act consequently.

3.4. Conclusion.

This last episode is the closest Spain and Morocco have actually been to an armed conflict since the Madrid Accords of 1975 meant the handing over of Western Sahara to the monarch led by Hassan II. What the 2001-2002 crisis proves is that the progression and strengthening of the Spanish democratic identity, starting at the political transition, becomes more and more problematic with the institutionalization of the Western Sahara problem in its relations with Morocco. Especially during the Aznar administration, in which the self-perception of Spain

²⁴² Ibidem.

²⁴³ TecnicoAudiovisual, *Perejil - Al Alba Con Viento de Levante*, 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xNTiUOj-ADk&t=72s&ab_channel=TecnicoAudiovisual.

evolved into the aspiration of exercising the role of a leading European democracy in the global sphere. However, securitization and the constructivist scope it employs allows for a bigger picture and understanding of the perception that Spain and Morocco have of their mutual history, and the reinterpretation of it that the Spanish democracy gradually carried in its effort to distance itself from Francoism.

Conclusions

“Any Spanish government that concedes to a policy of blackmail [...], motivated by an attempt to resolve complications in its foreign policy in the short term and an internal context of difficult transition, would be severely harming the national interests, which could be compromised irreparably. In these conditions, it would contract an extremely serious historical responsibility with the Spanish people.²⁴⁴”

These lines were included in an article in the moderated, reformist magazine *“Cambio 16”*, written by two of the members of the Spanish delegation to the UN in light of what was starting to take shape as the abandonment of Western Sahara by its colonizers in the conditions explained in this paper. These diplomats, who had been voicing the allegedly strong compromise of Spain with its decolonization duties toward the African territory in the UN, were aware of the progress of the Green March, as well as of the decisions to be made by the Ministry of Presidency exercising the power that, in theory, belonged to the one of Foreign Affairs, to which these two men belonged. Few days after the article was published, the Madrid Accords were signed, and the fears described in the lines above turned into a premonition.

This paper has attempted to use securitization theory displayed into three different phases, encompassing different actors, audiences and overall values and identities, to explain why the Francoist decision to hand over the last Spanish colony in Africa, namely Western Sahara, to the Moroccan monarchy of Hassan II, posed an inalienable problem in the relations with latter of the succeeding democratic regime in Spain. An analysis in historical perspective using this

²⁴⁴ Francisco Villar and Francisco Schwartz, ‘El Sáhara No Es Una Finca’, *Cambio 16*, 10 November 1975, 15.

theoretical frame and the constructivist base from which it emerges, has allowed for the illustration of the dynamic that most accurately explains this issue, which is the evolution of the self-perception and identity of Spain, marked by its different governments and their priorities, which made Spain progress in the achievement of democratic development milestones.

Thus, what phased securitization is useful for in this case study is the examination of the referent objects to be protected from the possibility of a colonial war in the context of a dying authoritarian regime's weakest moment, in contrast with those of a young democratic system which seeks to redefine its image in the international sphere and acquire credibility and notoriousness in the context of European integration and the birth of globalization in the post-Cold War era, conditioned, in a very specific way, by the irrevocable decisions of its predecessor. This is why the Francoist securitization in Western Sahara in 1975 conditioned the relations of the succeeding Spanish democracy with Morocco.

Moreover, this paper has showed that securitization can also be carried out by dictatorships, inasmuch as just as any other regime, there are cultural and historical experiences and elements which preservation is paramount for these (in the case of Francoism, for example, the prestige of the Army and the dependency on US relations). Adjustments must be made to understand the role of the audience in these cases, since secrecy tends to be a particularly powerful conditioner in authoritarian regimes. This makes it possible that the truly relevant audience emerges from the same sector where the securitizing actors are: the dominating political elite. In summation, what this paper has showed is the ultimate effect that a political transition, understood as democratization in this case, can have in a process of securitization divided into phases.

The Western Sahara conflict encapsulates many interesting issues not subjected, or not thoroughly enough, to analysis in this paper. For further research, it would result of utter interest to develop the Moroccan construction of its nation concerning Western Sahara using a comparative approach between subaltern realism as proposed by Ayoob and securitization/constructivism. Then, should the COVID-19 pandemic eventually recede, research on perceptions of the role and consequences of Spanish ambiguousness in its position toward Western Sahara by

the Sahrawi people could pose a topic of great interest. Finally, a comparative approach between liberalism and constructivism could result in innovative findings if it were to be applied to the repercussion of the Spanish position in Western Sahara concerning its relations with Algeria.

Bibliography

- ABC. 'Consejo de Ministros En La Zarzuela'. *ABC*. 8 November 1975.
- . 'Desde cuándo Ceuta y Melilla son españolas'. *ABC*, 21 May 2021. https://www.abc.es/historia/abci-desde-cuando-ceuta-melilla-son-espanolas-nsv-202105211559_noticia.html.
- . 'Don Juan Carlos, En El Aaiún'. *ABC*. 4 November 1975.
- Abdelhay, Lehib. 'Un Dia Como Hoy En 1975, Juan Carlos Dijo; "España No Dará Un Paso Atrás". Dos Dias Después, España Abandona El Sáhara.' *ECSaharai* (blog). Accessed 31 May 2021. <https://www.ecsaharai.com/2019/11/un-dia-como-hoy-en-1975-juan-carlos.html>.
- Agirre, Julen. *Operación Ogro: Cómo y Por Qué Ejecutamos a Carrero Blanco*. Hendaya, Paris: Ediciones Mugalde, Ruedo Ibérico, 1974.
- Encyclopedia Britannica. 'Alfonso XIII | King of Spain'. Accessed 13 June 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Alfonso-XIII>.
- Ali, Lyakat. 'The Western Sahara Issue - Decolonization or Greater Morocco.' School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1997.
- Alted Vigil, Alicia. 'Gobierno y partidos republicanos españoles en el exilio (1950-1962)'. *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 27, no. 3 (1991): 85–114. <https://doi.org/10.3406/casa.1991.2595>.
- LaSexta. 'Así cambió el discurso de Felipe González sobre la OTAN tras ganar las elecciones', 12 November 2017. https://www.lasexta.com/programas/el-objetivo/maldita-hemeroteca/asi-cambio-el-discurso-de-felipe-gonzalez-sobre-la-otan-tras-ganar-las-elecciones_2016121858570e880cf20341e409234f.html.
- australopithequez. *FELIPE GONZALEZ-14 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1976-CAMPAMENTO DE REFUGIADOS EN TINDUF*, 2013.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QiDaJvK_ZNM&ab_channel=australopithecuez.

Ayoob, Mohammed. 'Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism'. *International Studies Review* 4, no. 3 (2002): 27–48.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3186462>.

Aznar, José María. *Ocho Años de Gobierno*. Madrid: Titivillus, 2004.

B. Vilar, Juan. 'Franquismo y Descolonización Española En África.' *Historia Contemporánea* 30 (2005): 129–58.

Balzacq, Thierry. 'Constructivism and Securitization Studies'. In *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*, 56–72. London, New York: Routledge, 2009.

———. *Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve*. London, New York: Routledge, 2010. <https://www.routledge.com/Securitization-Theory-How-Security-Problems-Emerge-and-Dissolve/Balzacq/p/book/9780415556286>.

———. 'The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context'. *European Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 2 (June 2005): 171–201.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066105052960>.

Balzacq, Thierry, Sarah Léonard, and Jan Ruzicka. "'Securitization" Revisited: Theory and Cases'. *International Relations* 30, no. 4 (1 December 2016): 494–531.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117815596590>.

Bárbulo, Tomás. *La Historia Prohibida Del Sáhara Español: Las Claves Del Conflicto Que Condiciona Las Relaciones Entre España y El Magreb*. Madrid: Ediciones Península, 2011.

Barreñada, Isaías. 'Asociacionismo y cuestión nacional en el Sahara Occidental'. *Revista de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos*, no. 13 (2012). <https://revis-tas.uam.es/reim/article/view/888>.

Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. London: Lynne Renner Publishers, 1998.

Bennis, Samir. 'Western Sahara: Why the Referendum Has Been Impossible Since Day One'. <https://www.morocoworldnews.com/>. Accessed 10 June 2021.

<https://www.morocoworldnews.com/2016/04/184361/western-sahara-why-the-referendum-was-impossible-since-day-one>.

BOE. 'BOE-A-1983-26944 Acuerdo de 1 de Agosto de 1983, de Cooperación Sobre Pesca Marítima Entre España y El Reino de Marruecos, Hecho En Rabat.', 11 October 1983. https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-1983-26944.

- . ‘Real Decreto 1119/1986, de 26 de Mayo, Por El Que Se Aprueba El Reglamento de Ejecución de La Ley Orgánica 7/1985, de 1 de Julio, Sobre Derechos y Libertades de Los Extranjeros En España.’, 26 May 1986. <https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1986-15311>.
- Borbón, Juan Carlos de. ‘Carta de Juan Carlos I a Hassan II’, 21 September 1975.
- Bureau of Intelligence and Research. ‘CIA - RDP80T00942A000800130002-1’, April 1979.
- . ‘CIA-RDP08C01297R000100090001-3 / The Moroccan Perspective of the Western Sahara’, 12 December 1977.
- . ‘CIA-RDP79R00003A002500100001-6’, 30 June 1978.
- . ‘CIA-RDP79R00603A002500090001-8’, 6 September 1974.
- . ‘CIA-RDP83R00184R002600080003-3’, 12 December 1977.
- . ‘CIA-RDP86T00608R000200020013-5’, 3 October 1975.
- Carreras, Albert, and Xavier Tafunell. ‘The Isolation from the International Economy: Civil War and Autarky(1936–1951)’. In *Between Empire and Globalization: An Economic History of Modern Spain*, edited by Albert Carreras and Xavier Tafunell, 135–54. Palgrave Studies in Economic History. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-60504-9_6.
- Castro, Rocío Velasco de. ‘Las relaciones hispano-marroquíes durante el gobierno de Aznar: visiones y versiones encontradas a ambos lados del estrecho’, 321–30. Universidad de La Rioja, 2014. <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4847694>.
- Cembrero, Ignacio. ‘Veinte años de la muerte del rey Hassan II, el compadre de don Juan Carlos’. Veritatis, 23 July 2019. https://www.veritatis.elconfidencial.com/casas-reales/2019-07-23/hassan-ii-aniversario-20-muerte-juan-carlos-rey_2138847/.
- Cervera, César. ‘Así fue la agónica muerte de Franco: párkinson, hemorragias y tres operaciones a vida o muerte’. ABC, 19 November 2018. https://www.abc.es/historia/abci-agonica-muerte-franco-parkinson-hemorragias-y-tres-operaciones-vida-o-muerte-201811192326_noticia.html.
- ECSaharai. ‘Cómo Fue El Abandono Español Del Sahara Occidental Día Por Día’, 21 June 2020. <https://www.ecsaharai.com/2020/06/como-fue-el-abandono-espanol-del-sahara.html>.
- Cooper, Frederick. ‘Decolonization and Citizenship: Africa between Empires and a World of Nations’. In *Beyond Empire and Nation*, edited by ELS BOGAERTS and

- REMCO RABEN, 39–68. *The Decolonization of African and Asian Societies, 1930s-1970s*. Brill, 2012. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w8h2zm.6>.
- Cortada, James W. 'Spain and the Second World War'. *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 4 (1970): 65–75. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/259865>.
- Cortado, Rosa Riquelme. 'Marruecos frente a la (des)colonización del Sáhara Occidental'. *Anuario Mexicano de Derecho Internacional* 1, no. 13 (1 January 2013). <https://doi.org/10.22201/ijj.24487872e.2013.13.430>.
- Cortes. 'Diario de Sesiones Del Congreso de Los Diputados: Comisión de Asuntos Exteriores', 15 March 1978.
- Côté, Adam. 'Agents without Agency: Assessing the Role of the Audience in Securitization Theory'. *Security Dialogue* 47, no. 6 (December 2016): 541–58. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010616672150>.
- Damis, John. 'The Western Sahara Conflict: Myths and Realities'. *Middle East Journal* 37, no. 2 (1983): 169–79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4326560>.
- De Dalmases, Pablo-Ignacio. *Sáhara Español: El Gran Fraude*. Madrid: SIAL / Casa de Africa, 2017.
- De Piniés, Jaime. 'A/9174', 21 August 1974.
- . 'A/9655', 11 July 1974.
- . 'S/11851 - Carta de Fecha 18 de Octubre de 1975 Dirigida al Presidente Del Consejo de Seguridad Por El Representante Permanente de España Ante Las Naciones Unidas.', 18 October 1975.
- 'Decreto 1024/1967, de 11 de Mayo, Por El Que Se Modifica El de 29 de Noviembre de 1962 Sobre Ordenamiento de La Administración Local Para La Provincia Del Sahara, Creando La Yemaa o Asamblea General.' BOE 120, 20 May 1967.
- Del Castillo, Carlos. 'Crónica de Un Engaño: 30 Años Del Referéndum de La OTAN | Público'. *Público*, 10 March 2016. <https://www.publico.es/politica/cronica-engano-30-anos-del.html>.
- Delgado, Lorenzo. '¿El "amigo americano"? España y Estados Unidos durante el franquismo'. *Studia Historica. Historia Contemporánea* 21 (2003): 231–76. <https://revistas.usal.es/index.php/0213-2087/article/view/5952>.
- Detwiler, Donald S. 'Spain and the Axis during World War II'. *The Review of Politics* 33, no. 1 (1971): 36–53. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1406358>.

- Dunn Cavelty, Myriam, and Victor (ed.) Mauer. *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*. London, New York: Routledge, 2009.
- El País. 'España Reafirma Ante La ONU Su Soberanía Sobre Ceuta y Melilla En Respuesta a Rabat'. *El País*. 15 September 1975.
- El País. 'Marruecos Llama a Consultas a Su Embajador En Madrid de Manera Indefinida'. *El País*. 28 October 2001.
- . 'Marruecos Reivindica En La ONU La "Recuperación" de Ceuta y Melilla'. *El País*. 14 September 2002.
- . 'Más de 100.000 Andaluces Participaron En Un Referéndum Simbólico de Apoyo al Pueblo Saharaui'. *El País*. 30 October 2001.
- . 'Mayoría absoluta del PSOE y confirmación de AP como segunda fuerza parlamentaria de España'. *El País*. 28 October 1982, sec. España. https://elpais.com/diario/1982/10/29/espana/404694003_850215.html.
- Elías, Antonio. 'S/11864 - Carta de Fecha 1 de Noviembre de 1975 Dirigida al Presidente Del Consejo de Seguridad Por El Encargado de Negocios Interio de La Misión Permanente de España Ante Las Naciones Unidas', 1 October 1975.
- . 'S/11867 - Carta de Fecha 6 de Noviembre de 1975 Dirigida al Presidente Del Consejo de Seguridad Por El Encargado de Negocios de La Misión Permanente de España Ante Las Naciones Unidas', 6 November 1975.
- European Commission - European Commission. 'Fisheries: No Agreement between EU and Morocco.' Text, 26 March 2001. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_01_443.
- Francisco Villar and Francisco Schwartz. 'El Sáhara No Es Una Finca'. *Cambio 16*, 10 November 1975.
- Fuente Cobo, Ignacio, and Fernando Mariño Menéndez. *El Conflicto Del Sáhara Occidental*. Conflictos Internacionales Contemporáneos. Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2006.
- Gago Vaquero, Francisco. 'El Proceso 1001: Desmantelamiento de La Coordinadora Nacional de Comisiones Obreras'. *Tiempo y Sociedad* 13 (2013): 45–97.
- Gallagher, Charles F. 'A Moroccan Political Party: The Istiqlal.' American Universities Field Staff, 23 July 1956.
- Gascón, María Luisa Grande, and Susana Ruiz Seisdedos. 'El papel de los actores sociales y políticos en la cuestión del Sáhara: evolución y perspectivas de futuro en un con-

texto de crisis económica y política'. *RIPS: Revista de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociológicas* 12, no. 2 (5 December 2013). <https://revistas.usc.gal/index.php/rips/article/view/1583>.

The British Empire. 'Gibraltar Colony'. Accessed 9 June 2021. <https://www.britishempire.co.uk/maproom/gibraltar.htm>.

Giménez Martínez, Miguel Ángel. 'El Corpus Ideológico Del Franquismo: Principios Originarios y Elementos de Renovación'. *Estudios Internacionales, Universidad de Chile* 180 (2015): 11–45.

Gómez Cuesta, Cristina. 'La Construcción de La Memoria Franquista (1939-1959): Mártires, Mitos y Conmemoraciones-'. *Historia Contemporánea* 25 (2007): 87–123.

Graham, Helen. 'The Spanish Civil War'. Edited by Paul Preston, Raymond Carr, Herbert R. Southworth, James Pettifer, Jim Fyrth, Walter Gregory, David Morris, Anthony Peters, and Denis Smyth. *The Historical Journal* 30, no. 4 (1987): 989–93. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2639131>.

Heldring, Leander, and James Robinson. 'Colonialism and Development in Africa'. *VoxEU.Org* (blog), 10 January 2013. <https://voxeu.org/article/colonialism-and-development-africa>.

Hernando de Larramendi, Miguel. 'La Cuestión Del Sáhara Occidental En La Política Exterior Española'. In *Sáhara Occidental: 40 Años Después*, 263–77. Madrid: Catarata, 2016.

Escuela de Periodismo UAM - El País. 'Historia de El País'. Accessed 10 June 2021. <https://escuela.elpais.com/historia-de-el-pais/>.

CVCE.EU by UNI.LU. 'Independence for Morocco and Tunisia - Decolonisation: Geopolitical Issues and Impact on the European Integration Process'. Accessed 29 May 2021. <https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/dd10d6bf-e14d-40b5-9ee6-37f978c87a01/2796f581-3e5a-4dff-9fbe-fd3d48966b38>.

International Court of Justice. 'Western Sahara: Advisory Opinion of 16th October 1975', 16 October 1975. <https://www.icj-cij.org/public/files/case-related/61/6197.pdf>.

Isaías Barreñada and Raquel Ojeda. *Sáhara Occidental: 40 Años Después*. Madrid: Catarata, 2016.

Jesús, Carlos Echeverría. 'La Cooperación Entre España y Los Países Del Magreb En Materia de Defensa'. *Revista CIDOB d'Afers Internacionals*, no. 79/80 (2007): 73–86. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40586303>.

- Joffé, E. G. H. 'The Moroccan Nationalist Movement: Istiqlal, the Sultan, and the Country'. *The Journal of African History* 26, no. 4 (1985): 289–307. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/181651>.
- Joffé, George. 'Sovereignty and the Western Sahara'. *The Journal of North African Studies* 15, no. 3 (1 September 2010): 375–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2010.520237>.
- José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez. *Agonía, Traición, Huida: El Final Del Sáhara Español*. Madrid: Crítica, 2015.
- Juliá, Santos. *Un Siglo de España: Política y Sociedad*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 1999.
- Keohane, Robert O. 'Twenty Years of Institutional Liberalism'. *International Relations* 26, no. 2 (1 June 2012): 125–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117812438451>.
- Korab-Karpowicz, W. Julian. 'Political Realism in International Relations'. In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, Summer 2018. Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2018. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/realism-intl-relations/>.
- El Plural. 'La invasión de Perejil, el otro conflicto entre España y Marruecos: "Al alba y con viento de levante"', 19 May 2021. <https://www.elplural.com/politica/invasion-perejil-conflicto-espana-marruecos-al-alba-viento-levante> 266816102.
- Sahara Occidental. 'La República Árabe Saharaui Democrática (RASD)', 31 December 2019. <https://saharaoccidental.es/sahara/la-rasd/>.
- La Vanguardia. 'Don Juan Carlos de Borbón, Con Las Fuerzas Españolas En El Sáhara'. *La Vanguardia*. 4 November 1975.
- . 'Mohamed VI dice que el referéndum sobre el Sahara ha caducado porque es inaplicable'. *La Vanguardia*, 6 November 2002, sec. Internacional. <https://www.la-vanguardia.com/internacional/20021106/51262764143/mohamed-vi-dice-que-el-referendum-sobre-el-sahara-ha-caducado-porque-es-inaplicable.html>.
- Laraña, Ildelfonso Camacho. 'Economía española: raíces históricas y alcance de la crisis'. *Proyección: Teología y mundo actual*, no. 122 (1981): 227–46. <http://dial-net.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=7323587>.
- Larramendi, Miguel, and Bernabé García. 'El Sáhara Occidental, Obstáculo En La Construcción Magrebí'. *Documentos de Trabajo (Real Instituto Elcano de Estudios Internacionales y Estratégicos)*, N^o. 15, 2005, 1 January 2005.

- Lemus López, Encarnación, and Inmaculada Cordero Olivero. 'Mauritania y El Sahara Español: Entre Argelia y Marruecos (1969-1979)'. *Historia y Política: Ideas, Procesos y Movimientos Sociales*, no. 41 (20 May 2019): 305–33. <https://doi.org/10.18042/hp.41.11>.
- Libertad Digital. 'Felipe González En Tinduf, En 1976: "Nuestro Partido Estará Con Vosotros Hasta La Victoria Final"', 12 July 2005. <https://www.libertaddigital.com/mundo/felipe-gonzalez-en-tinduf-en-1976-nuestro-partido-estara-con-vosotros-hasta-la-victoria-final-1276256035/>.
- Lleonart Amsélem, Alberto José. 'El Ingreso de España En La ONU: Obstáculos e Impulsos.' *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 17 (1995): 101–19.
- Lloyd-Jones, Stewart (ed.), and António Costa Pinto. *The Last Empire: Thirty Years of Portuguese Decolonization*. Cultural Studies. Bristol, Portland: Intellect, 2003.
- Lobell, Steven E. *Structural Realism/Offensive and Defensive Realism*. Vol. 1. Oxford University Press, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.304>.
- López, Abdón Mateos, and Ángel Herrerín López. 'La interpretación del final del franquismo', 5–10. Asociación Historiadores del Presente, 2006. <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2370627>.
- López García, Bernabé. 'Las Relaciones de España Con Los Países Del Magreb.' *Islamismo, Democracia y Seguridad. Actas Del XIII Curso Internacional de Defensa, Jaca*, 2006, 377–90.
- . 'Marruecos En La Política Española, Coyuntura Internacional y Política Española (1898-2004), Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid 2010, Pp. 237-254'. Accessed 29 April 2021. https://www.academia.edu/2966146/Marruecos_en_la_pol%C3%ADtica_espa%C3%B1ola.
- López Rodó, Laureano. *Claves de La Transición. Memorias IV*. Barcelona: Plaza&Janés, 1993.
- López-Escobar, Esteban, Teresa Sádaba, and Ricardo Zugasti. 'Election Coverage in Spain: From Franco's Death to the Atocha Massacre'. In *The Handbook of Election News Coverage Around the World*. Routledge, 2008.
- Martín Alarcón, Julio. 'Guerra sindical, fin de régimen y crisis del petróleo: España sufrió como nadie'. *La Información*, 23 August 2020. <https://www.lainformacion.com/economia-negocios-y-finanzas/guerra-sindical-regimen-crisis-petroleo-espana-sufrio/2813213/>.

- Martínez Láinez, Fernando. 'Muley Abdal-Lah, Hermano de Hassan, Rechazó Cualquier Posibilidad de Autodeterminación Para Los Saharauis.' *La Realidad*. 24 October 1975.
- Masaiti, Amira El. 'How in 1943, Casablanca Played a Determining Point in Modern Human History'. <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/>, 21 January 2018.
<https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2018/01/238836/1943-casablanca-anfa-conference-modern-human-history-roosevelt>.
- Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. 'España y La Unión Europea'. Accessed 29 April 2021.
<http://www.exteriores.gob.es/portal/es/politicaexteriorcooperacion/unioneuropea/paginas/espue.aspx>.
- Moreno, Rafael. 'Annual 1921 : The Reasons for a Disaster'. Marine Corps University, 2013. <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/citations/ADA601602>.
- 'Morocco Puts 220 on Trial for Attempt on King Hassan's Life'. *The New York Times*, 18 October 1972, sec. Archives. <https://www.nytimes.com/1972/10/18/archives/morocco-puts-220-on-trial-for-attempt-on-king-hassans-life.html>.
- MoroccoMail. 'Carta de Franco a la Yemáa (21 de septiembre de 1973), enviada a la ONU como justificación de la política descolonizadora del gobierno español. - Maghreb Online', 5 June 2019. <https://morocomail.fr/2019/06/05/carta-de-franco-a-la-yemaa-21-de-septiembre-de-1973-enviada-a-la-onu-como-justificacion-de-la-politica-descolonizadora-del-gobierno-espanol/>.
- Nations, United. 'UN Charter'. United Nations, 1945. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter>.
- Niño, Antonio. '50 Años de Relaciones Entre España y Estados Unidos'. *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 25 (2003): 9–33.
- Olivas Osuna, José Javier. 'The Deep Roots of the Carnation Revolution: 150 Years of Military Interventionism in Portugal.' *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, London School of Economics, 13 (2014): 215–31.
- País, El. 'Los Reyes iniciarán su visita a Marruecos en Fez'. *El País*. 11 June 1979, sec. España. https://elpais.com/diario/1979/06/12/espana/297986423_850215.html.
- Pardo Sanz, Rosa. 'España y Estados Unidos En El Siglo XX: De La Rivalidad, El Recelo y La Dependencia a La Cooperación'. *Ayer* 49 (2003): 13–53.
- Pereira Castañares, Juan Carlos, and Antonio Moreno Juste. 'España Ante El Proceso de Integración Europea Desde Una Perspectiva Histórica: Panorama Historiográfico y Líneas de Investigación.' *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*, 1991.

- Pino, Domingo del. *La Última Guerra Con Marruecos: Ceuta y Melilla*. Barcelona: Argos-Vergara, 1983.
- Rézette, Robert. *The Western Sahara and the Frontiers of Morocco*. Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1975.
- Roe, Paul. 'Actor, Audience(s) and Emergency Measures: Securitization and the UK's Decision to Invade Iraq.' *Security Dialogue* 39, no. 6 (December 2008): 615–35. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010608098212>.
- Roig, Emma. 'Hassan II iniciará su visita oficial a España el próximo 25 de septiembre'. *El País*. 8 November 1988, sec. España. https://elpais.com/diario/1989/08/12/espana/618876012_850215.html.
- RTVE. *Don Juan Carlos de Borbón nombrado 'sucesor al título de Rey' (22 de julio 1969)* - RTVE.es, 2012. <https://www.rtve.es/alcarta/videos/archivo-casa-real/don-juan-carlos-borbon-nombrado-sucesor-titulo-rey-22-julio-1969/1492323/>.
- . 'La "Marcha Verde". José Solís Ruiz habla de su encuentro con Hassan II en 1975'. Accessed 31 May 2021. <https://www.rtve.es/alcarta/audios/fue-noticia-en-el-archivo-de-rtve/ct-113804/891619/>.
- RTVE.es. 'El Proceso 1001, en "Documentos RNE"'. RTVE.es, 15 February 2013. <https://www.rtve.es/radio/20130215/proceso-1001-documentos-rne/608597.shtml>.
- S. Reyner, Anthony. 'Morocco's International Boundaries: A Factual Background.' *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 1, no. 3 (1963): 313–26.
- SaharaOccidental.es. 'Los Acuerdos Tripartitos de Madrid'. *Sahara Occidental* (blog), 21 November 2020. <https://saharaoccidental.es/quizas-te-interese/los-acuerdos-tripartitos-de-madrid/>.
- Sánchez, Juan Antonio Martínez. 'El Referendum Sobre La Permanencia de España En La OTAN'. *UNISCI Discussion Papers* 26 (2011): 283–310. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_UNIS.2011.v26.37825.
- Sebastián, Pablo. 'Arias y Algunos de Sus Ministros, Convocados a Informar Sobre La Descolonización Del Sahara'. *El País*, 13 January 1978.
- Senillosa, Antonio de. 'Franquismo y monarquía'. *El País*. 27 April 1977, sec. España. https://elpais.com/diario/1977/04/28/espana/231026419_850215.html.
- 'Soldiers Attack Moroccan Palace; King Keeps Power.' *The New York Times*, 11 July 1971, sec. Archives. <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/07/11/archives/soldiers-attack-moroccan-palace-king-keeps-power-hassan-on-radio.html>.

- Solís, Don Ignacio Camuñas. 'CONGRESO DE LOS DIPUTADOS', n.d., 92.
- Soroeta Licerias, Juan. 'El Sahara Occidental: La Deuda Pendiente de La Comunidad Internacional'. *Meridiano CERI*, February 1998. <https://www.arso.org/01-3-24.htm>.
- Suárez-Íñiguez, Enrique. 'La transición a la democracia en España: Adolfo Suárez y la ruptura pactada'. *Estudios políticos (México)*, no. 23 (August 2011): 161–77. http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S0185-16162011000200008&lng=es&nrm=iso&tlng=es.
- Sudduth, Jun Koga. 'Strategic Logic of Elite Purges in Dictatorships'. *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 13 (1 November 2017): 1768–1801. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414016688004>.
- TecnicoAudiovisual. *Perejil - Al Alba Con Viento de Levante.*, 2010. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xNTiUOj-ADk&t=72s&ab_channel=TecnicoAudiovisual.
- Telemadrid. 'Piqué: "EEUU nos ayudó con Marruecos gracias a que teníamos una relación muy estrecha"'. Telemadrid, 21 May 2021. <https://www.telemadrid.es/programas/buenos-dias-madrid/Josep-Pique-EEUU-resolver-Marruecos-2-2343085678--20210521111459.html>.
- The New York Times. 'Waldheim Outlines Sahara Role for U.N.' *The New York Times*, 9 November 1975, sec. Archives. <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/11/09/archives/waldheim-outlines-sahara-role-for-un.html>.
- The White House. 'Henry A. Kissinger - Abdelaziz Bouteflika Interview', 19 December 1975.
- . 'Memorandum of Conversation - President Ford, Henry Kissinger, Gr. Brent Scowcroft', 4 November 1975.
- Times, Bernard Gwertzman Special to The New York. 'Kissinger Returns After Progress With Algerians'. *The New York Times*, 16 October 1974, sec. Archives. <https://www.nytimes.com/1974/10/16/archives/kissinger-returns-after-progress-with-algerians-economic-relations.html>.
- Toboso Sánchez, Pilar. 'Luis Carrero Blanco | Real Academia de La Historia'. Real Academia de la Historia. Accessed 28 May 2021. <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/10875/luis-carrero-blanco>.
- Tuñón de Lara, M., J. Andrés-Gallego, J., and J. L. Abellán. 'El Desastre Del 98'. *Cuadernos Historia* 16, 30 (1985): 32.

- UN Digital Library. 'Question of Spanish Sahara', 13 December 1974. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/651029>.
- UN General Assembly. 'A/9176 - Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples', 1 October 1973.
- United Nations. 'A/RES/1514 (XV)', 14 December 1960. [https://un-docs.org/en/A/Res/1514\(XV\)](https://un-docs.org/en/A/Res/1514(XV)).
- . 'RES/3292', 12 December 1974.
- Encyclopedia Britannica. 'United States - The Red Scare'. Accessed 9 June 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/place/United-States>.
- UNSC. 'RES/380', 6 November 1975.
- . 'RES/621', 20 September 1988.
- . 'S/2002/161', 12 February 2002.
- . 'S/21360', 10 June 1990.
- Vuori, Juha A. 'Illocutionary Logic and Strands of Securitization: Applying the Theory of Securitization to the Study of Non-Democratic Political Orders'. *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 1 (March 2008): 65–99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066107087767>.
- Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Relations*. London, Amsterdam: Addison-Wesley, 1979.
- Weiner, Jerome B. 'The Green March in Historical Perspective'. *Middle East Journal* 33, no. 1 (1979): 20–33. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4325817>.
- Welle (www.dw.com), Deutsche. 'La crisis de Perejil | DW | 12.07.2002'. DW.COM. Accessed 11 June 2021. <https://www.dw.com/es/la-crisis-de-perejil/a-591160>.
- Wendt, Alexander. 'Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics'. *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391–425. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706858>.
- Whitfield, Teresa. 'A Crowded Field: Groups of Friends, the United Nations and the Resolution of Conflict'. *Center on International Cooperation: Studies in Security Institutions* 1 (n.d.).
- Yárnoz, Carlos. 'Aznar Gana, Pero Necesita Pactos Para Gobernar.' *El País*, 4 March 1996. https://elpais.com/diario/1996/03/04/espana/825894047_850215.html.

Zimmermann, Hubert. 'Exporting Security: Success and Failure in the Securitization and Desecuritization of Foreign Military Interventions'. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 11, no. 2 (3 April 2017): 225–44.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2017.1310174>.

Zoubir, Yahia H. 'Protracted Conflict and Failure to Achieve Prenegotiation in the Western Sahara Conflict.' *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 20, no. 2 (1995): 1–44.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23262757>.



PLAGIARISM RULES AWARENESS STATEMENT

Fraud and Plagiarism

Scientific integrity is the foundation of academic life. Utrecht University considers any form of scientific deception to be an extremely serious infraction. Utrecht University therefore expects every student to be aware of, and to abide by, the norms and values regarding scientific integrity.

The most important forms of deception that affect this integrity are fraud and plagiarism. Plagiarism is the copying of another person's work without proper acknowledgement, and it is a form of fraud. The following is a detailed explanation of what is considered to be fraud and plagiarism, with a few concrete examples. Please note that this is not a comprehensive list!

If fraud or plagiarism is detected, the study programme's Examination Committee may decide to impose sanctions. The most serious sanction that the committee can impose is to submit a request to the Executive Board of the University to expel the student from the study programme.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the copying of another person's documents, ideas or lines of thought and presenting it as one's own work. You must always accurately indicate from whom you obtained ideas and insights, and you must constantly be aware of the difference between citing, paraphrasing and plagiarising. Students and staff must be very careful in citing sources; this concerns not only printed sources, but also information obtained from the Internet.

The following issues will always be considered to be plagiarism:

- cutting and pasting text from digital sources, such as an encyclopaedia or digital periodicals, without quotation marks and footnotes;
- cutting and pasting text from the Internet without quotation marks and footnotes;
- copying printed materials, such as books, magazines or encyclopaedias, without quotation marks or footnotes;
- including a translation of one of the sources named above without quotation marks or footnotes;
- paraphrasing (parts of) the texts listed above without proper references: paraphrasing must be marked as such, by expressly mentioning the original author in the text or in a footnote, so that you do not give the impression that it is your own idea;
- copying sound, video or test materials from others without references, and presenting it as one's own work;
- submitting work done previously by the student without reference to the original paper, and presenting it as original work done in the context of the course, without the express permission of the course lecturer;
- copying the work of another student and presenting it as one's own work. If this is done with the consent of the other student, then he or she is also complicit in the plagiarism;
- when one of the authors of a group paper commits plagiarism, then the other co-authors are also complicit in plagiarism if they could or should have known that the person was committing plagiarism;
- submitting papers acquired from a commercial institution, such as an Internet site with summaries or papers, that were written by another person, whether or not that other person received payment for the work.

The rules for plagiarism also apply to rough drafts of papers or (parts of) theses sent to a lecturer for feedback, to the extent that submitting rough drafts for feedback is mentioned in the course handbook or the thesis regulations.

The Education and Examination Regulations (Article 5.15) describe the formal procedure in case of suspicion of fraud and/or plagiarism, and the sanctions that can be imposed.

Ignorance of these rules is not an excuse. Each individual is responsible for their own behaviour. Utrecht University assumes that each student or staff member knows what fraud and plagiarism

entail. For its part, Utrecht University works to ensure that students are informed of the principles of scientific practice, which are taught as early as possible in the curriculum, and that students are informed of the institution's criteria for fraud and plagiarism, so that every student knows which norms they must abide by.

I hereby declare that I have read and understood the above.

Name:

Pablo Sánchez Esquivel

Student number:

2983770

Date and signature: 15/06/2021

Pablo S. Esquivel

Submit this form to your supervisor when you begin writing your Bachelor's final paper or your Master's thesis.

Failure to submit or sign this form does not mean that no sanctions can be imposed if it appears that plagiarism has been committed in the paper.