

ARTICLE

CHALLENGES AND PRIORITIES OF THE NEW SPANISH GOVERNMENT

Madrid, January 23, 2020

INTRODUCTION

March 5, 2019, the Official Spanish State Gazette published the Royal Decree Dissolving the House of Representatives. The main reason behind holding elections a year and half early was the difficulty the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) was facing in passing the General Budget Bill, as the Republican Left of Catalonia (ERC) refused to vote for it.

From then until Jan. 7, 2019, when Pedro Sanchez became Prime Minister, ten months passed, with two general elections and other local, autonomous and European Parliament elections taking place, reconfiguring Spain's institutional landscape. This change led to a political landscape that differs greatly from what has been typical since the Spanish Constitution was adopted in 1978. The new Congress is more divided than ever, with a total of 19 parliamentary groups. This is a clear indication of today's political fragmentation, stemming from Spanish voters' disillusionment with not only traditional parties (as was the case in the 2010 to 2016 political cycle, when the Podemos and Ciudadanos blocs emerged), but also with more recent alternatives. PSOE won the general elections held April 28, 2019, with 123 seats, putting it 57 representatives ahead of the People's Party (PP), the second largest party in

parliament. In that election, Ciudadanos (Cs) won 57 representatives and was only 200,000 votes away from taking second place to become the country's leading center-right party. Podemos won 42 representatives and, for the first time since 1979, far-right party VOX gained representation in Parliament, with 24 representatives.

As soon as the results were announced, it was very clear the two-party system that had prevailed since 1978 had been replaced with

“The new Congress is more divided than ever. This is a clear indication of today's political fragmentation, stemming from Spanish voters' disillusionment”

RESULTS OF THE VOTE IN THE CONGRESS

167

in favour

- 120 PSOE
- 35 UP
- 6 PNV
- 2 Más País
- 1 Compromís
- 1 BNG
- 1 Teruel Existe
- 1 Nueva Canarias

165

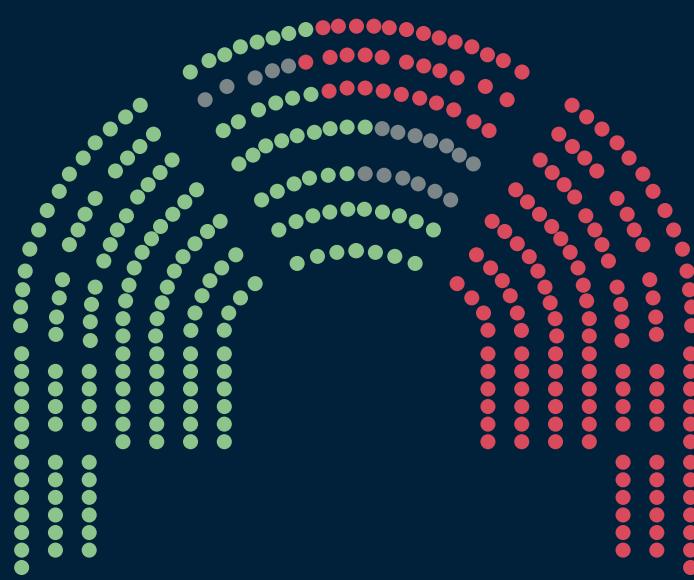
against

- 88 PP
- 52 VOX
- 10 Cs
- 8 JxCat
- 2 N+
- 2 CUP
- 1 PRC
- 1 CC
- 1 Foro

18

abstaining

- 13 ERC
- 5 Bildu



a parliamentary “bloquismo,” made up of two ideological blocs representing the left and right. In practice, this has brought about a political blockade. As the leader of the largest political force in Spain, Pedro Sanchez took on the challenge of forming a government and trying to reach an agreement with the left-wing parliamentary bloc, with Podemos as his main ally. Sanchez also sought support from nationalist and pro-independence groups.

It is key to note, however, that Sanchez never even suggested the possibility of reaching an agreement with Ciudadanos, with whom he would have held an extended majority. Nor did Ciudadanos leader Albert Rivera give any indication that such an agreement would have been possible. In the end, PSOE simply failed to reach an agreement with Podemos, making another round of elections inevitable less due to political disagreements, but rather because Podemos was determined to be a part of the government and Sanchez was equally determined to prevent them from doing so.

New elections were held Nov. 10, 2019, just after the European, autonomous and local elections took place. The elections were held following the Catalonian independence leaders’ trial, which found Oriol Junqueras and the rest of the pro-independence leaders who had not fled the country to be guilty of sedition and other charges.

The election’s results had little effect on the total number of seats in each of two blocs, but there were some differences. PSOE and Unidas Podemos (the electoral coalition led by Podemos) lost 10 seats between PSOE 3 and Podemos 7. The PP, however, gained 23 extra seats, and VOX more than doubled its seats, going from 24 to 52. The big loser in this election was Ciudadanos, which lost 47 seats. Albert Rivera resigned immediately, taking personal responsibility for the defeat.

The election results in April and November were similar, but the two leading left-wing parties’ perspectives on the results were very different. Indeed, just 24 hours after the polls closed, Sanchez and Podemos leader Pablo Iglesias closed a “pre-agreement to form a coalition government” with support from the two parties’

155 congressional representatives. In the weeks that followed, the coalition gained support from regionalist, nationalist and independentist parties, until the investiture came down to the left-wing pro-independence ERC.

PSOE’s negotiation with ERC continued to delay the investiture debate, which finally took place Jan. 4 and 5, 2020. This only took place once the two political parties had agreed to hold additional official talks between the Spanish government and the Generalitat regarding the political conflict in Catalonia, as well as a pledge to call Catalan citizens for a consultation on the negotiations’ results.

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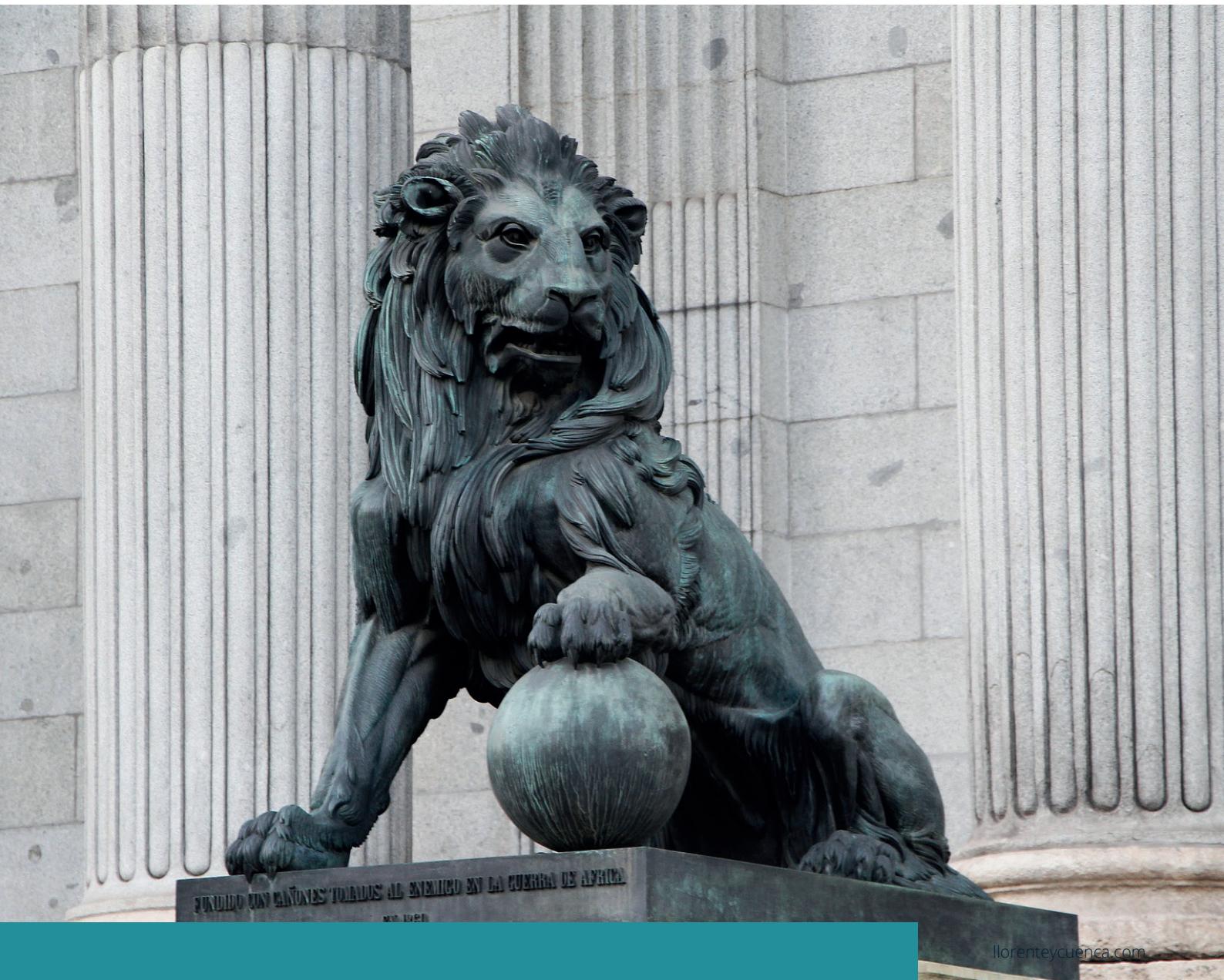
“As soon as the results were announced, it was very clear the two-party system that had prevailed since 1978 had been replaced with a Parliament made up of two...”

The investiture debate was marked by a climate of heightened tension between the two parliamentary blocs, made up of Sanchez’s backers and his detractors. As tensions grew, most speakers showed evidence of the profound fracture in parliament, with no one party appearing likely to occupy the center space in Spanish politics. The results Sanchez obtained Jan. 5 were not enough to reach the absolute majority necessary for his investiture, but 48 hours later, a second vote confirmed the House’s confidence with 167 votes in favor, 165 against and 18 abstentions (8 political parties in favor, 9 against and 2 abstentions).

In the days leading up to his investiture, the two coalition allies reached an agreement to determine the number of cabinet positions each would hold, as well as a manual of procedures for government activity, titled "Protocol of functioning, coordination, development and monitoring for the progressive government agreement." This will provide guidelines for the new coalition government.

"The real-life scenarios Sanchez's government faces in the economy are not, in many cases, compatible with some of the measures that have been announced in recent weeks"

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CHALLENGES FACING THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Sanchez's government faces a complicated national and international situation, one in which very different political initiatives will have to coexist.

The main "transformations" Sanchez wants to bring about include:

- Strengthening the economy, adapting it to the scientific and technological revolution and generating quality jobs.
- Attain national cohesion based on mutual understanding and territorial balance.
- Promote social justice and protect those with lower resources.
- Address the climate emergency and carry out an ecological transition that fits the economy.
- Attain full equality for women and all those who continue to endure discrimination in their lives.

Economic Challenges

Politics is easier on paper than in reality. The real-life scenarios Sanchez's government faces in the economy are not, in many cases, compatible with some of the measures that have been announced in recent weeks. Limited economic growth, the consequences of Brexit, trade tensions between the United States and China and the economic consequences of escalating tensions between the Trump administration and Iran are just some of the uncertainties affecting both Spain's finances and the executive branch's ability to manage an economy that must be transformed as quickly as possible if the government is to fulfill its ambitious self-imposed pledges to fight climate change.

Economic slowdown

For some time, most Spanish economic analysts and international organizations have been warning about a scenario of modest economic growth that, without sliding into a full recession, predicts times of doubt in the main world economies, especially

in the (usually) most major ones in Europe. The Eurozone, for example, grew only 0.2 percent in Q3 2019 (1.2 percent year-on-year). This economic situation makes it difficult to implement many of the measures the coalition government set forth during the investiture debate, as they require more solid growth. This, in turn, leads to a greater chance of raising taxes.

Political initiatives with expansive spending and waning income

Some experts argue that the initiatives announced in the "Progressive collation: A new agreement for Spain" document, produced by the PSOE and Unidas Podemos, imply additional public spending of approximately 30 to 35 billion euros, while the announced tax increases and scenario of lower economic growth do not suggest sufficient capacity to account for such an increase. This situation could complicate the implementation of many of the announced measures, something difficult for any government to handle, but even more so for a government such as this, in which so many different ideologies must get along.

European commitments incompatible with increased spending

Last November, the European Commission warned Spain that its economic forecast indicated "a significant deviation from the appropriate adjustment path and incompliance with the temporary reference value set for the reduction of the debt in 2019." This warning, which came prior to the government agreements, casts doubts on the executive branch's capacity to implement the measures announced by parliament, as well as its ability to comply with commitments to reduce its public deficit with European institutions.

Need to pass the new budget immediately

The current public budget in Spain was drawn in 2018 up by the previous government, headed by Mariano Rajoy. Sanchez's government then extended this budget twice. The current government's inability to get a budget passed in 2019 led to two general elections being called in the same year. Their inability to pass a budget of their own is one of the reasons socialists have used to justify the difficulty of carrying out their political and social reform programs. For this

reason, the new government cannot postpone first passing a “spending ceiling,” then some budgets.

Each budget’s specific makeup and PSOE and Unidas Podemos’ ability to gather the necessary support to get these budgets passed will be the first real sign of health in this coalition. It will also predict the legislature’s capacity for survival.

We will see the first clash between politics and the economy in the 2020 budget debate, as all signs seem to suggest that the final budget decision will fall to the ERC. However, as the party’s spokesman Gabriel Rufian stated during the investiture debate, “If there’s no dialogue [between the central government and the Catalonian government], there’s no legislature,” adding that “the ERC has done this before. You only have to cast your minds back. And it can do

“The real-life scenarios Sanchez’s government faces in the economy are not, in many cases, compatible with some of the measures that have been announced in recent weeks”

it again.”

The green economy, center of the new parliament

Policies to address climate change, especially regarding the decarbonization of the economy, will certainly be one of the main cards Sanchez’s new government will play. Teresa Ribera’s

promotion from the Ministry for Ecological Transition to fourth deputy prime minister, which groups climate and demographic challenges together, is a clear sign the executive branch takes this issue seriously. Ribera has already shown her clear vocation for leadership after organizing in COP 25 in record time last December.

The Climate Change Bill, which has already been drawn up, may be one of this parliament’s first legislative initiatives. Particular attention will likely be paid to the new types of environmental taxes proposed.

Social Challenges

Sanchez and Iglesias have proposed a legislative agreement that includes major social reforms, most of which require enormous amounts of additional money. The economic effects of these reforms, government capacity to turn economic growth into employment and pension system sustainability are just some of the main challenges facing this government in the area of social policy.

Employment slowdown and labor reform

Unemployment decreased by 38,692 in 2019, a much smaller decrease than in 2018, when it fell 210,484. In turn, social security in 2019 fell short of the 2018 figures, when job occupation grew by almost 564,000 (compared to 384,000 in 2019).

This data is coupled with an unflattering economic situation and the announcement of labor measures many economic operators doubt (especially regarding the effects they will have on the labor market). It is not the best starting point for a change-oriented legislature.

In fact, last June credit rating agency Moody’s warned of a possible downgrade in Spain’s sovereign rating in the event of a mooted labor reform reversal.

In another area, the “Pre-agreement to form a coalition government,” signed by PSOE and Unidas Podemos, includes a minimum wage increase of up to 60 percent of the average salary during the legislature, which would imply pay raises of up to 1,200 euros per month. How

interprofessional minimum wage increases and the capacity for dialogue with social agents will no doubt play major roles in the success of the new minister of Labor and Social Economy.

Pension Reform

Pension reform is one of the major challenges the executive branch will face in the coming months. Until now, the measures the government has taken or announced have primarily focused on guaranteeing that pension purchasing power will be maintained, but not on ensuring its sustainability.

Budget tensions arising from the natural increase in the number of pensioners, coupled with the increasing pension amount, the fragmented parliament's difficulty in picking up where the Toledo Pact left off and the tension that will surely arise in the government (and among the opposition) when deciding between policies with a long-term focus or a short-term electoral vision, all make it difficult to address extensive state benefit reforms.

Political Challenges

The first coalition government since the start of the country's democratic transition is a political challenge in and of itself. This new method of running national politics comes in parallel to a fragmented parliament, a need to find new allies each week for various political initiatives, territorial tensions and a universally unyielding stance seen across all political leaders during the investiture debate. All this indicates it will not be easy for the government to act.

Coalition government, or a coalition of governments?

One of the main uncertainties is whether this government will act like a true coalition government, or whether we will see something more similar to a collation of governments running national politics.

Leaders from PSOE and Unidas Podemos, as well as from the other negotiating groups in both parties, have worked to convey an image of harmony. Indeed, there was notable teamwork between Iglesias and Sanchez (and their respective parties) during the investiture debate.

However, the question remains as to how the

government will work in the day-to-day, as well as whether the "Protocol for functioning, coordination, development and monitoring of the agreement of the progressive government," agreed upon by PSOE and Unidas Podemos, will be enough to navigate the pitfalls that may

"The effects of these reforms, government capacity to turn economic growth into employment and pension system sustainability are just some of the main challenges facing this government"

arise during governmental and parliamentary administration.

A government without alternatives

Although the majority attained in the investiture is slight, it is unlikely the groups against Sanchez's appointment will come together to form an alternative majority in a vote of no confidence, as occurred when Sanchez took over the government after the motion against Mariano Rajoy in 2018.

Therefore, the possibility of this government not completing its mandate will depend solely on Sanchez, as he the only one who can dissolve parliament early and call new elections. This is barring a major slip-up by the executive branch, such as the inability to pass a budget or a major parliamentary defeat that casts doubt on the agreement's governability and the relationship between the coalition partners.

The Catalonian situation: Dialogue and conflict

All signs suggest that Catalonia will, now more than ever, be at the center of the political landscape during this legislature. This is not only due to the importance and consequences of the pro-independence leaders' trial for Spanish politics as a whole, but also because ERC's position is vital to this legislature's health. It was at the investiture, it was present in major past votes and it will continue to be in the parliament's first legislative debates, especially regarding state budgets.

The agreement between PSOE and ERC centered on the government's acknowledgement of the existence of a political conflict in Catalonia, the creation of bilateral talks between the Spanish government and Catalonian Generalitat to resolve the conflict and the holding of a consultation with Catalan citizens on the result of the negotiations. These talks will therefore mark this legislature (or at least its early days), and the government's general health and relationships with opposition forces will depend on how the talks evolve.

Furthermore, the PSOE and ERC agreement

has caused tensions in the pro-independence parties that make up the Catalan government. This tension, together with Generalitat President Quim Torra's legal situation, may cause further volatility in what is an already unstable Catalan legislature.

More territorial tension: Funding for autonomous regions

In addition to the Catalan question, there are other territorial tensions that will play a role in the new legislature. The Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) has made new claims on the transfer of powers just before the Basque electoral primaries are about to begin, and the small territorial parties that supported Sanchez's investiture have claims of their own. They will likely urge the government to recognize the importance of their votes.

But one issue that will affect territorial politics as a whole is the renewal of the funding model for the autonomous regions. Changes in this model logically follow a claim made by most regional leaders, regardless of political affiliation, as they



depend on this funding to provide their areas' main public services (health, education and social services), which each autonomous region is responsible for.

Negotiation around a new model will force the government to dialogue with all autonomous communities (except the Basque Country and Navarra), then seek allies in the House of Deputies and the Senate. It will not be easy, but it is essential to reaching a satisfactory agreement that guarantees the country's international functioning and essential services for its citizens.

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THE NEW SPANISH GOVERNMENT

Find below the members of the new Government profiles, along with the main initiatives entrusted to their ministries, in accordance with the Coalition government signed by the PSOE and Podemos.



HEAD OF GOVERNMENT

Pedro Sánchez Pérez-Castejón

- Born in Madrid in 1972.
- Degrees in Economics and Business Sciences. Master's in Economic Integration and European Monetary Studies. Master's in EU Economic Policy. Master's in Public Leadership. Ph.D. in Economics and Business.
- General Secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE).
- Deputy for Madrid.
- Former Regional Minister of the Madrid City Council.

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CARMEN CALVO POYATO Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Presidency, Parliamentary and Democratic Memory	PABLO IGLESIAS TURRIÓN 2nd Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Social Rights and 2030 Agenda		
NADIA CALVIÑO SANTAMARÍA 3rd Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Economic Affairs and Digital Transformation	TERESA RIBERA RODRÍGUEZ 4th Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Ecological Transition and Demographic Challenge		
ARANCHÁ GONZÁLEZ LAYA Minister of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation	JUAN CARLOS CAMPO MORENO Minister of Justice	MARGARITA ROBLES FERNÁNDEZ Minister of Defense	MARÍA JESÚS MONTERO CUADRADO Minister of the Treasury and Government Spokesperson
FERNANDO GRANDE-MARLAZKA GÓMEZ Minister of the Interior	JOSÉ LUIS ÁBALOS MECO Minister of Transport, Mobility, and Urban Agenda	ISABEL CELAÁ DIÉGUEZ Minister of Education and Professional Training	YOLANDA DÍAZ PÉREZ Minister of Labor and Social Economics
REYES MAROTO ILLERA Minister of Industry, Trade and Tourism	LUIS PLANAS PUCHADES Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	CAROLINA DARIAS SAN SEBASTIÁN Minister of Territorial Policy and Civil Service	JOSÉ MANUEL RODRÍGUEZ URIBES Minister of Culture and Sport
SALVADOR ILLA ROCA Minister of Health	PEDRO DUQUE DUQUE Minister of Science and Innovation	IRENE MONTERO GIL Minister of Equality	ALBERTO GARZÓN ESPINOSA Minister of Consumption
	JOSÉ LUIS ESCRIVÁ BELMONTE Minister of Inclusion, Social Security and Migration	MANUEL CASTELLS OLIVÁN Minister of Universities	

PSOE

Unidas Podemos



DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF THE PRESIDENCY, PARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS AND DEMOCRATIC MEMORY

Carmen Calvo Poyato

- Born in Cordoba in 1957.
- Ph.D. in Constitutional Law.
- Deputy for Madrid.
- Former Minister of Culture.
- Former 1st Vice President of the Congress of Deputies.
- Former Regional Minister of Culture in the Andalusian Regional Government.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Promote transparency and good governance policies.**
- Promote democratic memory.
- **Pass a Freedom of Conscience Law** to guarantee a secular State and its neutrality toward all religious denominations.
- **Reform the electoral system** to eliminate the "begged vote" (or "voto rogado") mechanism and debate the possibility of giving 16- and 17-year-old citizens the right to vote.



2ND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF SOCIAL RIGHTS AND 2030 AGENDA

Pablo Iglesias Turrión

- Born in Madrid in 1978.
- Ph.D. in Political Science.
- Deputy for Madrid.
- General Secretary for Podemos.
- Former Eurodeputy.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Coordinate and adapt all executive political initiatives to the Sustainable Development Goals** within the 2030 Agenda framework.
- Promote government measures to broaden and guarantee citizen **rights**.
- Enact a **Law for the Integral Protection of Childhood and Adolescence**.



3RD DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION

Nadia Calviño Santamaría

- Born in A Coruña in 1968.
- Degrees in Economics and Law.
- Former Directorate General for Competition in the European Commission.
- Former Directorate General for Community Budget in the European Commission.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- Promote **R+D in priority multidisciplinary areas and technologies**, such as the blue economy, personalized medicine and artificial intelligence.
- Create a **Spanish Artificial Intelligence Strategy**.
- Enact a **cybersecurity plan** and a national cybersecurity forum for technological development and research.
- Boost the role of **innovation across the economy**.
- Enact a plan to **deploy digital infrastructures in the industrial sector**.



4TH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR ECOLOGICAL TRANSITION AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHALLENGE

Teresa Ribera Rodríguez

- Born in Madrid in 1969.
- Degree in Law, diplomas in Constitutional Law and Political Science from the Center for Constitutional Studies.
- Deputy for Madrid.
- Former Secretary of State for Climate Change.
- Former Director General of the Spanish Office for Climate Change.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- Develop the **Strategic Energy and Climate Framework** based on three major strategic pillars: Enact the Climate Change and Energy Transition Law, enact the National Integrated Energy and Climate Law, and create a fair transition strategy for the new energy model.
- **Guarantee an environmentally sustainable circular economy model**
- **Regulate shared self-consumption**, simplifying administrative and technical procedures for charge-free self-consumption.
- Enact **extensive social electric discount rate reforms and create a general discount**, including gas, to tackle energy vulnerability.
- **Create an Environmental Damage Compensation Fund**.
- **Expand the network of protected spaces**.
- **Decentralize State institutions**, transferring all or part of various institutions' and organizations' headquarters to different cities to help tackle the demographic challenge.



MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, EUROPEAN UNION AND COOPERATION

Arancha González Laya

- Born in Tolosa, Navarra, in 1969.
- Degree in Law and postgraduate in European Law.
- Former Assistant Secretary General of the UN and Executive Director of the International Trade Center (ITC).
- Former Chief of Staff to the General Secretary of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Strengthen Spain's collaboration in the formulation, creation and implementation of community public policies.**
- Put forward Africa as an EU foreign policy priority, submitting initiatives that benefit sustainable development on the continent.
- Deepen **relations between the EU and Latin American and Caribbean countries** in the economic, social, political and cultural areas.
- Study the possibility of removing the unanimity criterion for some EU decision-making processes.
- **Promote multilateralism and the development of third-world countries.**
-



MINISTER OF JUSTICE

Juan Carlos Campo Moreno

- Born in Osuna, Sevilla, in 1961.
- Ph.D. in Law.
- Deputy for Cadiz.
- Former Justice Spokesperson for the Parliamentary Socialist Group.
- Magistrate (currently on leave of absence).

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Promote a State Pact for Justice Administration Modernization.**
- **Replace article 324 of the Criminal Judgment Law** to eliminate the maximum period judges may hold their seats, as this limits the fight against corruption.
- **Modify the Constitutional Law of Legal Powers** with regard to universal justice.



MINISTER OF DEFENSE

Margarita Robles Fernández

- Born in Leon in 1957.
- Degree in Law.
- Deputy for Avila.
- Former Spokesperson for the Parliamentary Socialist Group.
- Former member of the General Council of the Judiciary (CGPJ).
- Former Magistrate of the Supreme Court and Audiencia Nacional.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- Promote increased professionalization in the Army and Armed Forces.



MINISTER OF THE TREASURY AND GOVERNMENT SPOKESPERSON

María Jesús Montero Cuadrado

- Born in Sevilla in 1966.
- Degree in Medicine.
- Deputy for Sevilla.
- Former Regional Minister of the Treasury for the Andalusian Government.
- Former Regional Minister of Health for the Andalusian Government.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- Increase the Spanish tax system's progressiveness.
 - » Reform corporation taxes, guaranteeing *minimum taxation of 15 percent on large corporations (18 percent for financial institutions and fossil fuel companies)*.
 - » *Limit exemptions on dividends/capital gains* for business participation in other companies, reducing these by 5 percent as non-deductible spending for taxes.
 - » *Improve SME tax regulations* so companies with a turnover of less than 1 million euros go from paying 25 percent in taxes to 23 percent.
 - » 2-point increase over general the base in income tax for taxpayers with an income over 130,000 euros and 4-point increase for those with an income over 300,000 euros.
 - » *Capital gains tax* to increase by 4 percentage points for those with an income over 140,000 euros.
 - » Strengthen *tax regulations on large fortunes*.
 - » Reform the REITs legal and tax systems, applying a *tax of 15% on retained earnings*.
 - » *Review the tax system for co-ops and worker-owned companies*.
- Adapt the current tax system to the 21st century economy
 - » Tax on certain digital services (Google Tax).
 - » Tax on financial transactions (Tobin Tax).
 - » Preference for a *green tax system*.
 - » *Decrease VAT on veterinary services and female hygiene products*.
- Fight against tax fraud
- Comply with fiscal disciplinary mechanisms to guarantee the sustainability of public accounts, as based on the tax responsibility criteria demanded by the EU.
- Negotiate and enact a new funding system for autonomous communities..



MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

Fernando Grande-Marlaska Gómez

- Born in Bilbao in 1962.
- Degree in Economic Law.
- Deputy for Cadiz.
- Former member of the General Council of the Judiciary (CGPJ).
- Former Magistrate of the Audiencia Nacional.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Prioritize protecting citizens' fundamental industrial rights** from coercive security measures.
 - » In the medium term, enact a new citizen security law to replace the "gag law."
- **Broaden Spanish nationality to descendants of Spanish ancestors** born abroad at any time.
- **Extend salary equalization between the Police and Guardia Civil.**



MINISTER OF TRANSPORT, MOBILITY, AND URBAN AGENDA

José Luis Ábalos Meco

- Born in Torrent, Valencia, in 1959.
- Degree in Teaching.
- Secretary of Organization for the PSOE.
- Deputy for Valencia.
- Former Director of International Cooperation for the Valencian Government.
- Elementary school teacher (currently on leave of absence).

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Develop a public transport and mobility policy focused on sustainable development** and the efficient use of different forms of urban transportation.
 - » *Enact a Sustainable Mobility and Public Transport Funding Law*, placing special emphasis on economic sustainability in large cities' metropolitan areas.
 - » Implement an *economic assistance framework for electric vehicles and measures* to promote the installation of charge points in urban areas.
 - » Write a 2019-2022 Action Plan to *Improve Efficiency and Sustainability in the Logistics Chain*.
 - » *Review the toll model used on high-capacity road networks* to guarantee their sustainability and efficient use.
 - » Measures to promote *productive and sustainable investments in ports*.
 - » Promote the *Commuter Plan 2019-2025* and other measures to *support intermodal transport*.
 - »



MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Isabel Celaá Diéguez

- Born in Bilbao in 1949.
- Degrees in Law and Philosophy and Letters with a specialization in English Philology.
- Deputy for Alava.
- Former Regional Minister for Education, Universities and Research for the Basque Regional Government.
- Former Chief of Staff of the Council of Justice, Economy and Labor for the Basque Government.
- High school English teacher.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Enact a new Education Law with the consensus of the education community and all social agents.**
 - » *Strengthen public education as backbone of the educational system.*
 - » *Align professional training with the rest of the system*, reinforcing value formation and soft skill development.
 - » *Promote coeducation throughout the educational system*, preventing educational segregation by gender in centers sustained by public funds.
 - » *Approve necessary measures to ensure religious education does not count toward academic credits.*
 - » *Make access to infant education from ages 0 to 3 universal* through the public network while also ensuring equal conditions (to be addressed in the relevant sectoral conference).
 - » *Increase affective sexual education* in the education system, with a focus on rights, equality and freedom.
- **Increase public resources allocated to education and scholarships,** taking investment in education in Spain up to 5 percent of GDP by 2025.



MINISTER OF LABOR AND SOCIAL ECONOMICS

Yolanda Díaz Pérez

- Born in Fene, A Coruña, in 1971.
- Degree in Law. Master's degrees in Urbanism, Labor Relations and Human Resources.
- Deputy for Pontevedra.
- Former General Coordinator of Esquerra Unida-IU.
- Former Deputy in the Parliament of Galicia.
- Former Regional Minister of the Ferrol Town Council.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Repeal key aspects of 2012 labor reform.**
- Approve a **new Workers' Statute**. To develop the statute, form a **working group made up of recognized experts from the academic and professional worlds**.
- **Progressive increase in Interprofessional Minimum Wage** of up to 60 percent of the average salary in Spain, as recommended by the European Social Charter.
- **Simplify the catalogue of temporary contracts** set out in Spanish labor legislation.



MINISTER OF INDUSTRY, TRADE AND TOURISM

Reyes Maroto Illera

- Born in Medina del Campo, Valladolid, in 1973.
- Degree in Economic Sciences. Master's in Health Evaluation and Market Access. Master's in Economics and Finance.
- Deputy for Madrid.
- Former Deputy of the Madrid Assembly; former spokesperson for the Commission of Budgets, Economy, Treasury and Employment.
- Associate Professor of the Department of Economics at Universidad Carlos III.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Reindustrialization of the Spanish economy**, increasing its share of GDP.
- Draw up a **Retail Trade Modernization Plan**.
- Coordinate with the Autonomous Communities and economic agents to design the **2030 Sustainable Tourism Strategy**, aiming toward a model based on sustainability and the implementation of tourism intelligence.



MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES AND FOOD

Luis Planas Puchades

- Born in Valencia in 1952.
- Degree in Law.
- Inspector of Labor and Social Security (currently on leave of absence).
- Deputy for Cordoba.
- Former Regional Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food for the Andalusian Regional Government.
- Former Ambassador Permanent Representative of Spain to the European Union.
- Former Eurodeputy.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- Promote a **Common Agricultural Policy that is sufficiently endowed** to guarantee threefold economic, social and environment sustainability in Spanish agriculture, livestock and forestry.
- Promote the public purchase of local foods that meet ecological criteria to boost agriculture as a mainstay of rural development.
- Promote sustainable fisheries and aquaculture based on knowledge, innovation and scientific research.



MINISTER OF TERRITORIAL POLICY AND CIVIL SERVICE

Carolina Darias San Sebastián

- Born in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria in 1965.
- Degree in Law.
- Former Regional Minister of Economy, Knowledge and Employment for the Canary Islands Government.
- Former President of the Government of the Canary Islands.
- Former Subdelegate of the Government of Las Palmas.
- Former Delegate of the Canary Islands Government.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Greater institutional collaboration and coordination between the General State Administration and Autonomous Communities, promoting their participation in state decision-making processes.**
 - » Reinforce the role of the Conference of Presidents and Sectoral Conferences.
 - » Create new intergovernmental cooperation mechanisms.
- **Promote the political methodology through dialogue, negotiation and agreements between parties, working to overcome the current Catalan political conflict.**
 - » Transfer the Generalitat pending powers already recognized in the Catalonian Statute, in compliance with the rulings of the Constitutional Court. os dictámenes del Tribunal Constitucional
- **Strengthen the participation of autonomous communities in the European Union's community institutions.**



MINISTER OF CULTURE AND SPORT

José Manuel Rodríguez Uribes

- Born in Valencia in 1968.
- Ph.D. in Law.
- Secretary of Laicism for the PSOE.
- Former Deputy in the Madrid Assembly; former deputy spokesperson of the Parliamentary Socialist Group.
- Former Delegate of the Madrid Government.
- Former Director General of Support for Victims of Terror.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Promote a State Pact for Culture** to protect and promote cultural activity and contribute to the development of the cultural and creative industries.
 - » Create a Copyright Office to improve copyright management and protect intellectual property.
 - » Develop the Artist Statute to improve conditions for national creators and artists.
- **Define a Spanish Sports Model, promote sports legislation and create a strategic sport plan** to promote values such as balanced diet, healthy habits and sustainability.



MINISTER OF HEALTH

Salvador Illa Roca

- Born in La Roca del Vallès, Barcelona, in 1966.
- Degree in Philosophy. Master's in Economics and Business.
- Organization Secretary for the PSC.
- Former Chief of Staff for the PSC Municipal Spokesperson in Barcelona City Hall.
- Former Director General of Infrastructure Management of the Justice Department for the Catalonian Government.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- Protect our public health system, aiming for **health based on direct public management**, minimizing possible attempts to privatize the system.
- **Promote health digitalization.**
- Orient **pharmaceutical industry policies toward citizen healthcare**, prioritizing efficiency and transparency in price fixing.
- Promote a law guaranteeing the rights and dignity of people in the last stages of their lives, as well as the **Constitutional Law for the Regulation of Euthanasia** and its inclusion in the common portfolio of services in the National Health System.



MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND INNOVATION

Pedro Duque Duque

- Born in Madrid in 1963.
- Graduate of the School of Aeronautics and Space Engineering.
- Deputy for Alicante.
- Former astronaut with the European Space Agency, went on the Space Shuttle Discovery mission.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Increase public investment in civil R&D&I.**
- Strengthen **processes for hiring staff at public research centers**.
 - » Approve the Statute of Teaching Research Staff
- Grant greater power to the **Center for Industrial Technological Development**.



MINISTER OF EQUALITY

Irene Montero Gil

- Born in Madrid in 1988.
- Degree in Psychology. Master's in Education Psychology.
- Deputy for Madrid.
- Former Confederal Parliamentary Group Spokesperson for Unidos Podemos-En Comú Podem-Galicia en Común in the Congress of Deputies.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **MINISTRY OF EQUALITY**
- **Enact a package of measures in favor of equal treatment, nondiscrimination** and the positive perspective of diversity.
 - » Enact an *Integral Law for Equal Treatment and Nondiscrimination*.
 - » Enact a *Law Against Discrimination toward LGBT Persons*.
- **Incorporate equality criterion into public decision-making processes (formulation, creation and approval of all public policies) and procedures for public contracts and offers for public employment.**



MINISTER OF CONSUMPTION

Alberto Garzón Espinosa

- Born in Logroño in 1985.
- Degree in Economics. Master's in International Economics and Development.
- Deputy for Malaga.
- Federal Coordinator for Izquierda Unida.
- Member of the Scientific Council of ATTAC España.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- Approve urgent gambling regulations to prevent and stop gambling addiction.
- **Boost the role of the Consumption Cooperation Commission** in the Sectoral Conference to improve cooperation, communication and information between the General State Administration and the Autonomous Communities.
 - » *Improve extrajudicial conflict resolution mechanisms*.
- Present a proposal to reform the pensions system in a context of social dialogue and the Toledo Pact to guarantee its medium- and long-term sustainability.
- Remove the Sustainability Factor and Revaluation Index of Social Security Pensions, as set out in Law 23/2013, while always ensuring the system's medium- and long-term sustainability.
- Promote the implementation of the Global Pact for Migration (Marrakech Agreements) and the UN Global Compact on Refugees.
- Collaborate with community political institutions to develop new European legislations for migration that guarantee both respect for human rights and the ordered regulation of immigration.
- Create a new Asylum Law to adapt to the new challenges facing global mobility, taking new social realities into account.
-



MINISTER OF INCLUSION, SOCIAL SECURITY AND MIGRATION

José Luis Escrivá Belmonte

- Born in Albacete in 1960.
- Degree in Economic Sciences. Postgraduate degree in Economic Analysis and Econometrics.
- Former President of the Independent Authority for Fiscal Responsibility (Airef).
- Former Head Economist and Director of the BBVA Research Service.
- Former Head of the BCE Political Monetary Division.

POLICY INITIATIVES

- Presentación de **una propuesta de reforma del Sistema de Pensiones, en el marco del diálogo social, y del Pacto de Toledo**, a efectos de garantizar su sostenibilidad a medio y largo plazo:
 - » *Supresión del Factor de Sostenibilidad y del Índice de Revalorización de Pensiones de la Seguridad Social previstos en la Ley 23/2013*, siempre asegurando la sostenibilidad del sistema a medio y largo plazo.
- España promoverá la implementación del Pacto Global para las Migraciones (Acuerdos de Marrakech) y del Pacto Mundial sobre los Refugiados de la ONU.
- Colaboración con **las instituciones políticas comunitarias para elaborar una nueva legislación europea en el ámbito migratorio**, que garantice tanto el respeto a los derechos humanos como una regulación ordenada de este fenómeno.
- Se elaborará una nueva **Ley de Asilo** que se adapte a los nuevos retos de la movilidad global y que tenga en cuenta las nuevas realidades sociales.



MINISTER OF UNIVERSITIES

Manuel Castells Oliván

- Born in Albacete in 1942.
- Degree in Law. Ph.D. in Sociology. Ph.D. in Letters and Human Sciences. Master's in Sociology.
- Professor and former Director of the Center of European Studies at the University of California (Berkeley).
- Former university professor at Oxford, Cambridge and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), among others.
- Former Director of the Internet Interdisciplinary Institute of the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC).

POLICY INITIATIVES

- **Simplify accreditation procedures for new academic degrees** while respecting university autonomy and autonomous powers.
- Implement a **University Pact** with the utmost consensus among political and social agents, ensuring it has sufficient funding and aims to improve the quality of the university education system.
 - » *Greater budget funding for parties that have been allocated university grants and a reduction in administrative fees* (this question will be addressed in the respective Sectoral Conference).
 - » *Study possibilities to incorporate or link higher artistic education with university education.*
 - » Advance the *progressive reduction of precariousness and the progressive stabilization of university teaching*.

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Joan Navarro. Partner and Vice President of Public Affairs at LLYC. Joan Navarro is the current director of LLYC's Public Affairs department, a role he has held since 2010. Since 2012, he has also been a partner in the company. During this time, he has managed to create the primary Public Affairs department in the Spanish market. He has been a director and spokesperson for La Coalición de Creadores e Industrias de Contenidos Audiovisuales (Audiovisual Content Creators and Industries Coalition) and has held various roles in Spain's public administration, including director of Institutional Relations for the Sociedad Estatal Aguas de las Cuencas Mediterráneas (Waters of the Mediterranean Basins State Society) from 2006 to 2008, then as the minister of Public Administration's cabinet director from 2004 to 2007.



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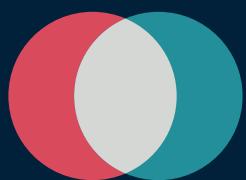


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With the company, Cristobal has organized public relations and lobbying projects in different sectors, chiefly the financial, technological and energy fields. His clients include Gas Natural Fenosa, Phillip Morris, AEVI, Sedigas, FIAB and BBVA, among others.

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