

# **THE INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE AND PROJECTION OF CATALONIA**

**BUILDING THE FUTURE**

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
AND CATALANISM COMMISSION**

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL PROJECTION  
OF THE CATALANIST AND DEMOCRAT FOUNDATION**

**CATDEM FOUNDATION**

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# PROLOGUE

## THE CATALONIA THAT DECIDES

On November 20th, 2007, Artur Mas delivered a speech at the conference “Catalanism, energy and hope for a better country.” From the very beginning, after stating that no one should forget that he was also Secretary General of a nationalist political party, *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (Democratic Convergence of Catalonia), he also wanted to make it clear what he wished to set in motion starting that very moment: “It is from the perspective of this outlook and commitment [to Catalanism and Catalonia] that I want to invite the Catalan society, particularly those who share my concerns and wish to build a new Catalan nation, to rethink, update, modernize and, in a way, re-establish Catalanism as a source of energy and a bridge of hope for a better Catalonia. Like all invitations, it is an open and integrating one that does not exclude anyone.” This is where the conversion of the Ramon Trias Fargas Foundation into today’s Catalanist and Democrat Foundation began, better known today as CatDem. To be more exact, the Foundation CatDem was given the task of bringing together various intellectuals and professionals from January 2008 until the date of this publication, who in turn had the job of making this project a reality.

Politics does not tend to be reflective. But Catalan politics is progressively becoming even less so. It is admirable that a political force would decide to create a think tank and that, on top of this, decide to leave it in the hands of people who are not members of

that political party. In fact, the Foundation CatDem is the result of a happy coincidence between the CDC's interest in finding out why - despite being the number one political force in the Catalan Parliament – it was losing electoral support election after election, and the concern of various nationalist professors and intellectuals about the lack of Catalanism's answers to globalized modernity. If, as those who have studied the issue point out, the Catalanism of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had been one of the engines of Spanish reformism – introducing the idea that Catalonia should be the economic powerhouse but also the conductor of political change – it makes sense to ask ourselves what it should be at the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the years to come. The old Catalanism had certainly been a factor of Spain's modernity for many reasons (among them, for having wanted to exercise the right of citizenship – democracy in fact – but also for having demanded a reorganization of the State), and it needs to take up this role once again to provide solutions to a complex, plural and democratically consolidated society that is the Catalonia of the third millennium. As Arthur Mas pointed out at the aforementioned conference: “The Catalanism that was born in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, was developed during the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and intensified in the last quarter of that century, has been a success story. Success is always measured by the degree to which the initial goals are achieved. Regarding Catalanism, a great deal of what was proposed 100 to 150 years ago has been achieved. And it was achieved despite enormous difficulties, which at times may have seemed insurmountable.”

What were these grand objectives? To put it briefly, they were: the survival the Catalan nation, which depended on the recovery of the institutions of self-government and the diffusion of a national culture; the social and economic progress of Catalans (or in other words, the modernization of the country and the welfare of society) and the regeneration of Spain, subdued by the scourge of a militarism that did not allow democracy to take root until the final third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The death of general Franco was precisely what cleared the way for the longest democratic period in Spanish and Catalan contemporary history, which has also coincided with the spread of globalization. The changes in both Spain and Catalonia have been extraordinary. Inevitably, this would also have an effect on the emerging social model. Spain's entry into NATO and the EU; a change in Catalonia's and Spain's production model and the development of the State of the Autonomies that has allowed us to build a more or less efficient Catalan self-government, reconfigured the Spanish political scene and in consequence, the role of Catalanism beyond Catalonia and within Catalonia. Said differently, the dream of the cultural-political movement of *noucentisme* - of building a national culture dedicated to classicism, but also European and modern, next to the Catalonia-city ideal— it is clear that this dream has reached its limit. Modern Catalonia is thus the result of this movement, since it was capable of finding the necessary political support to advance its program.

But the Catalonia of today has little to do with what was central to Catalanism at least from 1906 onwards. There are controversies that are no longer relevant – such as that of bilingualism or the co-existence of Catalan and Spanish – because the reality has been so transformed that it is ridiculous to keep this debate going on the

same terms. If it is true that 300 different languages are spoken in the city of Barcelona, as reputable studies have shown, why would it make any sense to keep rehashing the same debate that is no longer based on reality? The Catalonia of the future will never again be monolingual or bilingual, but multilingual. In the same way, religious diversity, which had previously existed in Catalonia but not nearly with today's intensity, is also a characteristic of the future that awaits us. As a result, in this context - one that Eugeni d'Ors would have had difficulty imagining - we must determine the role of Catalonia's local language and what must be done for it to survive while co-existing with all the other languages in the country. And this is the attitude that we must adopt with everything.

For two years now the Foundation CatDem has been reflecting on Catalonia's future from the perspective of Catalanism, the democratic ideal and freedom. Beginning in January 2008, the Foundation's task has been to put together different teams of experts who would attempt to rethink Catalanist discourse, adapting it to the 21<sup>st</sup> century's new realities, and also to the need for political regeneration, which is something that today's Catalan society has been demanding for some time now. Therefore, we have had Commissions that have reflected on a range of topics, such as Catalan culture and identity, the presence of women in society, the international projection of Catalonia, the policies of historical memory, immigration, etc. At the same time, three Areas of Reflection were created to debate the positioning of Catalonia in a globalized world (*Catalunya Global*; Global Catalonia), the infrastructure, production and environmental models in Catalonia (*Catalunya en Xarxa*; Networked Catalonia) and the social aspects and values shared among the citizenry of our country (*Catalunya Plural*; Plural Catalonia).

What must we do to guarantee that Catalonia has an important place in the world over the next few decades? How can we strengthen our country's projection to the outside world in the areas of business, science, technology, culture, development cooperation, sports, etc? Can Catalonia become a relevant actor on the international stage? What must we do to make it happen? A dozen experts from different disciplines, with solid professional trajectories and valuable personal experiences, have been working for more than a year in the Global Catalonia Ambit to find answers to these questions. The final result of this process of collective reflection can be found in the articles in the first of these volumes, and further synthesized in the 48 strategic proposals for the country with long and short-term goals. Among these proposals we can highlight the following: Catalonia's external presence is a direct consequence of its internal reality. Catalonia will only have a key role on an international level if it is successful as a country. We must encourage the desire and search for excellence (through effort, merit and the recognition of quality) in all parts of society, for all of society and not just reserved for an elite. Education must be improved, and the bar must be raised in the creation of human resources, promoting careers in science and technology, encouraging an enterprising mindset, and ensuring that Catalan society becomes English-speaking. In economic terrain, we must adopt a model of competitiveness that is responsible and sustainable, in such a way that the generation of wealth does not undermine social cohesion and the delicate environmental balance. With regard to the ICT (Information and Communication Technologies), together with the Government and the Catalan civil society, we must start up a project that will bring fiber access to all the homes in Catalonia. We must strengthen the role of the Catalan civil

society, especially at an international level, making the Federation of Internationally Recognized Catalan Organizations (FOCIR) a fundamental instrument for coordination and stimulus.

Regarding the Plural Catalonia Ambit, the experts who have helped elaborate the materials that went into this second volume point out that the national identity of Catalonia in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is strengthened through its undeniable plurality. “Plurality” is not an opposing concept to that of the notion of “identity.” Catalan culture has had to assume a strict attitude of resistance throughout many periods of its history, and this has simultaneously generated an understandable hypersensitivity about identity issues, especially linguistic ones. We must assume this legacy, but bring it up to date and proactively model it to advance towards a national plenitude that is coherent with the country’s plural reality.

A pluralist society allows its citizens, who have equal rights, to be able to enjoy vital aspects of their respective cultures and profess diverse moral codes. To acknowledge difference does not necessarily mean social atomism, but quite the contrary: we can differentiate ourselves as individuals only from a collective framework of shared values. Liberalism has been a good defender of the political equality of rights, and socialism has been a good defender of the social equality of rights. But neither classic liberalism nor socialism has been able to effectively include difference – linguistic, gender, religious, or of any other sort – nor make its political acknowledgement effective. This acknowledgement of difference inevitably goes hand in hand with the defense of pluralism. Language has been, and continues to be, the distinctive trait of Catalan identity, but more and more

Catalans are Spanish-speaking, or speakers of other languages, that feel nationally identified and politically committed to the country's aspirations of sovereignty. It is important to keep in mind that according to the thorough 2008 Inquiry on the Linguistic Uses of the Population, (*Enquesta d'Usos Lingüístics de la Població de 2008*), Catalan is no longer the primary language in Catalonia, either as a primary language or a language of communication.

Among the essential tools needed for managing pluralism, there are those supplied by judicial ordinance, that mark - with more or less precision - the framework in which we should recognize, respect and promote. The accommodating of plurality goes beyond the strictly political or cultural sphere: it also requires the appropriate legislation to make it effective. Numerous academic studies exist on the plural reality of Quebec, Flanders, Scotland, etc., which can help to correctly contextualize the topic, despite the fact that the specific conditions of each place, especially the linguistic ones, do not permit establishing generalizations that could end up being used politically.

Because identities are human constructions, it makes sense to reveal their true origins; and since the perception of plurality is not an objective truth, but also obeys extremely varied contingencies, it would make equal sense to situate it on the same plane. We freely assume certain identities just as we can freely assume certain pluralities that would have been impossible on other occasions. Along the same lines, depending on what the dominant values are at that time, the next generations might modify or model what today we simply assume.

In the Networked Catalonia Ambit, the question the participating specialists might have asked is: for Catalonia to work, what do we need to do? Faced with such a question, it is immediately tempting to fall into the trap of concretion, of the action plan, of putting the cart before the horse. In fact, this is a weakness of the Catalanism – and probably of the country and politics – of a former time: we have so idealized the *doing* of things that, too often, we have not paid enough attention to *why* we should do them.

Thus, the real question that this Ambit set out to answer was not to ask what we need to do to make Catalonia work – which is more like an electoral program -, but instead, what are the relevant themes and challenges that need to be answered in order for Catalonia to work – which is an approach that resembles a political doctrine. As a result, what does Catalanism need to reflect and decide on, what issues must be included in the agenda of the new Catalanism, one that has been renovated and situated in line with current times.

Catalanism is characterized by two elements – even defining Catalanism in its main historical trend -, which are the identification with modernity and reformism. At the same time, the values of modernity have been questioned up to the point that, today, the biggest concern is how to sustain the society and the economic model while leaving from different premises. On the other hand, we are coming to better understand that reformism, positive at the start, can become a handicap if it is not combined on key occasions with an indispensable vanguardist spirit that will allow us to take great leaps forward. These two aspects have also determined the reflection on the networked Catalonia.

At the same time, we need a spirit of difference. Catalonia does not have to aspire to be the same as others, but to be as differentiated as others are – this does not mean focusing only on the essentials, but quite the contrary, it means searching for aspects that we can identify with, that make us valuable to interact with, and that makes it interesting to work with us. To achieve this goal, and by valuing internal diversity as an important asset, we must understand Catalonia as a unit of global projection. This means assuming that the metropolitanism of Barcelona has extended throughout the country, that Catalonia is a metropolitan phenomenon (in reference to the metropolitan phenomena that are emerging today, and not how they were a half-century ago) and that we should stop stubbornly dividing the country in two realities that are deliberately conflicting and contradictory. The success of the Catalonia-city ideal, sought by the *noucentistes*, is an undeniable fact today. In consequence, the design of how the territory should be governed, instead of being inspired by archaic models, should provide a more creative solution to these new realities.

This change of model – preparing for the future instead of insisting on out-of-date approaches – has to have an effect on other equally relevant aspects. We will give a few examples. Urban planning has to overcome a vision that focuses solely on the occupation and the transformation of new territories, to understand that the combination of urban spaces and open or free spaces shape the country's reality, and have both complementary and necessary functions. Thus urban planning must contemplate reinventing or recycling the territories that are already occupied and favoring mixed-use spaces.

Education needs to be reformed so that it can become truly useful for meeting the needs of diffuse talent, of creativity, of job flexibility, etc. Thus, it must evolve not only in tools, but above all in content. The energy model must substitute the hegemony of petrol and energy waste for a real – and mental – diversification, in which the difference between being a consumer and an energy producer is reduced, and answers to the challenges of climate change. The industrial model of past centuries has to make way for a new model built on different productive foundations, including the green economy. The list of reforms is longer, but this still means that it is of utmost importance to act in each one of these fields with a spirit of innovation and renewal.

Inevitably, we must include sustainability in the aims that we have just indicated. Otherwise it will not be long before they go out-of-date. To clarify, the sustainability that Catalanist thinking is interested in is not the kind based on local environmental conflicts, but instead, that of getting involved in answering to the great social challenges, as a convinced actor and not a resigned spectator.

Obviously, the network has an elementary role in this reformulation, but not the network that is spread out as a collection of supporting infrastructures, but instead, as a way of conceiving the territory and civil society based on interaction – far from poorly understood self-sufficiency. An interaction that stimulates the country's openness, that encourages ambivalent hierarchies, that favors all forms of interaction (not only as receivers to what is going on outside, but also as active emitters), and so on.

This focus does will not dissolve the unity of the country, on the contrary; it will allow us the possibility of putting together a plan for our country – something indispensable – that is molded by both the “yes’s” and the “no’s”. It is absurd to aspire to be good at everything, scattering our efforts in a thousand different directions, because we wear ourselves out without obtaining satisfactory results in hardly anything. We must choose, from a realistic and pragmatic perspective, what areas we can and want to excel in. This has been attempted many times, but it has been done when only looking at the “yes’s”. Success depends on the “no’s”, or in other words, on if we also know how to say no to alternative options that disintegrate our limited capabilities.

We can deduce from this that we need effectiveness and efficiency to reach the stage of execution. Here we enter the terrain of governance, of the still-pending reflection on what kind of public administration we really want – and not how we introduce variations into the State’s model already in force, which is invalid and incapable of facing the challenges, complexities and needs of this new age. Without taking significant steps – and even radical ones – in this field, it will be difficult for other ambitions to advance as well. We must also “rewrite” the way we govern and organize public administration: Catalanism cannot risk patching up the current situation anymore, one that, any way you look at it, is inoperative.

Along this line of thinking, we must demand and reformulate the complementary - and not anti-ethical – role that the public and private sectors have. We must push for collaboration between these two enterprising spheres. The public sector should not seek out a

paralyzing interventionism, and the private sector should not feel disconnected from common interests. On the contrary, there are ways that the roles of both sectors can be optimally united. This means, on the other hand, that the country's renewal cannot be in the hands of politicians alone. In fact, without coordinated participation of the different spheres that make up society, this renewal is not viable.

In the end, and as the reader will see, the Networked Catalonia Ambit argues that in the new model for our country there must be a more creative spirit about what we can become, and not one that focuses on what we could have been. Above all, there must be a sense of urgency, because postponing the changes that our society needs is not an option.

At the conference on November 20<sup>th</sup>, Artur Mas had already been aware by intuition of several of these – let us call them recipes – which the experts have displayed here. Mas said, “Where Catalanism sought the survival of the nation, we must replace it with the fully-fledged nation, to experience national plenitude. Where it favored modernization, we must now put our faith in a country that leads the way. Where the regeneration of Spain was sought, we must now also ensure Catalonia's place in the world: constructing the global Catalonia. Where we spoke of independence and self-government, we must now speak of the right to decide for ourselves about the things that belong to us.” The materials that you have in your hands right now greatly widen this brief but accurate diagnostic.

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Political oversimplification has sought to reduce the project of the Meeting House of Catalanism to an attempt by CDC to hire

people that they would later incorporate, for example, into their list of electoral candidates. This was not Artur Mas's intention for the program he started up at the end of 2007. To avoid any misunderstandings, this should be made clear from the beginning. More than a handful of important names, the Meeting House of Catalanism was – and is – a concept based on three principles that are broad enough to make it easy for many people to fit inside: humanism, democracy and Catalanism. What began two years ago had more to do with the intellectual debate and with the impact that ideas should have on political actions, and less to do with general formulas or personages.

Our objectives were modest and ambitious at the same time, because it is clear that trying to conduct a debate on the future of Catalanism and how to go from traditional Catalanism (as the leaders of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century saw it) to a new Catalanism, is neither easy nor does it end with the publishing of these three volumes and the booklets presented in a digital format. It seems an even more difficult undertaking if we hope to spread Catalanism to the sectors that show indifference or hostility to it today, and above all, within the younger generations. While this internal debate has been going on, people have often asked us how we were going to manage to spread Catalanism beyond its current “frontiers.” Over the last few years, however, we have noticed that there are two different ways of approaching the issue of Catalanism and the right to decide. The first talk is to talk nonstop about sovereignty through propaganda. The technique is quite simple: exalt the objective without explaining how it will be achieved, or who will call for a referendum, and on what legal grounds. Can someone really believe that the UN or the EU will

endorse a process like this if we haven't achieved a wide enough social majority to demonstrate its suitability and validity? Since 2006 and the appearance of different pro-sovereignty platforms, the idea has spread that the Catalan society is growing increasingly pro-independent. At the moment, there is no reliable indicator that can support this. What is clear is that the pro-independence movement has permeated Catalan society. However, we should not be blinded by the electoral strength of multifaceted Catalan nationalism, which could even have formed a government in 2003 and 2006, because the weakness of Catalanist coordination (or those of sovereignty, or however we may call it) is a fact, and one that everyone recognizes. In addition, the current President of the Catalan Government doesn't believe in sovereignty either, and never passes up an opportunity to say so.

The second road to sovereignty is based, in exchange, on the idea that we need to be conscious that before we do anything, we need to build up a social majority that has no qualms about accepting the sovereignty postulates. Wouldn't it have been nice if we had already passed the autonomist phase! It is easy to fool ourselves, but actually touching reality, daring to touch it, is much more difficult. If we are so convinced that the pro-independence movement is an unstoppable tsunami, why then do we go on complaining about the weakness of our day-to-day Catalan-ness? Why do we lament that Catalan is dying when there are so many advocates for sovereignty prepared to defend it? And so on. As Daniel Innerarity says: "Governments are chosen, not nations." So, we truly have a long way to go before we convince Catalonia's citizenry that sovereignty is not a whim, but a necessity. It is important to widen the social base of Catalanism beyond the political parties, to incorporate

as many people as possible into the cause, because the enemy of sovereignty is, precisely, indifference.

To advance towards sovereignty we must abandon the tacitness that enslaves Catalan politics in an ephemeral and often insignificant battle. To strengthen Catalan-ness, what is needed from the start is to promote a Catalanist hegemony and also consolidate a network of civil associations that work for people's welfare and create a better image of the pro-independence movement for those who look upon it with indifference. We will be able to determine this project's success on the day that Catalanism has shifted to incorporate the country's new needs, many of which have been highlighted in these three volumes. If we have managed to construct a discourse on the right to decide that is acceptable to the majority of Catalans, and if Catalan citizens that are not aligned with the pro-sovereignty movement have joined this project (or at least, they do not see it as attack, but instead as a political thinking that also defends their interests) then we will be ready to go even farther. This is the ultimate meaning of the proposal of the Meeting House of Catalanism. In addition, success can also be measured when we have been able to strengthen the international prestige of Catalanism and the Catalan cause; of the Catalonia that decides and that wants to decide.

**AGUSTÍ COLOMINES**

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*Plural Catalonia and Networked Catalonia*.**

# INTRODUCTION

Catalanism, the political and social expression of Catalan identity, has evolved and adapted itself to current times. The majority of Catalan political parties advocate for a Catalonia that is open to the world but also retains its distinctive personality. Although they may state it with different degrees of emphasis, they also want a country that can decide its own present and future, along with the adequate tools to accomplish this. In a globalized world, we cannot ignore the challenge of increasing our international presence and projection, as both are essential for the shaping of the country. This was why the CatDem Foundation decided to name the group that put together this document the International Relations and Catalanism Commission, two concepts that must be understood - more than ever before - to be intimately connected.

Catalan Europeanist and international aspirations are evident, both within the civil society as well as among the businesses and institutions of Catalonia, all of whom have been active in this ambit throughout the years. Even if the Catalans' presence in the world has never slackened, especially during the periods in which they had lost freedoms and democratic rights, it was at the beginning of the latest stage of democracy when the process of internationalization started to progressively take on shape and coherence.

From the very first of Jordi Pujol's terms as President, external relations were given important consideration, as much from the

politicalinstitutional as from the commercial and cultural point of view. What followed was an opening of foreign offices, an increase in the number of trips and political contacts made by the President and other members of Government, the signing of collaboration agreements with other territorial entities, interregional and cross-border cooperation, and the participation in organisms such as the Assembly of European Regions and the Committee of the Regions. It is also important to cite the key role of the Patronat Català Pro Europa, a pioneering initiative of the State in the generation and diffusion of knowledge about the European Union.

These actions were controversial in both the media and within the ambit of political relations between the Spanish Central Government and the Catalan Government. The Constitutional Tribunal pronounced various sentences<sup>1</sup> at the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s that opened a few doors so that the Autonomous Communities would be able to carry out a certain degree foreign activity, despite the fact that constitutionally the area of international relations is an exclusive power of the Central Government<sup>2</sup>.

The Statute of Catalonia in 2006 gives legal coverage to what, throughout many years, had been merely advancing without any clear mandates. Over the last few years there has been an expansion of the resources destined to the international presence and projection of Catalonia. At the same time, a more complex central administrative structure has been created (which now includes the position of vice-councilor of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation), despite the

1) In particular, see the Constitutional Tribunal sentence N° 165/1994.

2) Article 149.1.3 of the Spanish Constitution.

current dispersion of external actions. In addition, the Catalan Government has begun to open several delegations abroad that act as institutional representatives.

At present, the Catalan Government has been using a considerable diversity of policies and tools to promote the economy, culture and political reality of Catalonia to the outside world. In addition, on certain occasions it collaborates with other Stateless nations in Europe and North America, while at the same time cooperating with other sub-State entities within Catalonia's own Euro-region. As for the European Union, certain mechanisms regarding the participation of the Catalan Government in State delegations are starting to take shape. Equally important instruments include the policy of development cooperation and programs to attract foreign talent.

Other institutions, such as the Parliament of Catalonia, the town councils – especially within the city of Barcelona -, the local governments and other organisms are all involved in numerous international actions and are seeing to it that this area continues to grow. At the same time, social and economic actors (companies, business associations and chambers of commerce; universities, research centers and business schools; cultural, sports and social associations, etc.) have traditionally been active, at times spontaneously and at times with the support of the Catalan Government, which acts in turn as a catalyst, facilitator and advocate.

Every day the population, and young people in particular, has greater linguistic competence, a better education, and moves throughout Europe and the rest of the world more easily, whether

it be for professional, academic or other motives.

Seen from a wider perspective, we can affirm that Catalonia is demonstrating a dynamism and a capacity for leadership in several fields, which permits us to project a favorable image to the world. Thus, the cultural, natural and tourism offering of Catalonia, including its prominent research in several fields, the business schools, gastronomy, design, sports tradition, and tolerant character of the country are all well known and internationally valued. At the same time, an important knowledge hub in politics and international relations is being created, one made up of research centers, businesses and universities.

Despite the present economic and financial crisis, for some time now the internationalization of Catalonia has been following a positive trend. In our opinion, the merit of this achievement belongs to the entire country: to the society, which avoided closing in on itself and instead focused on strengthening the country; to the companies, who took risks to make their presence known worldwide; to the scientists, politicians and businessmen and women who had the vision and the capacity to create and consolidate first-rate initiatives in several fields; to artists that knew how to make themselves stand out in a competitive world, etc. The Governments have helped and continue to be a key player regarding Catalonia's international presence and projection.

Today, however, this global ambition must become one of the distinguishing traits of the Catalonia of the future. It must become stronger, more developed and more consolidated in all fields. This is

why we believe that it is the opportune moment for this discussion, one that we hope to facilitate with the ideas and the reflections that follow.

This document, launched by the Department of International Projection of the Catalanist and Democrat Foundation (CatDem), brings together a collection of ten reflections on the international presence and projection of Catalonia. These reflections have been the object of analysis and debate within the Commission on International Relations and Catalanism, which is made up of Catalan experts in the international ambit.

**1.** HOW  
SHOULD  
WE DEFINE  
THIS AMBIT?

**W**e should make an initial reflection on the name that was chosen for this particular ambit. Some of the expressions that are often used to define it are: foreign or international projection, foreign or international activity, foreign or international affairs, and foreign or international relations. In the case of the Government of Catalonia and the other administrations, the most common terms are foreign or international policy. On several occasions the term paradiplomacy is used to refer to the foreign activity of different actors of States and international organizations. In the field of international cooperation for development and solidarity, the terminology appears to be more firmly established.

Despite the nuances of the different terms and expressions – due to their semantic content and oftentimes their original meaning in the fields of politics, law and international relations - in reality their use is often arbitrary. What is certain is that a definitive name does not exist for the subject, even though it would be advisable to adopt one.

The Statue of 2006 refers to the subject under the title of institutional relations of the Catalan Government, and begins by discussing the relations with the European Union (essentially legislating the Catalan Government's participation in the institutions and normative processes of the Union and the application of European law). Immediately following, the document discusses the foreign activity (assimilating it with the external projection and promotion of the interests of the Catalan Government). It is important to mention that the chapters that regulate the relations with the European

Union and Catalan foreign activity are not exclusory. In addition, it is not clearly defined what area the word “foreign” is referring to, and thus it is not clear if it means international or could also include the activity of the Catalan Government within the Spanish State, outside of the territory of the Principality of Catalonia.

### **PROPOSALS FOR REFLECTION AND DEBATE**

The regulation provided by the Statute of 2006 is a response to the political reality of the time and to the possibilities that have been left open - in both the Constitution and the doctrine of the Constitutional Tribunal - regarding the role of Catalonia in the international ambit in general, and in the European Union in particular. It is therefore inevitable that the terms institutional relations, relations with the European Union, foreign activity, external projection, cross-border, interregional and development cooperation, and international projection of Catalan organizations will all be used at least within normative texts and in the workings of the administration.

All in all, we believe that it is imperative to move beyond the present context and, maintaining the quality of our work, make contributions that solidify and give greater coherency to the contents of an ambit made up of hazy outlines. Clarifying this ambit is of supreme importance to Catalanism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as we will go on to explain in the following point.

We therefore propose to prioritize the expression “foreign and European relations policy” when we talk about actions carried out by Government entities, and “international action” when we speak of the presence of other actors abroad. When we refer to Catalonia

as a whole, we propose the expression “international presence and projection”. This will be the terminology that we will use throughout the rest of the document.

**2.** WHAT ARE  
THE FOUNDATIONS  
OF CATALAN  
INTERNATIONAL  
PRESENCE AND  
PROJECTION IN  
THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY?

**F**rom the very beginning it is important to reflect upon what foundations legitimize and justify that a country such as Catalonia might want, or even need, an international presence and projection.

Those of us that are convinced that our country has both the right and the duty to be present with its own voice in the world must make the effort to explain and establish this idea, with the goal of it becoming a common cause for the country, irrefutable from the ethical-political point of view.

We have already mentioned that the Statute of 2006 speaks of the Generalitat's institutional relations, of the relations with the European Union, of foreign activity, etc. It does not, however, fully make use of its powers by going into detail on this subject, not even in the preamble. The progress made with the new political and legal framework (in general) compared to the Statute of 1979 is notable, but it is important to understand it to be the extension and the consolidation of Catalan political autonomy and its financing necessities, or in other words, the internal construction of the country. This is not, however, the ideal situation that would permit the country to develop itself fully; the Statute is, essentially, the result of a political pact made between Catalonia and Spain at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and it inserts itself in the constitutional framework that had been designed directly following the Franco dictatorship.

The civil society, which in all of its diversity is and must continue to be a protagonist in the progress of Catalonia, has clearly understood the international challenge. During periods in which Catalan

political institutions were not able to develop freely, businesses, organizations and citizens continued their relations abroad for all sorts of projects and under various circumstances.

From the world of politics and within intellectual circles it is important to help legitimize these aspirations and encourage their development.

### **PROPOSALS FOR REFLECTION AND DEBATE**

We would like to propose three ideas that can help to lay this foundation: the new global order, political and economic history and the perception of Catalonia as a nation.

#### *The new global order*

The phenomenon of globalization as we understand it today, in agreement with the sociologist Anthony Giddens, has brought with it important changes on a global level, mainly regarding the information and communication technology revolution and the integration of the markets. Other factors that have contributed include political changes and the end of the Cold War, the improvement of the quality of life in many regions of the planet, multi-level governance and changing world values.

This new order affects the role of States and international relations, due to the fact that there has been an emergence of new actors and new agendas, a growing technical specialization, and an emergence of new global challenges that the international community needs to confront collectively.

Security continues to be a fundamental concern in international relations, but it is adopting new forms and contents that differ from the traditional ones. Today it no longer only has to do with the physical integrity of the citizens of a State or with the inviolability of its borders; instead, the concept must incorporate a more holistic and global vision, addressing the reality and the problems that affect humanity as a whole.

Within this context, democratic societies cannot put up barriers that block free expression and interrelation between people, businesses and organizations, but instead must encourage the processes that allow the world to become more just, peaceful, solidary and interconnected.

The governments and the sub-State elected administrations, on their part, representing as they do the will of their citizens, cannot see themselves excluded from this new scenario either. Sometimes we hear it said that the international presence and projection of countries such as Catalonia goes against global trends that favor union in the place of fragmentation. We believe that the global era does not place union and fragmentation but instead voice and silence in opposition. This global era is also characterized by the possibility offered to a great number of actors to assert and develop themselves peacefully, defending their interests while at the same time promoting mutual understanding.

In particular, globalization is bringing with it, on the one hand, an increasing relevance of international organizations where decisions are made that affect us directly, and, on the other hand, a risk for

minority cultures, which find themselves needing to compete in much wider markets.

In short, the new global order permits and encourages processes of internationalization for a great number of actors, while at the same time, it requires governments of different levels to participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of international policies.

### *Political and economic history*

Throughout its history, Catalonia has been shaping itself as a national entity that is aware of its uniqueness in the world. This formation has taken place with the passing of the centuries and under changing forms of political organization and economic models. At the same time, its international presence and projection has always been spontaneous and, habitually, the consequence of the reality of that moment in history. The desire to communicate with other territories and communities has always existed and has been present in many fields, from the strictly military to the political, cultural, economic or social.

Geography has influenced the priorities and the resulting scenarios, in particular within the Mediterranean and Iberian ambits. All in all, at times for political decisions, at times compelled by historical events, relations that could have been further developed have seen themselves interrupted or limited: this is the case of the South of France or the Catalan presence in America during the years of colonization.

This international presence and projection has also given Catalonia the opportunity to distinguish itself for the originality of several contributions (peace and armistice agreements, representative courts of different ranks, internal and maritime legislative bodies, medieval philosophy and literature, Renaissance literature, Modernism, and the liberal spirit), several of which can be considered the source of subsequent trends.

It is also important to mention that the establishment of Catalan communities abroad is an important symbol of the consciousness of a people and the ties that unite Catalonia's citizens when they are out of their country.

This historical reality cannot be ignored and is one of the fundamental arguments that the internationalization of Catalonia is based upon. Now that periods of suffocation and submission have been left behind, it is essential to resume with conviction direct involvement in international affairs.

### *Catalonia as a nation*

We have left for last what might seem to be the clearest argument: the Catalan national reality. The preamble of the Statute of 2006 includes the results of the vote carried out in Parliament on this topic, the Constitution recognizes the existence of different nationalities, and historians and political scientists around the world identify Catalonia as a people, as a nation without a State, as a distinctive political community. All of this represents a qualitative difference compared to other sub-State entities (even those of political nature and with legislative powers).

Once again, this is not an anachronism. Thus, for example, in his main work the sociologist Manuel Castells mentions the power of identity in an information age, including the role of nations without a State. Other authors have analyzed the erosion of the Westphalian understanding of the concept of sovereignty, that has for centuries given States predominance in international relations.

The development of the United Nations system and other international organizations, the sharing of sovereignties amongst different levels of government (as in the European Union), and the affirmation and the defense of human rights, peoples and minorities have been factors that have changed the face of interstate and international relations after the Second World War.

Although the Government of Catalonia is a State administration in accordance with the current legal ordinance, which in itself would justify intervention in foreign affairs of its concern, the international protection and recognition of nations without a State stems from the current perception of international law and politics, which mainly focus on protecting minorities. The reality of the peoples of the world should not be confused with the processes of political decentralization, which are instruments that are used for different reasons. Even though the law and international declarations still do not identify nations without a State, nor do they offer them a clear role in international relations, they do recognize their international personality, valuing the diversity and the universal nature of their cultures and ways of life.

### **3. WHAT ARE CATALAN NATIONAL INTERESTS?**

**If Catalonia is a nation, which it is, it is essential that we reflect upon what the national interests of our country are.**

National interests are those issues of maximum importance for a country that directly affect its prosperity and its consciousness (and, therefore, existence) as a distinctive political community. The expression “national interest” has several connotations, especially in the area of international relations and from a realistic perspective. Lately in Catalonia the Government has begun to use the adjective “national” in different administrative settings, which leads us to, for example, declarations of national heritage. All things considered, we want to assert the validity and the suitability of the expression while giving it a distinctive and equally innovative meaning.

When we speak of national interests we are referring to the predilections and expectations (two synonyms of interest) of the nation. It is important to mention that the concept of a nation is abstract, but perfectly compatible with the reality of the citizens of a given country. In addition, when speaking of a nation and national interests we are referring not only to individuals, but also to the social, political and economic structures that these people create (whether they be families, organizations, businesses or entities of political representation) and to the culture (in general) that is generated by institutions over the years. Lastly, the concept embraces a geographic reality, or territory, a piece of ground, a fragment of the planet with a particular natural reality.

This is why the national interests must be widely accessible and, in general, approved by the country as a whole. The Statute of 2006 compiles within its articulations a succession of rights and

duties and the guiding principles that are meant to orient public policies. This is an important foundation - together with other unanimous or strongly majoritarian declarations by public powers or by society in general - for the development of a doctrine on the national interests of Catalonia.

These interests are, in a sense, those things that concern us the most when we think about ourselves and the community that we live in. They are neither an exaltation of virtues nor a selfish expression of worries and needs, but instead a calm valuation of what we would ideally like to achieve individually or collectively. The current or future obstacles towards the attainment of these big objectives, or in other words, whatever interferes in these national interests, must be reason for concern.

## **PROPOSALS FOR REFLECTION AND DEBATE**

Some of the global issues that we feel Catalans share can be found in different ambits. In some cases, however, reality does not match the expression of interest. This means that the country (its institutions, its people, its organizations and businesses, the people and actors with the capacity to influence) should act now to make this gap visible and look for possible solutions.

### *Freedom, self-government and the right to decide*

No distinctive political community can renounce its right to self-governance and the self-management of its own interests. Freedom is a human desire, even a fundamental principle, and its administration is a sign of maturity and responsibility. The recognition of the right to decide its own destiny and the preservation of freedom and

autonomy, of rights and territory, regardless of its political ambit, are clearly national interests of Catalonia.

This vision implies the rejection of the forms of “undesired subordination”, or in other words, the dependence on actions that could jeopardize the framework that has already been attained. Thus, the founding democratic legislation that the Spanish State sometimes uses is worrisome as it reduces the ambit of Catalan powers. In addition, Catalonia needs to fully develop its international powers as indicated in the Statute of 2006.

### *Peace and security, wellbeing and sustainable progress*

Life in society has us develop habits that allow us to relate to each other and prosper individually and collectively, while respecting and appreciating others for who they are. Pacifism is not new in Catalonia (despite the wars and violence that it played a chief role in at different moments throughout its history) and is an excellent premise for building security. There are different ways of understanding pacifism and security, and they surely coexist in Catalonia, but we believe that the fostering of peaceful conflict resolution and the promotion of stability are within our national interests. At the same time, they are an essential ingredient for wellbeing and progress, in both the material and spiritual sense.

Thus, for example, whatever political entity Catalonia belongs to (Spain, the European Union) should consult with the Catalan Parliament and hear its opinion on issues of Catalonia's concern (military operations, direction of diplomatic relations, financing, infrastructure).

### *Justice and solidarity*

Being a country that is solidary – with its neighbors but also with the rest of the world – and socially, economically and culturally just, is also a main concern of Catalonia. In moments of economic crisis such as the present one, we often see how the public powers of our country have little room to maneuver and limited access to resources; this is when it becomes clear how much we still depend upon the Central Government to solve serious problems. At the same time, it is possible that in Catalonia people may opt for a model of society that is more equal than, for example, the other models of the Spanish State, or with different criteria for international cooperation. All of this is difficult to bring about without the necessary tools.

### *An individual voice*

Catalonia aspires to have its own voice in Europe, or in other words, to take part in European affairs in order to be able to defend the policies that the Catalan parties have proposed to the electorate, and participate in the normative and other processes that affect the powers of the Catalan Government. It also aspires for an individual voice throughout the world, in order to be able to freely and fully develop its identity, and at the same time, explain who it is, relate with and get to know other nations and societies.

Today, cultural diversity is considered an asset for society. But the national claims of countries such as Catalonia are often considered abusive, inadequate or counterproductive. To survive as a country and as a society that wants to conduct itself autonomously, Catalonia has to focus on projecting a positive image of nations without a State, and in an inclusive manner explain the Catalan reality, wellknown

in certain aspects but not in others. Thus, for example, if the tourists who come to Barcelona and Catalonia value their destination, it is important to be able to relate this to the historical reality of our country, to the labor of its inhabitants and to the policies that have been put into place.

### *Continuity and innovation*

Countries with a strong national identity try to not forget the past, and instead adapt themselves to their new realities conserving what makes them different. The preservation of natural, cultural, legal, economic and social heritage are, for this reason, national interests. This global heritage, which at the same time is the heritage of humanity in its entirety, has to be the foundation that we build the future on and the seed that allows for the creation of initiatives that respond to today's necessities. The capacity to create, innovate and undertake new initiatives, in a broad sense, also fall within Catalonia's interests as a nation.

**4.** WHAT SHOULD  
BE THE VISION,  
MISSION AND  
GENERAL  
OBJECTIVES OF  
THE INTERNATIONAL  
PRESENCE AND  
PROJECTION  
OF CATALONIA?

**W**e wanted to reflect upon our national interests in a previous point because they bring together global aspirations, independently of their character and internal or external implications. This clearly shows that the Catalan political reality cannot be restricted to, nor understood from, a limited point of view, but instead that the international aspect is closely linked to many of the described ambits.

In this point we discuss the vision, mission and general objectives of the international presence and projection of Catalonia. Thus, we are referring to the subject in its entirety, including all of the country's actors and not limiting ourselves to government policies and institutional relations. We believe that strategic planification is a positive means of approaching the topic, incorporating representatives of the Catalan society into the process that should, in turn, help identify the objectives of their respective sectors.

This involvement of local actors would also contribute to raising the awareness of the country as a whole and making it a co-partner and a co-protagonist in its international presence and projection. It could even be argued that citizens on an individual level should become involved in spreading their knowledge of the Catalan reality, and in the participation of Catalans - acting as ambassadors of their country - in international projects.

This Catalonia-World Plan would not be starting from scratch, due to the fact that there are numerous initiatives that, for years, have been fostering the internationalization of the Catalan culture and economy. These initiatives include participative processes such as

strategic agreements for internationalization, quality job creation and the competitiveness of the Catalan economy (2005-2007 and 2008-2011) and the Plan of External Action encouraged by the Government.

## **PROPOSALS FOR REFLECTION AND DEBATE**

What follows is a proposal that could serve as a foundation for future discussions in different ambits. It is important to note that both in this point, as in those that follow, we do not incorporate in an exhaustive nor repetitive manner many of the proposals that could be taken into account (to cite several examples: the objectives of internationalization of Catalan businesses promoted by the COPCA, the objectives and strategies of other sub-State entities with their own distinctive personality (such as Quebec), the existing objectives or regulations of different institutions of the Catalan Government or the measures that have been proposed in several publications – see the bibliography), but we are aware of them and often agree with them in spirit, which, we hope, is seen to be reflected in this document.

### *Vision*

We advocate for the vision of a Catalonia that participates actively in international circles, aware of its share of the responsibility in the creation of a better world and with the will to guarantee its national interests and the recognition of its distinctive personality.

### *Mission*

The international mission of Catalonia is to strengthen its role as a global actor, providing itself with the necessary tools to reach its objectives, basing itself on the principles of efficiency, solidarity, transparency and collaboration.

### *General objectives*

Reposition Catalonia in the European imagery and achieve a greater institutional, social, cultural and economic recognition for our country.

- Situate Catalonia at the head of several debates of global interest, providing the necessary talent and work to make quality contributions for the common good that are easily recognized as such.
- Strengthen Catalonia and its distinctive label, together with that of its capital, Barcelona, as a center of international reference in various areas of research, economics and business administration, politics, promotion of peace, intellectual thinking and artistic creation.
- Associate with the maximum number of prominent international actors, prioritizing contacts with quality criteria and fostering networks and mutual benefits.
- Excel in the management of Catalan capacities and resources, and do so on a global level, avoiding external tutelage or the dilution of the Catalan image.
- Open Catalonia up to the culture, economy and trends of other places, and incorporate foreign talent into our socioeconomic, cultural and political fabric in a creative manner.
- Promote a zone of political stability, progress and dialogue in the Mediterranean.

**5.** WHAT SHOULD BE THE CONTENT OF THE CATALAN GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN AND EUROPEAN RELATIONS POLICY?

**A**s previously stated, the Government's policy of foreign and European relations is regulated by the Statute of 2006, principally in title V, "The Institutional Relations of the Catalan Government." According to article 193.2, "the Catalan Government has the capacity to carry out activities of external projection that derive directly from its powers, either directly or using the organs of the State's General Administration". To us, this justification of foreign relations appears to be reactive, and we are missing an explicit mention of the international dimension of these powers and the internal policies.

In fact, it could be argued that the powers should be of a broad scope, regardless of whether foreign relations actions are necessary or recommendable for these powers to be fully realized. This is not Madrid's interpretation nor does international public law make any reference to it. But politically it is a defensible posture, it is the one that inspired this document and it is what, from our point of view, would better contribute to the defense of Catalan national interests.

It has already become a cliché to mention that the European Union has ceased to be an international ambit, due to the impact of the decisions made in the European Union on the internal affairs of the Member States. This directly affects our country, and thus as early as the start of the 1980s the Patronat Català Pro Europa was created, which has been a key tool for the training of experts and the spreading of information. Today it is important that all of the departments of the Catalan Government and other public institutions have the necessary capacity to get to know in detail and apply the European regulations in each sector, while at the

same time influencing European policymaking. The Parliament of Catalonia should also further develop these capacities and create an office devoted to giving technical assistance on European policy, available for use by the members of Parliament.

### **PROPOSALS FOR REFLECTION AND DEBATE**

We propose to develop a foreign and European relations policy that promotes the maximum integration possible of Catalonia in Europe and in the world without renouncing our roots. This would imply carrying out the following activities, which do not attempt to make up a complete list, but instead stimulate a wider debate beyond what is being done at the moment:

#### *Leadership and promotion*

- Fix the priorities of Catalan foreign action.
- Have Catalonia become Europe's gateway to the Mediterranean and consolidate Barcelona as an economic, logistic, cultural, tourism capital of this region, while developing the necessary infrastructure (roads, railways, ports and airports), strengthening the image of Catalonia and Barcelona as spheres of political and cultural influence, and improving the quality of tourism and its services.
- Develop and attract talent, especially in key ambits that the country is capable of being competitive in on a global level.
- Assist the country's actors in competing at the European level in open announcements and summons in all sectors.

- Lead the development of the Euro-region that we are a part of.
- Encourage citizens' socio-geographic mobility throughout their lives, the appreciation of diversity, the learning of languages and the training that is adequate in a globalized world that is in constant flux.
- Encourage the participation of the entire Catalan society in a renewed effort of internationalization and the spread of information about the reality of Catalonia and its desire to achieve international presence.

### *Participation, influence and creation of opinion*

- Contribute to political, economic, social and cultural debates at an international level, with distinctive contributions that could have a positive impact on the resolution of conflicts and the confronting of global challenges.
- Ensure the Catalan presence in different organisms and work committees of the European Union and actively collaborate in the elaboration, the implementation and the evaluation of European policies.
- Achieve official recognition for the Catalan language in European institutions.
- Negotiate the Catalan institutional presence in international organisms and the creation of international policies.
- Carry out activities of promotion, diffusion and explanation of the Catalan reality in all of its ambits, addressing specific audiences

(potential tourism, the international press, State and sub-State governments around the world, foreign businesses and capital, etc.).

### *Collaboration and solidarity*

- Encourage alliances with other nations without a State and build bridges of dialogue with States and other actors in international relations.
- Consolidate stable and frequent relations with all of the foreign government representations in Catalonia and encourage joint projects.
- Strengthen political, economic and cultural relations with particular geographic areas and countries with a certain degree of influence that Catalonia does not associate with enough (the United States, China, India and others).
- Destine at least 0,7% of our resources to international solidarity and development cooperation.
- Encourage the ambit of political cooperation, especially regarding projects of democratization and “empowerment” of collectives with fewer opportunities.

### *Generation, acquisition and diffusion of knowledge*

- Stimulate cultural dialogue between Catalonia and the rest of the world, introducing Catalan artistic and cultural production and at the same time allow Catalonia to be influenced by other centers of creativity.

- Consolidate a Catalan model of development, tolerance, coexistence and peace. Generate a better understanding of the reality of nations without a State in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and their international role.
- Promote continuous learning within administrations and the society about European and international affairs and comparative public policies.

### *Provision of services and support*

- Internationalize all the departments of the Catalan Government, encourage interregional, cross-border and international agreements and initiatives, and promote international ex-changes for the remaining administrations.
- Support the creation of the Catalonia and Catalonia-Barcelona brands that will help people to easily recognize products and services that fulfill specific standards of excellence.
- Offer the local population information and advice about different regions and countries from the Catalan perspective, and strengthen the international trade relations of Catalan companies in different sectors of activity, as well as the Catalan presence in important forums.

**6.** WHAT SHOULD BE THE INSTRUMENTS OF THE CATALAN GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN AND EUROPEAN RELATIONS POLICY?

**I**n the previous section we discussed the content that should be included in the Catalan Government's foreign and European relations policy; now we will talk about some of the instruments that we consider indispensable. The material that makes up this document should be understood and thought of as a public policy at the service of the country, its people and its businesses and organizations. It is, without a doubt, a transversal policy because it affects the ambits of all of the departments.

## **PROPOSALS FOR REFLECTION AND DEBATE**

### *Institutions and organs*

- Create the Foreign and European Relations Council that would advance and coordinate these policies in a transversal manner.
- Create offices of internationalization, as well as European offices, in all of the Catalan Government's departments. These offices will guarantee the incorporation, the development and the consolidation of the international dimension and necessary degree of specialization.
- Ensure Catalan institutional presence around the world, with a sufficient availability of resources that allows for the strengthening and consolidation of Catalan foreign relations in all ambits.
- Participate in directive and political organs of the Union for the Mediterranean and other relevant institutions.
- Create the Foreign and European Relations Council of the Government with its respective areas to act as the government's coordinating body on this subject.

- Create the National Council for the Fostering of Catalan International Presence and Projection, both as a participating organ in civil society and in collaboration with the Government.
- Create the House of Europe.
- Reinforce the Catalan presence in Brussels, mirroring the model of Europe's most advanced regions.
- Open delegations of the Catalan Government in the Autonomous Community of Valencia, Aragon and the Balearic Islands.

### *Regulations, planning and budget*

- Draft a law that regulates the organization of the policy of external and European relations, the functions and relations between different organisms and units, the spheres of activity and principal objectives.
- Develop the Catalan Plan, with concrete objectives and steps, identification of the organisms in charge, a system of evaluation and budget allocation.
- Develop regional action plans for geographic zones of special interest as well as action plans for different sectors.
- Provide initiatives for internationalization with a suitable budget, which should represent 1% of the budget of the Catalan Government.

### *People*

- Define professional profiles suitable for a policy of foreign and

European relations similar to the one that has been described, while guaranteeing the necessary professional competencies in different ambits and a balance between generalist and specialist, local and Catalan perspectives.

### *Policies and actions*

- Strengthen the international dimension of all public policies, following the example of governments of the most advanced countries.
- Encourage government and mixed foreign missions, of a political, economic, cultural and social nature.
- Participate in the meetings and debates about issues that affect Catalonia on an international level.
- Participate in the meetings of preparation and decision within the ambit of the European Union.
- Promote the signing of agreements of collaboration and the stimulus of joint programs with other governments and international actors.
- Consolidate and increase distinguished economic and cultural clusters.
- Create the portal Catalonia.cat, a virtual gateway to our country for all kinds of visitors.
- Strengthen the promotion of democracy through the actions of Catalan political foundations.

- Create a common space for Catalan organizations that associate with multilateral organizations.

# **7.** WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE AND PROJECTION?

**It is clear that, having reached this point, the civil society has played and continues to play a fundamental role.**

From individual experiences abroad to the international activity of businesses, from the participation of associations and Catalan foundations in organizations and international federations to the stimulus of international networks by various agents, the civil society is clearly the protagonist in the international presence and projection of Catalonia. This means that the government and the institutions have to take on the role of stimulus, facilitation, promotion, representation and a strategy of service towards the rest of the country's actors. This is what many governments who have a modern vision of international relations do, from the British Government to the Government of Quebec.

### **PROPOSALS FOR REFLECTION AND DEBATE**

- Create alliances with international organizations and joint projects with associations, foundations and universities of other countries.
- Encourage the mobility of people within Europe and the world.
- Promote the knowledge and use of English and other foreign languages.
- See the world as a natural frame of reference for economic, cultural, social and research activities.
- Encourage the distinctive Catalan presence in international forums and conferences.

- Strengthen interuniversity and interdisciplinary studies on cultural and national identities, the reality of nations without a State, the management of diversity and Catalan foreign policy.
- Give the Catalan reality a voice through European electoral proposals that contribute to defending the national interests of the country.
- Promote the support of Catalanism by way of the Catalan communities abroad and the stimulus of programs such as the Volunteers for Catalonia (*Voluntaris per Catalunya*), all the while taking advantage of the different experiences and realities of its members (people who had been in exile, relocated professionals, students and academics).
- Consolidate Catalan participation and leadership in the most important European projects (such as the Mediterranean railway corridor, the network of regional European associations and the network of Euro-Mediterranean business associations).
- Cooperate with developing countries while being involved in the empowerment of local actors for democratic coexistence and progress.

## **8.** WHO COULD BE INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC ALLIES OF CATALONIA?

**C**atalonia cannot act alone on an international level, but instead, by definition, must develop relations and alliances with other countries and societies, in accordance with the interests and strategies that are defined. The experience of recent decades has consolidated relationships of collaboration with sub-State governments, such as Quebec, Flanders or the regions that border Catalonia. In sum, a more decisive policy that permits a transferral of knowledge and an improvement of our capacities has become necessary.

### **PROPOSALS FOR REFLECTION AND DEBATE**

It is important to establish stable collaboration spaces with other nations without a State in Europe, North America and other geographic zones, which can, in turn, influence how the world perceives their image and their role, and spread the values of diversity and networks. Collaboration along these lines with Québec, Flanders, Scotland, Wales and the Netherlands could produce interesting results.

It is also important to work closely with countries whose values and principles are similar to our own, in foreign policy as well as in economic and social policy. Thus, Canada, Norway or Finland are countries that have relatively small demographic clout, but are characterized by international policies that encourage peace, dialogue and cooperation.

Another line of strategic collaboration focuses on research and innovation. Consequently, it is important to strengthen relations with other regions that are leading in research and innovation in

different scientific, technological and humanistic ambits, encouraging joint work teams and exchanges.

Finally, Catalonia should lead the defense of minority languages and cultures on an international level, in collaboration with UNESCO and other governments that share the same vision.

**9.** WHAT SHOULD BE THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STATE'S ADMINISTRATION REGARDING FOREIGN AND EUROPEAN RELATIONS POLICY?

**In the current constitutional and statutory framework there is room for different interpretations of the international activity of the Autonomous Communities and of the relationship between the Spanish State and the international ambit.** Therefore, it is important to note that the State has a significant capacity to increase possibilities of Catalan international participation. Nothing would impede, aside from political will, Catalan participation in all of the phases of the drawing up of European policies, in the State delegations in organisms and international conferences or, indeed, that Catalonia might sign treaties, if it were delegated this power for particular issues.

In Europe there are sub-State entities with a more institutionalized role in European and international affairs than Catalonia and the rest of the Autonomous Communities of the Spanish State (Flanders, the German Länder and the Swiss cantons stand out in particular). States, as international law does not intervene in their organization, can regulate this role and allow the constituent entities to act with more freedom and protagonism in foreign policy. Thus, the demand for more clearly defined and extensive international recognition of Catalonia is indispensable. At the same time, within the European ambit an international custom is growing regarding the international action of sub-State entities, which represents additional legal legitimacy.

### **PROPOSALS FOR REFLECTION AND DEBATE**

While the Central Government develops a foreign policy and diplomatic activities that affect Catalan interests, it is important to take advantage of all of the avenues that are currently open for

participation in State delegations and organisms, both within the European and international ambits. At the same time Catalonia has to develop its own foreign and European relations policy, respecting the current legal framework, and negotiate with the Spanish State for a distinctive status regarding its international presence and projection. This implies having more powers, a greater access to international forums and less protection and subordination from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. The centralizing and recentralizing trends that at times are expressed from Madrid makes it urgent to clarify the Catalan aspirations in this ambit.

It would also be important to familiarize ourselves in greater detail with the experiences of countries where the intervention of sub-State entities is more advanced, including carrying out an ongoing study of their actions.

**10.** WHAT KIND  
OF FUTURE DO  
WE ENVISION?

**F**rom the International Relations and Catalanism Commission, we are aware of the complexity involved if Catalonia were to amplify and consolidate its international presence and projection, especially during periods of economic crisis and dependent on the will of the Central Government and the political parties in Madrid. Despite all of this, during the preparation and debate of this document we have dared to think freely about the future.

We are confident that the civil society will continue to look outward and be concerned about reaching the necessary capacity to compete and act globally, without forgetting its Catalanness.

We think that the institutions, once the current stage of greater participation in European affairs, the opening of delegations and the setting of an agenda have become more consolidated, will take on the new challenge that implies developing a true policy of foreign and European affairs.

We believe that it will be possible to explain, both within and outside Catalonia, that the international ambit is an additional public policy that the Government of Catalonia cannot reject, while at the same time, it is a transversal issue that can be found in each of the subsequent Government policies.

The Catalan Government will assume the need of creating a Council aimed at foreign and European relations policy and the necessary coordinating mechanisms with the other Government units, and will supply the new policy with appropriate resources that guarantee a quality provision of internal and external services.

We also hope that within Catalonia the study and awareness of comparative foreign policies - as well as the larger global issues that affect the world - is increasingly developed.

It is therefore essential to intensify the negotiations with Madrid to receive more powers in the international ambit, to foster the complementarity of the State diplomatic delegations and the foreign relations policy of the Catalan Government, and to strengthen Catalonia's voice in Europe and around the world.

## **MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND CATALANISM COMMISSION**

### **MARC GUERRERO I TARRAGÓ**

#### ***President of the International Relations And Catalanism Commission***

Received his PhD in Social Sciences and a degree in Business Administration from the University of Barcelona. He complemented his studies at the University of California – Berkeley, where he studied Organizational Behavior; at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences, where he studied International Relations; and at the University of Reading (United Kingdom) through the Erasmus program for study abroad. He also holds a degree in European Communities from the Patronat Català Pro Europa and the Spanish Foreign Affairs Ministry. He is a Board Member and Head of the International Relations Department of the CatDem Foundation. He is vice-president of the European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party (ELDR), and is a National Board Member of CDC. He was Deputy Secretary General and President of the National Council of the JNC (Youth branch of CDC), and Secretary General of LYMEC (Youth of the European Liberal Democrat Party). Currently he is a professor of Politics and International Relations at the European University of Barcelona. He has taught and teaches classes at the UB (University of Barcelona), the UOC (Open University of Barcelona) and the UPF (Pompeu Fabra University). He was the coordinator of the National Catalan Youth Plan and the Head of the Institutional Relations Office of the Department of the Presidency (Prime Minister Cabinet). He is founder and CEO of Ginteco World Wide, Ltd.

## **JULIE CANTALOU**

### ***Coordinator of the Comission***

Was born in Switzerland, and is a political scientist who specializes in International Relations. She received her Bachelor's degree and a Master of Arts in Political Sciences from the University of Geneva, and for her year abroad on the Erasmus program she traveled to the Complutense University of Madrid to study International Relations. She holds a Masters degree in Inter-Mediterranean Mediation from the UAB (the Autonomous University of Barcelona) and is the treasurer and one of the founders of the association ARCO-MIM. Currently she coordinates the Area of International Projection of the CatDem Foundation. In Barcelona she also works as a socio-cultural mediator in different sectors, and regularly collaborates on different projects related to immigration, and on the Radio 4 program "*Cel Obert*" (*Open Skies*).

**ALBINYANA, Roger** is an economist by training, and obtained a Masters degree in Economic History from the UB and the UAB. He holds a Bachelor's degree in Economics and in Business Administration from the UPF and UOC, respectively. He also holds a degree in European Studies, and is the current director of the Circle of Studies for Sovereignty and a Board Member of the Open Catalonia Foundation. He has been president of the European Liberal Youth (LYMEC) and secretary general of LYMEC in the European Parliament. He was a member of the Political Bureau of the European Liberal Democrat Party (ELDR, European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party). Since the year 2000 he has been a member of the ELDR Council. He has been vice-secretary general of the Catalan Nationalist Youth (JNC) and a member of its board of directors since the year 2000, while also acting

as National Councilor for the political party Democratic Convergence of Catalonia (CDC, or *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya*). He participated in the European Convention for the Future of Europe through the Youth Convention. He has been president of the National Council of the National Student Federation of Catalonia (FNEC) and a faculty member of the UPF.

**ALEMANY, Joaquina** Lawyer by training, she presides the Association of Women for Freedom and Democracy (*Associació Dones per la Llibertat i la Democràcia*), is vice-president of Liberal International and president of the International Network of Liberal Women (INLW). She was Town Councilor of Barcelona for CiU, in addition to being Senator, Representative in Congress and in the Catalan Parliament. She directed the Interdepartmental Commission for the Promotion of Women up until 1997, and following this she encouraged the creation of the Catalan Institute for Women (ICD, or *l'Institut Català de les Dones*), and became its first president.

**BERNABÉ, LLUÍS** is the Head of the Asia-Pacific Antenna of LINGUAPAX.

**DE DALMAU I ORIOL, Casimir** obtained his *Bachelauréat* from the *Lycée Français* of Barcelona, his Bachelor's degree in Law from the University of Barcelona, and holds a degree in *Hautes Études Européennes* from the Collège d'Europe of Bruges. He has participated in the General Management Program of the IESE and the U.S. State Department's International Visitor Program. He has been an assistant to the Euro MP Carles A. Gasòliba, director of the Delegation of the Patronat Català Pro Europa in Brussels, and the executive director of

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**FERRER, XAVIER** is an economist and political scientist. He is president of Diplomats en Comunitats Europeus (Diplomats in European Communities).

**FERRER, Vicenç** received his degree in Economics and Political Sciences, and Doctorate in Economics, from Columbia University in New York City. He is a private consultant today, after a long career at the World Bank in Washington D.C., where he held different positions that were all related to the economics of development, international commerce, institutional development and agricultural policy. Since he has returned to Catalonia he has been involved in presentations, dialogues and analysis on topics of international economics and Catalan, Spanish and European politics and their relationship to the economics and politics of the United States.

**GARCÈS, Oriol** is a businessman.

**GASÒLIBA, Carles A.** received his Doctorate in Economic Sciences from the UAB and his Master of Arts in Industrial Economics from the University of Sussex. He was a consultant and professor of industrial economics at the UAB and a Representative in the *Corts Generals*, or Spanish Parliament, until 1987. He was president

of the Catalan part of the Mixed Government Commission of the Catalan Government – Spanish Government for the follow-up on negotiations about Spain joining the European Community. He was Secretary General of the Patronat Català Pro-Europa until 2004 and a European Parliament Representative. He was also a Senator for Spain from 2004 to 2008. Currently he is President of the Spanish Committee of the European League of Economic Cooperation (LECE). He is also President of the Hispano-Polish Chamber of Commerce and Cooperation, and President of the Foundation for Freedom and Democracy. In addition, he is vice-president of Liberal International, in London, and professor of European Integration and the Pompeu Fabra University. He directs the team of specialists of the European Consultancy AXIS, and has received the distinguished *Gran Cruz de Isabel la Católica* and title of *Commendatore dell'Ordine di Merito della Repubblica Italiana*.

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representative of economics in Brussels. He was the general director of economic programming for the Catalan Government's Department of Economics and Finance, and was also general director of the Adaptation of Catalonia to the European Communities, which was part of the Department of the Presidency of the Government of Catalonia. He is the ex-director of the Patronat Català Pro-Europa.

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**SABATA, Mònica** Psychologist. She worked for more than ten years at CIEMEN<sup>2</sup> the Escarré International Center for Ethnic Minorities and Nations, and has also been Director of Linguapax, a non-governmental organization that works towards the preservation and promotion of the world's linguistic diversity. She is President of the FOCIR (Federation of Internationally Recognized Catalan Organizations). She regularly collaborates with various news media.

**TERRADELLAS I MARÉ, Víctor** is an activist and entrepreneur from Reus (Baix Camp). Currently he is dedicating himself to the field of international relations, international cooperation and political activism. He has been the founder and driving force behind the NGO *IGMAN-Acció Solidària* (IGMAN-Action for Solidarity), an NGO with a distinctive Catalan national profile that works in areas of conflict and post-conflict and on development cooperation projects. Within this same space, he created the magazine *ONGC* that focuses on political thought, solidarity, cooperation and international relations, and of which he is the editor and a contributing writer. In the framework of this publication he created the ONGC awards. He is also the president and founder of the *CATmón* Foundation, which is set on becoming a think tank regarding the challenges and possibilities of international relations and Catalan cooperation of the Catalonia of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Within this same space, he conceived and started up the magazine *Catalan International View*, and is its editor and a contributing writer. This magazine seeks to interpret the different conflicts of the world from a Catalan and European perspective. He is also an active member in different political initiatives, such as

2) CIEMEN: a cultural, non-for-profit foundation with the aim of promoting cultural and linguistic diversity.

the creation of the *Plataforma per la Sobirania* (the Platform for Self-Determination), a movement of party members from the *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (Democratic Convergence of Catalonia) political party and Catalan social and cultural initiatives that are closely tied to the Catalan territory and traditions.

**TOLOSA, Lluís** is a sociologist, specializing in Sociology of Communication and Sociology of Youth. He is the technical director of the *Fundació Audiències de la Comunicació i la Cultura, Fundacc* (Communication and Culture Audiences Foundation), that runs the Communication and Culture Barometer, a macro-study of audiences and cultural consumption in the Catalan-speaking territories. He has been the coordinator of the National Youth Plan within the Youth Secretary of the Catalan Government; director of the technical office of the 3rd Congress of Youth of Catalonia, and a visiting professor for the MA in Youth Studies and Policies (UdL) and the MA in Youth and Society (UdG). Over the last few years he has given talks at hundreds of conferences, published numerous articles and at least a dozen books, among them books about wine that have won five international awards.

**URGELL, Jaume** obtained his MBA from the ESADE Business School, and a MA in Public Administration from the University of Harvard. He also received a Diploma in Advanced Studies in Philosophy from the University of Barcelona. He has been Head of Institutional Relations for the Department of Universities, Research and the Information Society of the Catalan Government (DURSI), director of Human Resources for the *Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística* (Consortium for Linguistic Normalization)

and Communications Director of the EuroScience Open Forum 2008. During his time working for the Catalan Government, he coordinated the drafting of the Law of Universities of Catalonia, he encouraged Catalonia's international relations in the field of university teaching and research, and was the driving force behind the creation of the Departmental Commission of External Relations of DURSI. He is the author and co-author of numerous articles and books, and between 2002 and 2003 he directed, commissioned by the Catalan Government, the book "*Donar protagonisme a Catalunya. Acció internacional i política de relacions exteriors catalana.*" (Giving Catalonia Protagonism. Political and International Action of Catalan External Relations") (Pòrtic and CETC, 2003). He has been active in different social movements in Barcelona and at Harvard, where he set up the group *Catalonia@Harvard*.

**VILARDELL, Abelard** holds a Law Degree and a MA in European Studies. He was councilor of the Office of the Catalan Government in Brussels, and joined the Polytechnic University of Catalonia (UPC) as Director of International Relations. He established the Office of International Relations and soon became involved in encouraging the internationalization of the University. After ten years dedicated to the UPC, he was named Executive Director of the International Graduate School of Catalonia (IGSOC), an initiative of the Catalan Government. He was nominated Secretary of the Pyrenees Mediterranean Euroregion, the cooperation on a multi-regional level among different Autonomous Communities and Regions along the border between the Spanish and French States. Currently, he acts as an independent consultant.

**VIVAS, Joaquim** is a computer scientist by trade and passionate about Web 2.0. He is in charge of a highly productive team of an important German multinational company. In the past he has been National Secretary General of the Junior Chamber International Catalonia, and currently is Secretary General of JCI Barcelona at Junior Chamber International, and represents the JCI of Catalonia before the National Youth Council of Catalonia. Prior to his time at university, he was the leader of (and started up) various High School student movements. He is a member of the CDC political party.

**SCHORR, Nily** is the Spokeswoman for the Federation of Jewish Communities of Spain.

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