

Findings of a Basque-American in Euskal Herria Today: Betrayal, Reality, and the Winds of Change

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The social, economic, and political reality of the Basque Country, Euskal Herria, is very possibly quite different from the perspective that many of us, Basque Americans, have held as true for many years while living in the USA, Latin America, or anywhere else in countries where the Basque Diaspora has a presence today. One thing is to live and work in the USA, for example, and once a year or every two years make a trip to Azpeitia, Donosti, Zumarraga, or any other town and city in the Basque Country, spend two weeks visiting with relatives, attend a few festivals, rent a car to see the beautiful countryside, and then rush to the airport to be back in the USA ready for work on a Monday morning. Another thing is to come back to the Old Country after having lived in the USA most of your adult life and then learn about real life in your new home, your own Old Country, its brand of politics, the local Basque police called *Ertzaintza*, the ilegalizations of Basque political parties and organizations by the Madrid Government and, worst of all, the complicity of the Basque Government in it all. There is not an open debate of the issues in Euskal Herria. *This paper argues in favor of an open debate by Basque Americans of the issues presented here and dear to Basque culture, identity, and purpose.*

Paper accepted for publication in the *Journal of the Society of Basque Studies in America* on 14 October 2008. This paper cannot be reproduced, in its entirety or in part, without previous written consent of its author.

It was in 2004 that I returned to Euskal Herria to continue living and working after having lived and worked in the USA as an engineer and university professor for over 45 years. I had accomplished in the USA many personal and professional goals, I felt, and it was time for me to get back to the Old Country and "contribute in some small measure" to its emerging society, bring in the experience and technical "know how" that I had accumulated over the years in the USA to young students at a local university in a small town or city in Euskal Herria, I had said to myself. Now, four years later, I have had an opportunity to study the "political conflict" in this country, analyze arguments and deeds on most sides of the conflict with the tools of my trade as an engineer and as an academic, as well as with my understanding and experience in the democratic process, the history, culture, and independent thinking of the USA system and poured it all into a book titled *Euskal Herria Nation-State in the 21st Century: A New Socio-Political Architecture* (2007, Spanish version, distributed by Elkar, www.elkar.com). Main documented findings of that work and book are presented next.

A History of Global Achievements, Betrayals, Social Unrest, and Struggle for Independence.

Just like the last decade of the 20th century was violent and painful for Basque society, the first decade of the 21st century will be decisive in social, cultural, economic, and political arenas for that society. Almost every day of this new decade is characterized by some form of a synchronized attack by institutional forces of the Spanish Government and the French Government against *abertzale* political parties and organizations in Euskal Herria today, aided by entrenched and opportunistic leaders of the *Partido Nacionalista Vasco*¹ (PNV), using every trick and hammer that those two major powers have learned and refined in their last five hundred years of colonization in so many lands and peoples of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. These two powers in our civilized world, aided by our sold-out PNV leaders, are attempting a coup-d'etat against the values and existence itself of the Basque people through brutal means and apparatus disguised as democratic processes. Their strategy and conspiracy, so subtle and efficient so far, consists of identifying nearly everything that is Basque or pro-Basque as an terrorist act, event, or conspiracy through the Madrid-based judicial infrastructure conveniently imposed and already in place in Euskal Herria thanks, in no minor measure, thanks to the *Basque Statute of Autonomy*².

Political myopia. "The medical field is too important to be left alone to medical doctors and nobody else", would often say a professor of mine, a

mathematician at the University of Arizona where I was working towards my doctorate. This man was a professor in the school of mathematics, in the school of engineering, and in the school of medicine where he would apply methods of statistics, control theory, and optimization to the search for cancer treatments. Thus, one might follow suit by saying: “*The values and future of a society are too important as to leave them to the use and disposition of myopic politicians*”. If the Jacobin politicians of the French Government and the centralist politicians of the Spanish Government today cannot see beyond their colonialist schema and practices of the last five centuries to consider the new challenges in the social, economic, and political arenas that await France, Spain, and Euskal Herria in the new millennium, then perhaps a new generation of men and women, not professional politicians, in one and the other countries, ought to participate in the design of this new decade, this new century, this new millennium.

Social and economic priorities. Are the Spanish politicians serving well the Spanish people and society in their treatment of the Basque people and society? Not so, in my opinion. Are the French politicians serving well the French people and society in their treatment of the Basque people and society? Not so, in my opinion. The global community of this new decade and century will be based on economic strength produced by the “economic motors” of each geographic region in the globe, as these motors emerge and are able to operate, survive, and succeed in a complex network of producers and consumers on various goods and services, including agricultural, industrial, banking, information, and finance goods and services. These economic motors and economic dynamics are indifferent to political frontiers, names of countries, and names of political parties. It becomes relevant and wise, then, to invest human and capital resources in the research, promotion, and maintenance of new technologies in areas of information science, energy, medicine, agriculture, transportation, health, and environmental protection. For these reasons, human and capital resources invested by a government in trying to change, take away, annihilate, and otherwise colonize the culture, fiber, and vitality of another neighboring people manage to attain short-term political objectives only. Instead, these resources could be used to promote and administer the new technologies towards the well-being of society and position of long-term economic competitiveness in a global community. The opportunity costs are large if calculated. The Spanish and French peoples have reason to demand of their respective politicians payment for the cost of opportunities lost so far, i.e., the return in investment lost by investing human and Euro capital in the subordination, harassment, and bondage of a neighboring culture and people instead of investing that capital in creating new

industries, improvement of public services, creation of new jobs, and general social well-being. I make here and throughout this paper the distinction, therefore, between the French Government and the French people; between the Spanish Government and the Spanish people.

Opportunities lost, not taken. Speaking of opportunities lost in the history of peoples, the agricultural revolution of the 17th and 18th centuries, and later the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th ought to have taken place in Spain and Basque Country and not in England, or the rest of Europe, and later in Canada and the USA, as it did happen, as I explain next. The basic elements and ingredients were already there in the Iberian Peninsula but were not fully recognized, wisely utilized. The technology and sciences brought in by the Arabs beginning in the 8th century, and later other technologies developed internally through 7 centuries of wars and re-conquest with peninsular Arab kingdoms. The discovery of the Americas in the 15th century and the exploitation of the gold and silver mines in Mexico (at a dear and high cost of human lives and the vandalism of dozens of Latin American cultures by the Spanish Crowns), and the commerce of silver by the Spanish galleons in the Philippines where that silver from Mexico was traded for the gold and silk of the Chinese colony in Manila, the capital. The Jewish community that had already served for centuries in their imposed task of tax collection for the Spanish crowns, had also developed great talents and skills in the accounting and administration of goods and land-based property. Well, all those new technologies and all that accounting and administrative know-how were not fully appreciated and often cast aside by the incompetent and intransigent Spanish Governments and their administrators throughout the 15th-18th centuries.

The agricultural base of the Peninsula was ignored and left to its own resources, the Jewish and Moorish (*Morisco*) communities were overran by the legal government and religious infrastructure in place, expropriated of all property without payment of any sort, and finally expelled out of the Peninsula by that same Spanish infrastructure. The system of banks in the rest of Europe was never understood well and always despised, and the arts and crafts of the peoples of the Peninsula were marshaled towards the industry and art of war. That great wealth of gold and silver, at an incalculable cost of human life and cultures in the Americas, the silk, countless archeological treasures, the new plants and agricultural products that arrived in the Peninsula during the 15, 16, and 17th centuries would spend night, only long enough to begin construction of palaces and churches, and the “next morning” it would flee to the banks of Northern Europe to pay the loans and exorbitant interest rates that the

irresponsible Crowns of Spain had acquired to finance those same wars of conquest in the New World and the rest of Europe (e.g., the Netherlands, France, Sicily, others). Against this historical background and perspective of incompetent and intransigent Spanish crowns of the last 5 centuries, it may be only fair to ask whether Basque people and society should continue to deposit their faith and trust, their cultural heritage, own language, their social values, work ethic, economy, and aspirations for social well being in a modern, global society in the current Spanish Crown and its Spanish State.

The Basque people and society are the victims, not the other way around. Never it has been the case, as it is not today, that the Basque people have attempted to impose their language, culture, or way of living on the peoples of Spain, France, or any other country, for that matter. The historic reality demonstrates, however, that the Spanish Governments of the last five hundred years have tried their best to undermine the ancient system of laws (*Fueros*) and to annex the historical territories of Euskal Herria to the crowns of Castile and Leon. The invader, the *Torquemadas* of today, the heir to the fascist yoke of the dictator Franco, and the torturer of hundreds and thousands of young men and women in the Basque Country are the governments of Spain and France in open and convenient conspiracy and complicity. Seventy years after the Holocaust of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1942) conducted by Franco and his fascist forces, leaders and followers of today's *Partido Popular* block every legislative initiative to account for the nearly 200,000 war victims laying in hundreds of unmarked mass graves throughout Spain and Euskal Herria. This is the painful reality today in the Basque Country, this is the abundant evidence to present to the judicial tribunal of the global community of nations, this is the anguish and pain to externalize in schools, universities, work place, on the radio, television, and newspapers for the world to know. Young Basques today are learning to say and sing "Never again".

A Basque Government sold out to Madrid

Possibly my most difficult and brutal "awakening" coming back to work and live in Euskal Herria was to witness how mostly peaceful demonstrations in cities like Bilbao and San Sebastian, and small towns like Arrasate and Azpeitia, carried out by peoples of all ages, professionals and workers, teachers and students, ended up being dispersed by masked, uniformed *Ertzaintza*³ police forces (Agirre 2007), and resulting in dozens of young men and women beat up, bloodied, and carried away to jails in Ertzaintza wagons and buses. There may have been 200-250 demonstrations by Basques in those last four years. A wide variety of causes and reasons motivate these demonstrations against the Madrid Government and the Basque Government, ranging from

protests for the abuse of human rights, to request amnesty and freedom for Basque political prisoners and to bring an end to Madrid's policy of prisoner's dispersion in Spanish jails outside Euskal Herria, to support women's struggle against sexual abuse and gender violence, to protest the imposition of the *High Speed Train*⁴ (AHT) network across hundreds of mountains and valleys in Basque Country, and to support the learning and teaching of *Euskera*, the Basque language, in schools and universities. How did we get to this state of affairs in the Basque Country, in the first place? After all, the PNV party was initially the political force that gathered Basque sentiments of autonomy and independence prior to and during the Franco years of war crimes, and the long, 35 years of dictatorship. Well, the thirst for money, power, the threat of violence on the part of the Madrid Government, the "carrot" of a Basque Statute of Autonomy, and ultimately corruption of politicians may be the correct answer, as many of us claim. We only need to remind ourselves that the PNV has stayed in power, uninterrupted, since it came to power in the elections of 1977, since it broke ranks with the *izquierda abertzale* community, and since then has led the Basque Parliament and Basque Government through coalitions with all political sides, including *Partido Popular* (PP) and *Partido Socialista Español* (PSOE) on the opposition side.

Scientific Research and Development (R&D) Policy, Too Little, Too Late

Basque Americans visiting the "Old Country" may also find a peculiar landscape when viewing local TV stations: 85% of household products, from detergents, creams, sports equipment, optical equipment, sunglasses, construction materials, light bulbs, and thousands of other items are American made (e.g., "Mister Clean", the all-American household detergent and disinfectant is sold here as "*Señor Limpio*"); 60%-80% of movies are American made, from Westerns, to comedy situations, and action movies are American made; 85%-95% of software applications are American made; and so forth. Yet, on the other hand, Basque Government officials (i.e., PNV leaders in the Basque Government) are seen often on TV documentaries giving "achievement" and "innovation awards" to company presidents and workers, and boasting of large government investments in research and development (R&D) in universities and industry. One picture simply does not square off with the other picture, I thought. My study reveals that the notion of a Basque Government that has all along been sponsoring R&D in the universities and the industrial sector in Euskadi (the three historical territories of Alava, Bizkaia, and Gipuzkoa) is at a minimum an exaggeration, and at worst a farce perpetrated by the PNV leaders in the Basque Government. With the exception of a few university professors that I have known, there is no R&D going on in the Basque Country today, sad to say. Yes, the gross national product (GNP;

also known as *Producto Interno Bruto* or PIB) in this autonomous region has been at par with other autonomous regions in Spain, but the level of R&D has been extremely low, almost to the point of being non-existent, contrary to claims by the Basque Government. Specifically:

The claims of a PNV-led Basque Government of conducting significant R&D investments in colleges, universities, and the industrial sector do not square off with the reality of a high technological dependency and a low patent registration capability in Spain and the Basque Country (by association and collaboration) when compared to other countries in the European Union (EU). During the past 70 years, Spain and the Basque Country opted for a policy that favored a high GNP at the expense of minimum or no R&D efforts whatsoever, totally ignoring basic and applied research needs and opportunities in most strategic areas (Goikoetxea, 2007).

In 2006 some 80-85 million Euros were spent on R&D in Euskadi, meaning mostly R&D program management, office space, and computer equipment, leaving small amounts for actual research at colleges, universities, and research centers in the industrial sector. A sad fact when in reality ten times that amount would be needed in order to respond to needs and opportunities in those centers. How will a 70-year policy of little or no R&D investment in Spain and the Basque Country combine with the current real estate crisis and the global financial crisis⁵ to impact most sectors of the economy (e.g., housing, transportation, agriculture and food prices, automobile industry, etc.)? No one has addressed this question yet, but many of us in academic circles feel that the negative impacts will be significant and will be felt for the next 5-8 years, easily. Let us take a look at the current landscape in these cited areas.

Studies and reports conducted by the European Commission (EC) show that the 1% of the PIB in Spain and the Basque Country, approximately, went into R&D investment in universities and industry, of which 45% came from the private sector, industry mostly, the balance coming in from subsidy programs from the Madrid Government mostly, and some moneys from the Basque Government, as shown on Figure 1 and Figure 2. These EC results for 2005 are the same ones used in the OECD⁶ and INGENIO 2010 reports.

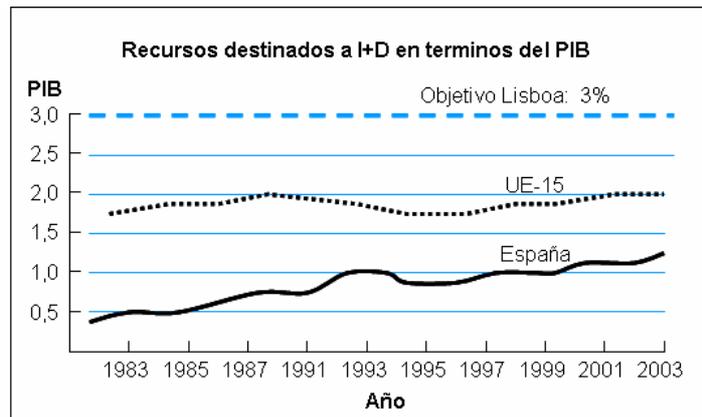


Figure 1. R&D investment in terms of the combined GNP in Spain and Basque Country. (Source: [Ingenio 2010](#), 2005; OCDE)

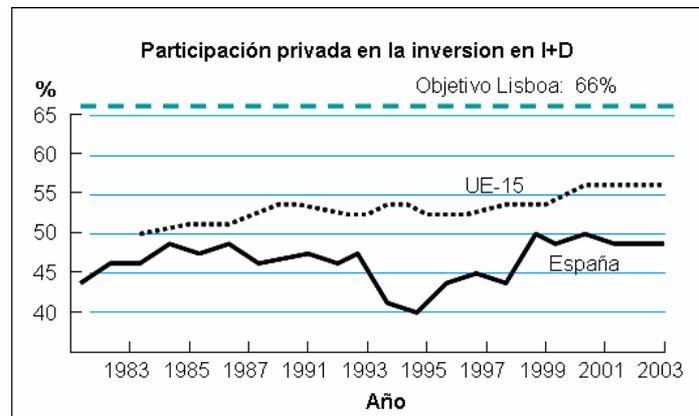


Figura 2. Percentage of R&D money coming from the Private Sector in Spain, Basque Country, and 15 countries in the European Union (EU). (Source: [Ingenio 2010](#), OECD)

In Figure 1, for example, it is noted that Spain and the Basque Country (here meaning only Euskadi, as integrated by Alava, Bizkaia, and Gipuzkoa only) have been investing 1.05% of their combined GNP, which corresponds to about half of that percentage contributed by the EU-15⁷, approximately. It is noted also, that in 1981 those percentages were as low as 0.4% and 0.1% for Spain and Basque Country, respectively, but that subsequently, by 1998, those percentages had grown to 1.0% and 1.2% ([Gobierno Vasco, Informe 2001-2004, pagina 41, figura 3.2](#)). At that rate the project INGENIO 2010 sponsored by the Spanish Government estimates that it would take another 20 years to

reach the 2% average rate of the EU-15, and even more years to reach the 3% rate objective agreed upon at the Lisbon meeting (Lisbon Strategy, www.euroregion.eu).

Next, on Table 1, we observe that the industrial sector in the Basque Country contributed as much as 57.9% of the total R&D investment in 1998, an equivalent of 396 million Euros, followed by a 37.7% contributed by the Basque Government, and 4% by the European Union (EU).

Table 1. A Comparison of R&D Expenditures in Euskadi, Spain, USA, Japan, and the European Union.

(Source: Basque Government's EUSTAT, [Plan de Ciencia, Tecnología, e Innovación 2001-2004](#), INE, EUROSTAT, OECD)

R&D Expenditures (1998)	Euskadi	Spanish State	European Union	USA	Japan
Total R&D* (Millions of Euros)	396*	4,693	141,200	202,171	102,555
Total R&D/GNP (%)	1.2	0.9	1.9	2.6	3.0
Where the Moneys come from:					
Private Sector (%) (Industry)	57,9	49,8	53,9	66,7	73,4
Government (%)	37,7	40,8	37,2	29,8	19,7
EU and others (%)	4,0	5,4	7,1	-	-
Other sources (e.g., Spanish Gov., other)(%)	0,3	4,0	1,9	9,2	6,8
How the Moneys are distributed, who receives the moneys:					
Industry (%)	72,0	52,0	62,9	74,6	71,2
Colleges and Universities (%)	25,2	30,1	20,9	14,4	14,8
Public Centers (%)	2,9	16,9	15,3	7,9	9,2
Not-for-Profit Organizations (%)	0,0	1,0	0,9	3,1	4,7
Legend: EU = European Union Total R&D = Actual R&D costs and Indirect costs (e.g., office and laboratory space, equipment, travel to conferences, etc.) * This author has been able to identify an aggregated figure of 80-85 million Euros, only.					

How were the 396 million Euros spent in actual R&D effort? We observe that 72% of those moneys were spent by the industrial sector itself in the Basque Country, the equivalent of almost two thirds of the entire money available for R&D, followed by universities with a 25% (100 million euros for the entire university complex, a relatively very minor amount). That is, the R&D investment in the industrial sector is about three times bigger than what it was for colleges and universities. To provide a reference point for the GNP itself, Spain and Basque Country rank in the 8th position, as noted in Figure 3.

PIB estimado para 2005 (Fuente: Informe Ingenio 2010, OCDE 2005)		
Pais	Dolares Corrientes	Ranking
Estados Unidos (EE.UU)	12.438.873	1
Japon	4.799.061	2
Alemania	2.906.658	3
Reino Unido	2.295.039	4
Francia	2.216.273	5
China	1.843.117	6
Italia	1.836.407	7
España	1.173.076	8
Canadá	1.098.446	9
Rusia	755.437	10
India	749.443	11
Brasil	732.078	12
Corea	720.772	13
Mexico	714.530	14
Australia	692.436	15

Figure 3. Relative position of the combined GNP of Spain and the Basque Country, in Millions of Dollars. (Source: [Ingenio 2010](#), 2005; OECD)

Of course, any expenditure of "R&D moneys" by itself alone does not guarantee any R&D results. If a serious determination of the part of the industrial sector is non-existent, or if the moneys available for universities is all together small, as is the case in the Basque Country today, few R&D results can be expected.

"So you want to do research in Euskadi?" The chief engineer at an electronics firm based in Bilbao asked the young engineer interviewing for a research position. *"Please come with me, I want to show you something on the northern side of this building where we are constructing three more buildings."* Once outside the main building, and looking towards a landscape of construction equipment, bulldozers, concrete bags, and a tall stack of plastic pipelines, the chief said: *"Do you see all the concrete-and-steel foundations that we are completing for the three new buildings in the landscape ahead of us?"* As the young engineer nodded affirmatively, the chief of engineers added: *"Well, each one of those three new buildings is going to have names such "Center of Investigation of this-and-that", so that we qualify for*

research funding by the Basque Government in those areas, but the actual investigation to be carried out here is going to be ZERO!" And the chief engineer used the thumb and index fingers in his right hand to form a big, round zero to add emphasis to his statement. (*Personal interview*, as communicated to this author by a former student, in 2008).

Each year thousands of engineers and professionals in every field, as well as hundreds of graduate students, leave the Basque Country for other countries in the European Union in an attempt to find positions in industry and universities where they can join research and investigation teams, often never to come back or to delay their return for many years. Still, the Basque Government comes out with claims of plans of funding for R&D (*Ibarretxe 2006*):

- "In 2005, in Euskadi we have increased by 2,000 the existing number of corporations and manufacturing industries, reaching the historic number of 157,000 corporations."
- "By the 2nd trimester in 2006 the number of employed people has reached 942,500, which is 12,300 more than during the same period the year before, and our aim is to place the percentage of the unemployed at 5% or below." (Note:
- "...al segundo trimestre de este año (2006), el numero de personas empleadas asciende a 942.5000, 12,3000 mas que en el mismo periodo del año anterior, y nuestra tasa de paro se ha situado, incluso por debajo del 5%..." See Note 8.
- "The growth of the Basque economy is at 4,2%, well above the Spanish Economy's rate of 3,7%, and the average of the European Union which stands at 2,8%."
- "...since 2003 we have regained leadership in individual's yearly income in the Spanish State. If five years ago there were 10 European countries that had higher personal incomes, today only Luxemburg and Ireland are ahead of us."

The brutal reality with regards to actual R&D results comes from the European Commission and OECD reports on new patents, to choose but one indicator of R&D results, as noted on Figure 4.

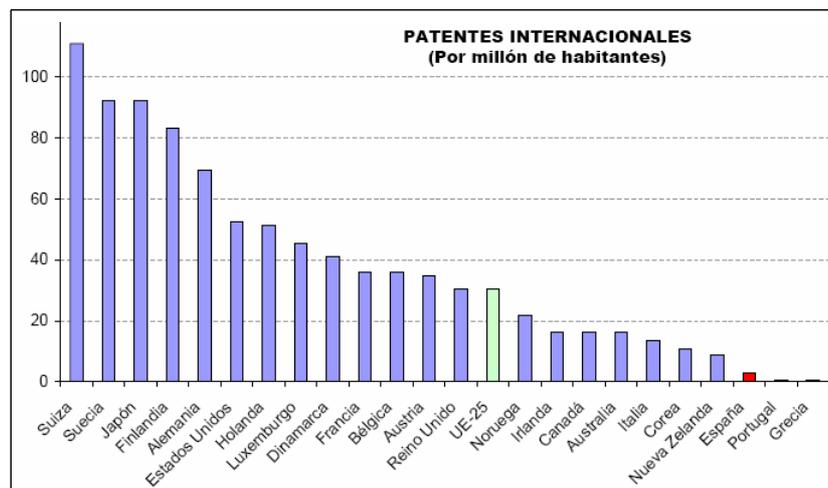


Figura 4. International Patents in 23 Countries (Number of new patents per million people, per year)
Source: [Ingenio 2010](#), OECD)

Sweden, for example, produces an average of 150 new patents on inventions for each one million inhabitants each year; Japan and Finland average 92 and 82 new patents, respectively; and Europe's EU-25 group averages 25 new patents. Meanwhile Spain and the Basque Country (by association) manage a whole 2 new patents, which amounts to about 1% of the set of total new patents in the European Union.

Low level of Electronic Commerce

In terms of the *Information Society*, a dimension that has been promoted earnestly by the European Union (EU), the situation in Spain and the Basque Country is of concern, as well, lagging considerably in areas of Internet use, and electronic Commerce, as shown on Figure 5 and Figure 6.

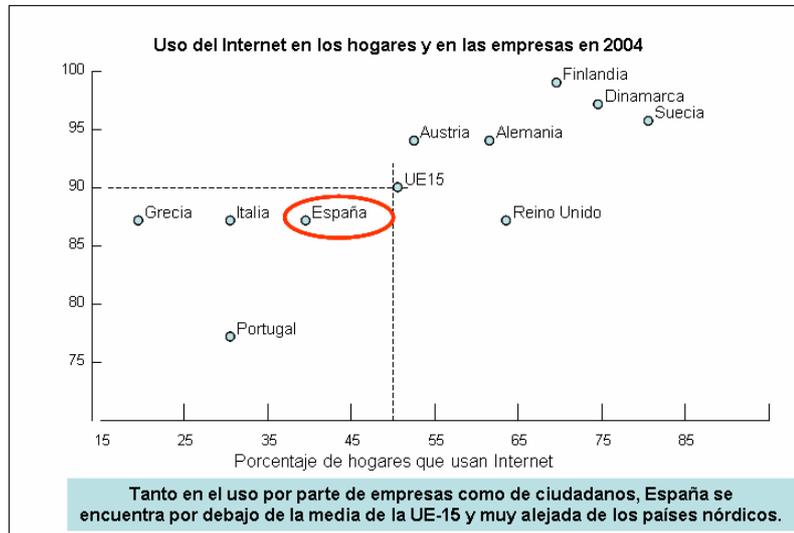


Figura 5. Use of Internet in Households and the Industrial Sector in Spain and Basque Country (Source: Proyecto [INGENIO 2010](#), OECD)

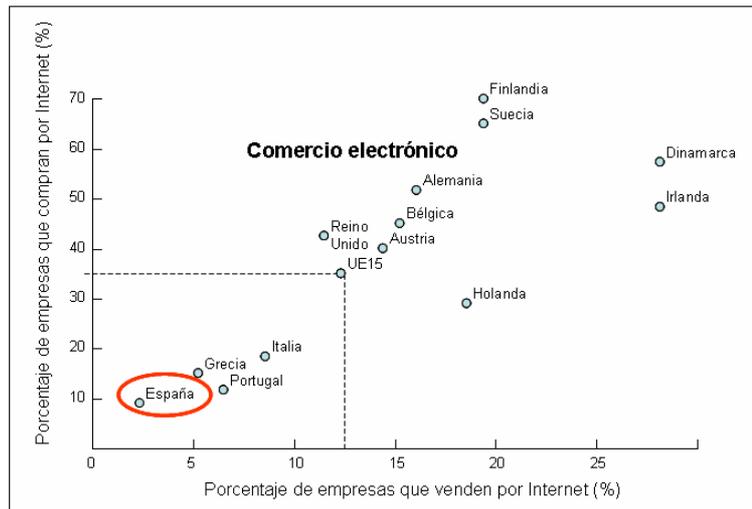


Figure 6. Use of Electronic Commerce in Spain and Basque Country relative to other Countries in the European Union (Source: Project [INGENIO 2010](#), OECD)

With regards to the *use of Internet in households*, Spain and Basque Country lag somewhat, but not seriously, with 47% use in households and 88% use in companies and industry in general. However, with regards to the use of *electronic commerce* Spain and Basque Country attain the lowest percentage, with only 10% of its industrial sector buying through the Internet, and 2% of that sector buying through the Internet, as shown on Figure 6. By contrast, 70% of Finland's industrial sector is buying through the Internet, and 20% of that sector is selling through the Internet.

An Absence of Human Rights Protection

There is no protection of *Human Rights* in the Basque Country today against violations by judicial institutions that emanate from a Spanish system and its Constitution and not from the people in the Basque Country, or protection from a repressive, abusive, and often brutal treatment of its citizens by the *Ertzaintza*, the Basque Government police force. Concretely, the origins of the Ertzaintza police force go back to 1936 when it was created to serve basic "law and order" community needs, directed, funded, and trained by Telesforo de Monzón⁹; by 1977, however, it had become a primary concern of the PNV-led

Basque Government to protect its ranks and privileges against protests and political activity by the *Izquierda Abertzale* community in the Basque Country, some 250,000 strong. Furthermore, the violent entry of *Euskadi eta Askatasuna* (ETA) into the political arena, with a trajectory of murder and political assassinations, facilitated formal agreements between the PNV leaders and Spanish State officials for the creation and funding of a fully armed, anti-riot, anti-human rights, and deadly Ertzaintza force estimated to



A brigade of Ertzaintza police in full riot-control uniforms with rubber-bullet shotguns await for orders to subdue, disperse, and otherwise apprehend demonstrators. (Source: <http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ertzaintza>)

have reached the size of 8,000, by conservative estimates, of which 90% are men. A total of 25 Ertzaintza centres (*comisarias*) are believed to be distributed throughout the Basque Country. Looking at the numbers, the *ratio* of combined police forces (Ertzaintza, Guardia Civil, and Spanish military units) per 1,000 inhabitants was 11.23 in 2006. By contrast, this ratio elsewhere in the Spanish State was 5.0, which still is higher than the ratio of 3.0 recommended by the United Nations (UN) organization (Agirre, 2007, pg 53). Similar figures have been reported by Kurlansky (1999): "*The exact number of law enforcement*

officers in Spanish Basqueland is a State security secret. The Guardia Civil, which admits to 5,000 officers there, also has an undisclosed number of Basque-speaking undercover agents, as does the National Police. According to the Spanish government, there are about 15,000 uniformed police, including Basque police, Ertzaintza, who are patrolling the 2.1 million inhabitants in the three provinces of Euskadi -- more than seven police officers for every 1,000 citizens. This makes Spanish Basqueland the most policed population in Europe, although the ratio is probably similar in Navarra and may be even higher in the three French [Basque] provinces." With this vast display of police forces it was only a matter of time before the confrontations with the people would happen and these confrontations have indeed large in numbers, intensity, and cost to human life. In 2001 and 2002 a total of 1,356 arrests and jail interments by the police took place, of which half approximately were conducted by the Ertzaintza; during that period the *anti-terrorist law*¹⁰ was applied to 90 Basque citizens, 60% of which had denounced having been subjected to police torture. In following years the Ertzaintza conducted another 115 raids on demonstrations causing serious injuries to 206 participants, in addition to thousands of people that required medical treatment due to contusions caused by rubber bullets fired by the Ertzaintza. Table 2 presents a list of repressive activity carried out against the people.

Table 3. Repressive activity conducted by the Ertzaintza and related police services (2000-2005) (Source: J. Agirre, 122, pg 122)	
Deaths (Basque militants)	23
Arrests and detentions	3,438
Denunciations of torture	549
Jailings	1,006
Extraditions	101
Citations in front of the Spanish <i>Audiencia Nacional</i> body	261
Illegalised organizations	261
Illegalised institutions	8
Mass media closed (newspapers, radio, other)	4

On 7 October 2007 this author made several calls to offices of the Basque Government (Tel: 012 from Basque Country; also Tel: 011 945 01800 directly from USA, or visit www.euskadi.net) to learn about the existence of an office of human rights within that government: "*Yes, our office has been organizing international conferences on human rights*¹¹ *every two years in the Euskalduna building...*" When I asked specifically about the number of violations reported or gathered by that office in a database or any other means the answer was:

"We do not have such information, we do not collect such information,...right now it is just me and another person working part time in this office,..., sorry, we do not have a database in this office, we do not gather that information." An office of Human Rights in the Basque Government that talks about human rights and does nothing else. An office of human rights that does not gather reported violations of human rights of its citizens, and that makes no effort to report violations in Basque Country to either Spanish Courts or the Council of Europe.

So who does collect data on violations of human rights in Spain, Basque Country, or anywhere else in the *European Union*, for that matter? For one, the European Union (EU) does nothing about human rights, it is neither its intended competence or interest, as it is an organization that looks after the economic and political interests of its nation-state members only. Processing of human rights violations is indeed a main competence of the *Council of Europe* (COE, www.coe.int), as shown on Figure 7.

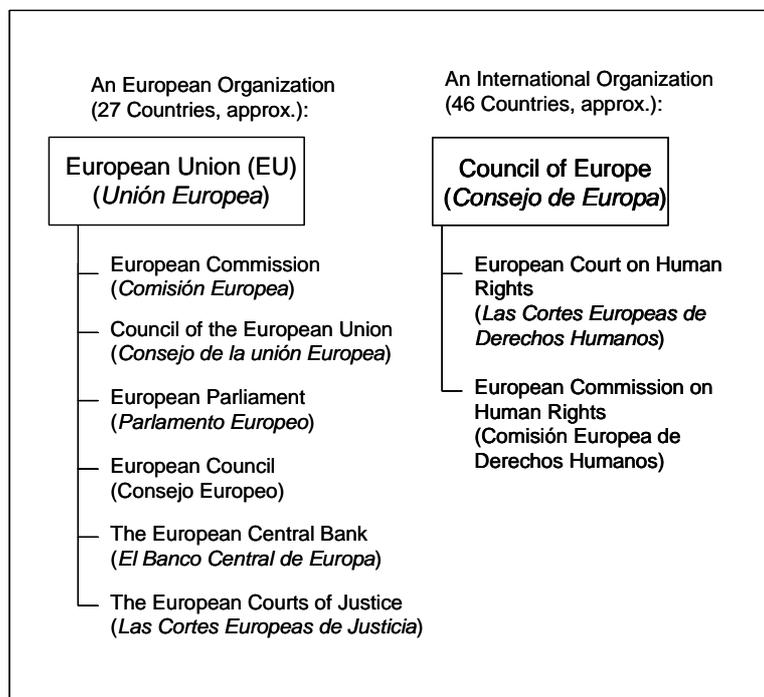


Figure 7. The European Union (EU) and the Council of Europe, two independent organizations
(Source: Goikoetxea 2007)

The *Council of Europe* is an international organization integrated by some 46 nation-states, some of which are members of the European Union, while many

others are not, including Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkey, Cyprus, Georgia, and other countries reaching into Russia and Asia. It was founded in 1948, with offices in Strasburg, France, and its two most notable institutions are the European Court on Human Rights (ECHR), and the European Commission on Human Rights (see Goikoetxea 2007, Chapter 18, for a detailed description of these two institutions and statistics on number of human rights violations they process each year). Unfortunately, the ECHR is of limited help to most of the participating nation-state members given limited money resources and the sheer number of violations reported for processing. By 2005, specifically, a total of 41,510 applications for processing of human rights violations had been received and waiting for processing, of which 27,612 applications were declared "inadmissible" due to a number of technical considerations and deficiencies not identified in their Survey of Activities 2005 Report (ECHR 2005), and of the remaining admissible applications only 1,105 were processed yielding a judgement. That is to say, the system rendered a decision in only 2.7% of the applications submitted, a most frustrating statistic. What countries make up the list of top five countries with the largest number of judgements rendered? The list for the 1999-2005 period is as follows:

Italy	1648	(24.6%)
Turkey	1310	(19.6%)
France	541	(8%)
Poland	378	(5.6%), and
Ukraine	263	(4%)

Interestingly enough, during that same 1999-2005 period Spain shows up with only 32 judgements. Also, drilling down into that same ECHR report, in 2005 alone, the total of violations of human rights in Spain (the report does not break this number into violations in Spain and violations in Basque Country) appears as 634, of which only 2 are declared "admissible". How can such a low number of judgements by an international court be consistent with the brutal repression in the Basque Country and Spain as reported earlier in this section? We do not know the complete answer yet. We do know, however and as cited above, that the Basque Government does not gather any statistics on human rights violations of Basque citizens or makes any attempt to communicate these violations to the ECHR or any other court, whatsoever. But what about the efforts of independent, "watchdog" organizations such as *Amnesty International* (www.amnesty.org, and its chapter in Spain: www.annistiainternacional.org), are they not watching over in "hot spots" like the Basque Country and reporting violations? Preliminary investigations by this author in the period May 2007- October 2008 reveal that at a minimum there are sloppy data collection practices and at worst unfair and biased

treatment of human rights issues in the Basque Country on the part of Amnesty International, at both its international headquarters office and at the Spanish chapter based in Madrid. During that period I have sent letters and e-mails to *Mr. Esteban Beltrán*, director of the Spanish AI chapter, and have tried repeatedly to reach him over the phone to ask him basic questions about the inaccurate, incomplete, and biased 3-page report on Spain (Basque Country is not a nation-state and, accordingly only the Spain entry appears in the 472-page, Annual AI 2007 report) on its 2007 Annual Report. Reference to human rights violations in the Basque Country was selective in that only the deaths of two men as a result of the ETA bombing of the Madrid-Barajas airport was listed, as they should have been listed, indeed, and no mention was made of the repressive activity by the Spanish State in the Basque Country, nor the demonstrations by Basque people and the subsequent acts of repression by the Ertzaintza police. I did manage to talk to AI personnel at the AI Madrid office, and when I asked for information on who they contacted in the Basque Country for information to be gathered and to appear on that 2007 AI annual report they said they did not know but that they would pass my questions to Mr. Beltran. To date I have not received any response from Mr. Beltran or anyone else in his staff.

All TV and Radio Media are State-Owned, There is no Independent Media

Are we ready for another fact-of-life in Euskal Herria? Notably TV and Radio media in Basque Country are owned either by the Spanish State or by the Basque Government, as shown on Table 4 and Table 5.

Tabla 4. A list of TV chains in Spain and Basque Country

Entity/ Name	Sector (Owner)	Operator	How to contac	Description and Afiliation
Televisión Española (TVE)	Spanish State	Operated by a large consortium called <i>Radiotelevisión Española</i> (RTVE),	Web site: www.rtve.es ;	Launched in 1956 by the Spanish State. On 11 May 2006 the Spanish Courts approved a new law to re-structure public media reducing and restricting RTVE's staff to 4,150 state- paid employees.
Antena 3	Private Sector	Jose Manuel Lara Bosch, President, from consortium made up of	Web site: www.antena3.es	It becomes the first privately-owned TV chain in Spain since 1990. It's share of the Spanish audience is

Tabla 4. A list of TV chains in Spain and Basque Country

Entity/ Name	Sector (Owner)	Operator	How to contac	Description and Afiliation
		Grupo Antena 3, Onda Cero, Movierecord, Atres Advertising, and Unipublic.		estimated a18.1%.
Canal+	Sogecable (Private Sector)	Rodolfo Martin Villa, is president of Sogecable, a leader in sponsor-paid TV in Spain, founded in 1989. It distributes and presents movies and documentaries, mostly.	Web sites: http://www.plus.es , www.sogecable.es	“Canal Plus”, is a sponsor-paid TV chain with versions in several European Countries, with its mother station based in France. In 1988 Canal +, then based in Sogecable, competed and bought three public media licenses from the Spanish Government.
ETB 1	Basque Govern- ment	Euskal Telebista (ETB), Euskal Irrati Telebista (EITB)	Web site: www.eitb.com	ETB 1’s production and emission is in Euskera on topics of general interest such sports, history, social activities, etc. It begins in 1982 as allowed by Spanish law (Ley 5/1982, of 20 May 1982) and agreements in the Basque Statute of Autonomy. Its programming reaches the seven historical Basque territories.
ETB 2	Basque Govern- ment	Euskal Telebista (ETB), Euskal Irrati Telebista (EITB)	Web site: www.eitb.com	ETB 2 began in 1986, 5 years after ETB 1 began. Its programming is in Spanish. Same topics as does ETB 1, basically.

A similar situation occurs with Radio stations, as shown on Table 5.

Tabla 5. A List of Radio Stations in Spain and Basque Country

Entity/ Name	Sector(Owner)	Operator	How to Contact	Description and Afiliation
RNE 1	Radio Televisión Española (RTVE), (Spanish State)		+34 915 817000, Web site: www.rne.es	“RNE begins in Salamanca on 19 January 1937, in the middle of the Spanish Civil War, funded by Franco’s propaganda and press machine . It was a gift from Hitler , thanking Franco and his fascist forces for their support of the German Allied forces during World War II. In Spanish. In 1964 it breaks into 6 TV and Radio stations. An estimated audience of 80 million people.
COPE radio station, also known as Radio Popular S.A.	Radio Popular S.A. (Spanish Catholic Church and Vatican)	Alfonso Coronel de Palma is president, Tomás Juárez García-Gasco is vice-president.	Web site: http://www.cope.es	In the early 1960’s the 200 radio stations of the Catholic Church fused to form Cadena de Ondas Populares Españolas (COPE). It is through this large organization that the bishops, orders of Franciscans, Dominicans, and other directives of the Catholic Church and the Vatican reach the masses in towns and cities throughout Spain. Conservative Spain, on both the religious and political arenas, speaks through this radio chain. Main stockholders are Conferencia Episcopal Española (i.e., all the bishops in Spain, and their superiors in the Vatican) with 50%, the diocesis with 20%, Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans with the remaining 30% of the share pool. Also integrated are components and interests from ONCE, Group Vocento (Punto Radio), and Planeta (Onda Cero) radio chains.
Radio	Grupo Euskal		www.eitb24.com	This radio station and

Tabla 5. A List of Radio Stations in Spain and Basque Country

Entity/ Name	Sector(Owner)	Operator	How to Contact	Description and Afiliation
Euskadi	Irrati Telebista (EITB) (Basque Government)			corporation is owned and managed by the Basque Government since its birth in 1983 and t has its headquarters in Bilbao. Other subsidiary stations are Radio Vitoria, Euskadi Irradia, Euskadi Gaztea, and radio EITB.
Euskadi Irratia	EITB (Basque Government)		www.eitb24.com	Programming in Euskera.
GOITB	Alto Deba (Arrasate City Hall)	GOIENA, an operator in the private sector and member of the Mondragon Corporation Cooperative (MCC)	Web site: http://www.arrasate-mondragon.org/es/Udala/ZerbitzuenGida/Euskara/Telebista	Local news in Euskera.

The great majority of mass media (TV, Radio, and Newspapers) in Basque Country and Spain reflect adopted political and religious views, are not neutral, are independent sources of thought and discourse in their representation of daily, social, and political life in their respective societies. Debate is polarized across political lines and religious affiliations (primarily either Catholic or non-believer). Accordingly, citizens cannot count on independent sources of information to serve as basis for decision making at the time of local, regional, and national political elections. Table 6 presents a list of main newspapers in Basque Country and Spain.

Tabla 6. A List of Newspapers in Spain and Basque Country

Entity/ Name	Sector (Owner)	Operator	How to Contact	Description and Afiliation
El País	Group PRISA			Considered pro Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE).
El Mundo				Considered biased, pro Partido Popular.
La Razón		Luís María Anson, Director;		Conservative, traditional, pro Spanish State.
El Correo	Group Vocento			Conservative, traditional, pro Spanish State, generally anti sentiments of autonomy, certainly against independence for any of the

				"autonomous regions". Vocento, considerado no nacionalista y conservador), Deia (cercano al PNV) y Egin (cerrado por orden judicial por su alegada vinculación con ETA, donde publicaban periodistas que asimismo fueron procesados, como Pepe Rei) cuyo espacio fue ocupado por Gara, también alegadamente perteneciente al ámbito de Herri Batasuna.
Deia				Considered pro PNV.
Egin				Closed by the Spanish State arguing it had connections with ETA.
GARA				Pro <i>Izquierda Abertzale</i> , pro autonomy and independence.

An Industrial Sector in the Basque Countries with strong ties to and controls in the Spanish State

When it comes to talking about the industrial sector and capability developed in the Basque Country following the end of the Civil War, PNV leaders take pride in pointing out to their support of such sector, how they were instrumental in gathering people and resources, and in putting "Basque work ethic and creativity" to work towards a new nation, a new Euskadi. A jewel of that industrial sector, they like to point out is the vast collection of corporations or *cooperatives* that dwell under the umbrella of *Mondragon-Corporation-Cooperative* (MCC)¹². What we do not hear from PNV leaders is that the Spanish State may have had a great deal to do the development of the "Mondragon miracle" after all, and that industrial opportunities, politics, and Church interests may have combined to play a major role in that development. In fact, the Opus Dei seems to have played a major role as well in the initial development of the multi-national *Mondragon-Corporation-Cooperative* (MCC)¹⁵, in Arrasate-Mondragon, Basque Country, the child and creation of Father *Jose Maria Arizmendiarieta*.¹⁶ The early beginnings of this one-eyed, secretive Basque priest are not well established, and while strong opinions exist regarding his vision and contribution to the social, economic, and educational fiber of Basque society, particularly in the town of Arrasate-Mondragon (Arrasate is the Basque name of that town in the Alto Deba region of the Basque Country, while Mondragon is the Spanish name given to the town by its one-time Spanish Crown rulers), only recently the origins, circumstances, the apparent and real power-holders are being questioned. Up until now, anyway, a prevalent view among many in the Basque Country and Spain had

been that Arizmendiarieta was a young, hard working priest that got assigned to the town of Arrasate by the local bishop at the end of the Spanish Civil War (February 1941), that through the organization of local peoples and lots of hard work he created a small company, a *cooperativa*, that began designing and selling small domestic appliances, and that somehow that small company grew and multiplied over the next 70 years to become one of the largest multi-national enterprises in the world today. Recent research work by Lertxundi (2002), however, gathers writings of labor, financial, and political figures to put together a different picture regarding MCC, the "experience", and father Arizmendiarieta, the visionary and creator:

*"...it would be in this context towards the destruction of a socio-economic project that was self-administered, cooperativistic, and [Basque] nationalistic that needed to be placed MCC's political action. It is significant to note as well, that then as it occurs today, the **Opus Dei** was strongly implanted in the spheres of Spanish power, at the very top of some of the most influential ministries [government agencies] of the Madrid government. This observation is made and placed in front of those that pretend to make us believe that the powerful economic complex based in Mondragon resulted from the clairvoyant and **abertzale** [nationalistic] nature of a priest and his five apostles against which Franco's laws of economy and politics were rendered powerless, as though they were supermen. This false image has been communicated to portray these men as great Basque patriots that did it all thinking in the independence of Euskal Herria. Nothing could be further away from the truth. According to the investigations carried out, the legend built around a Jose Maria Arizmendiarieta surrounded by his faithful and incorruptible disciples is nothing more than that, a fantasy for the would-believers." (Lertxundi 2002, page 36).*

It may be interesting to note that although that fantasy was created by Franco's regime, the Opus Dei, and the PNV political representatives that sold out to the Madrid government, and that although it was never believed by a significant portion of the population in the Basque Country that constitute today the so-called *izquierda abertzaleak* (Basque for "left-wing Basque nationalists"), there are others who insist on Arizmendiarieta's work being true to the ideals of the Franco regime:

"The town of Mondragon hosts the most radical Basque nationalism, but its history and economy makes it one of the most Spanish localities, given that it was founded by king Alfonso "the Wise" and, above all, by Franco sympathisers: the town grew and became rich with the cooperativism created by Falangistas [Franco's own storm troopers, a

*fascist organization; this detail added] and catholic priests in the 1950's as a means to show the superiority of national-syndicalism [national labor unionism] over socialism. Mondragon remembers **the priest Jose Maria Arizmendiarieta**, but tries to hide the fact that he was a favorite of Girón de Velasco, Franco's minister of work, that made him his vehicle to make possible the implementation of the "joseantonianos" ideals [Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera y Sáenz de Heredia was a founder of the Falange Española, Franco's fascist political organization; this detail added]] creating cooperatives [i.e., Mondragon Corporation Cooperative (MCC)]. With great talent, and loans from the Spanish State, Arizmendiarieta founded in Mondragon a cooperative movement initially religious, anti-communist, and anti-socialist. Next, the Franco regime, seeing in Arizmendiarieta's work proof of the feasibility of the State's own social and labor projects, gave massive concessions and contracts to manufacture products without foreign competition, by placing high tariffs on foreign products. Thus was created the giant manufacturer **Fagor** in 1959. A town that today has a population of 23,000 attracted new labor, and mother Fagor constantly created more "cooperativas" [corporations] that served as an example of Franco's success, as evidenced by NODO [format of weekly movie news program "Noticiero Documental" used by Franco's State-owned TV station in Spain, 1946-1976; acronym derived from NOticiero DOcidental]. This news broadcast would feature news and stories about public figures in Franco's regime on their visits to Mondragon to cheer up the bosses of the cooperatives as a sign of "El Caudillo's" superiority over soviet collectivism. There you have Mondragon, within the Alto Deva valley, turned today into a mighty industrial complex integrated by entities ranging from the multi-nationals to great spaces like **Eroski**. Industrious people, true. But a lot of these people given to extremisms today, and that runs away from the true "historic memory". It is interesting: they went from the Falangista labor movement to a Basque social nationalism. Two faces of a same nationalist coin. Patriot comrades, just the same. (Manuel Molaes do Val, *Cronicas Barbaras* web site, "Mondragon", (http://cronicasbarbaras.blogs.com/crnicas_brbaras/2008/04/mondragh.html)).*

Yearly Budget and Moneys handled by the Basque Government

Any one knows what kind of moneys the Basque Government is able to play with each year, through tax collections in the Basque Country, and distribution among local, city, and regional governments by agreement with the Spanish

State? Any one person or organization in our Basque Communities in the USA and Latin America (there are about 160 Eusko Etxeak and centres!) cares to know how much the Basque Government pays to the Spanish State in the form of a quota or *cupo* each year out of taxes collected for the privilege of being an "autonomous region" and thanks to the Basque Estatute of Autonomy signed between the PNV leaders and followers and the Spanish State? For the year 2006 the total amount of moneys collected were in the order of 11,363.4 million Euros, as shown on Table 8. A very large amount of money, indeed.

Tabla 8. Taxes collected in Euskadi in 2006 (in thousands of Euros)

(Source: Basque Government, www.euskadi.net/k28aVisWar/k28algeVGI.jsp)

	Araba	Bizkaia	Gipuzkoa	TOTAL
DIRECT TAXES				
1. Taxes, Individuals	580,593.0	1,769,157.0	1,196,860.0	3,546,610.0
2. Taxes, Corporations	221,879.0	757,147.0	421,381.0	1,400,407.0
3. Other	24,705.0	108,050.0	63,963.0	196,718.0
SUB-TOTAL	827,177.0	2,634,354.0	1,682,204.0	5,143,735.0
INDIRECT TAXES				
4. IVA,	506,400.0	1,680,000.0	890,884.0	3,077,284.0
5. Gasoline and other fuels	166,493.0	517,525.1	335,534.9	1,019,553.0
6. Other	155,828.8	529,570.3	348,638.9	1,034,038.0
SUB-TOTAL	828,721.8	2,727,095.4	1,575,057.8	5,130,875.0
7. OTHER TERRITORY TAXES (not specified)	12,631.0	64,596.0	34,129.0	111,356.0
TOTAL TAXES	1,668,529.8	5,426,045.4	3,291,390.8	10,385,966.0
8. Adjustment on IVA	174,731.0	543,132.0	352,137.0	1,070,000.0
9. Adjustment on Special Taxes (not specified)	-14,947.8	-46,463.7	-30,124.5	-91,536.0
10. IVA adjustments among <i>Diputaciones Forales</i> (Territorial Governments)	27,498.4	-125,008.7	97,510.3	0,0
TOTAL	1,855,811.4	5,797,705.0	3,710,913.6	11,364,430.0
Nota 1: 11,364,430 thousands of Euros = 11,364.4 Millions of Euros (€)				
Nota 2: IVA= <i>Impuesto al valor agregado</i> ; similar to "state taxes" in the USA.				

The Comision Mixta del Cupo is a body of Spanish officials and Basque Government officials (PNV representatives) that meets each year to go over details on the budget for the Basque Government and adjustments to be made due to earlier payments by the Spanish State (mainly moneys associated with "transferencias", services already provided by the Spanish State). The Basque Government generally makes a big spectacle of these meetings intended to make the general public in Basque society believe that a big "tug-of-war" is taking place, but in reality everything is already pretty much determined by the Spanish State. In Table 8 we note that the total amount of taxes collected and handled by the Basque Government, by "authority" of the *Basque Statute of*

Autonomy, is 11,364,430,000 Euros, or 11.36 Billion Euros, of which 1.28 Billion Euros (11.26%) are handed over to the Spanish State in the form of a yearly "Quota". Another 17.78 Million Euros go to fund the *Ertzaintza*, the Basque police force cited earlier in this paper. The balance of the moneys, some 10.08 Billion Euros, go back to the three territories by percentages already determined by the Spanish State: 16.33% of the balance moneys for Araba, 50.76% of the moneys for Bizkaia, and 32.91% of the moneys for Gipuzkoa.

Another, different view of those moneys, this time how they are distributed among the social services, agencies, and "other Departments" in the Basque Government is presented on Table 9, this time for 2008.

Table 9. Money Allocations in the Basque Government 2008 Budget
(Source: Basque Government, October 2008)

Agency, Organization, or Body in the Basque Government	Budget allocated	%
Basque Parliament	28,636,000	0.3
Presidency	72,073,000	0.7
Vice-Presidency	17,286,000	0.2
Internal Revenue Services (<i>Hacienda y Administracion Publica</i>)	178,540,000	1.8
Justice, Employment, and Social Security	578,285,000	5.7
Interior	629,449,000	6.3
Industry, Commerce, and Tourism	348,648,000	3.5
Housing and Social Affairs	276,045,000	2.8
Education, Universities, and Investigation	2,424,303,000	24.4
Health Care	3,159,475,000	31.8
Culture	271,705,000	2.7
Environment and Zoning	123,964,000	1.2
Transportation and Public Works	871,246,000	8.8
Agriculture, Fishing, and Nutrition	169,134,000	1.7
Council of Labor Relations	2,544,755	0.0
Basque Economic and Social Council	1,791,959	0.0
Superior Council of Cooperatives	971,932	0.0
Basque Tribunal for Data Protection	1,868,926	0.0
Public Debt	267,045,290	2.7
Resources and Intitutional Commitments	10,394,578	1.6
Diversos Departamentos	357,210,340	3.6

"Take a careful look at the moneys that enter and leave an organization, always, and you will find out the other half of the story about that organization", would say one of my professors at the University of Arizona. Likewise, if we want to know and understand more about the "special" link between the PNV leaders in the Basque Government today and their "mentors" in the Spanish State, we must know about the large amounts of moneys handled by those busy politicians and government employees in the Basque Government. Now we can understand more easily why when the Madrid Government says to Basque Government officials: "Pull this way!", most everyone in the Basque Government jumps and does as told. Even after the "Quota" money is handed over to the Spanish State, the balance of 10.08 Billion Euros is a lot of money for PNV officials in the Basque Government to administer, indeed. The moneys available to PNV officials and other bureaucrats can pay for their multiple home mortgages, expensive suits and ties, travel expense accounts, government buildings, political campaigns, offices in Brussels, trips to the European Parliament, organization of international conferences on Human Rights, and so forth. On a final note on this section, publications by the Basque Government on the Budget for 2008 places the total figure at 9.93 Billion Euros, no reason given for this smaller amount (ftp://gvas.euskadi.net/pub/gv/infogv/ppto_30102008_c.ppt).

Resources and Potential of the Basque Diaspora Ignored and Untapped, Mostly

There are some 158 Eusko Etxeak¹⁴, Centres, a few foundations, and several Basque organizations (e.g., NABO) distributed over the global community. The great majority of these Etxeak and Centres carry out activities of a social and cultural nature, and the political activity, if any, is limited to receiving representatives of the Basque Governments at airports, taking them to our Eusko etxeak to celebrate their coming as heroes of some kind. At the Eusko Etxeak of New York, for example, we have received PNV leaders from the Basque Government, wining and dining them. Generally these professional politicians would give a speech telling us how their political party was advancing the cause of Euskal Herria towards true autonomy and independence, how they must fight the Madrid Government on a daily basis to save our culture, and how "we Basques must continue to be ambassadors of good will" outside Euskadi. These PNV politicians never talk about how their Ertzaintza beats up our young people on the streets and puts them away in jails, how they just stand by and do nothing while the *Audiencia Nacional* in Madrid violates the civil rights of hundreds and thousands of other Basques that

happen to be on the *izquierda abertzale* side of the spectrum, how the passports of their leaders are taken away so that they cannot travel outside Spain and the Basque Country to New York, Brussels, Argentina, Uruguay and Eusko Etxeak to tell their side of the story. No, the PNV leaders want everyone in the Eusko Etxeak to think that they are saving Euskal Herria, that everything is fine and under control. Meantime these PNV leaders live and travel in luxury. It is a travesty and a joke, and the joke is on us all, Basque Americans.

Greed and lack of vision on the part of those PNV leaders, as well. They have lent deaf ears to suggestions made by community leaders in many Eusko Etxeak in the Basque Diaspora for the Basque government to consider creating and funding a large Basque cultural complex in one of those communities, be it New York, Washington D.C., Buenos Aires, Boise, Mexico, or any other city, a centre that could serve and host multiple functions, including a commercial trade centre, a hotel, a theatre, dance studio, a museum, a centre for arts and crafts, etc. to no avail. My own observations on life in the Basque Diaspora, having lived and visited a number of our communities in the USA and Latino America are as follows:

- A majority of Eusko Etxeak in the Basque Diaspora today carry out social and cultural activities, mainly, without involvement or participation in the political life of their homes, cities, and places of origin in Euskal Herria.
- A majority of persons and families associated with the Eusko Etxeak in the Diaspora wish the social, economic, and political well-being of Euskal Herria, although generally have a knowledge specific to their town or city of origin only, and neither an overall view of the history nor an updated understanding of changes in its society in the last 20-30 years.
- A majority of peoples in the Eusko Etxeak have an idealized view of the PNV political party and their leaders in Euskal Herria today, a view that reflects their own memory or the memory of their parents and grandparents about the role of the PNV during the Spanish Civil War and, accordingly believe that today's PNV leaders in the Basque Government are pro-autonomy and pro-independence for Euskal Herria, and are not knowledgeable of the facts and events presented in this article which point out to the collaboration of today's PNV leaders with the Spanish State in the repression of the *izquierda abertzale* community, their privileged status, and their opulent way of life.
- Our Basque families co-live and co-exist well with "Spanish republicanos" and other Spanish families in general that migrated to the various countries in Latin America following the end of the Spanish Civil War.

Summary and Conclusions

Much has happened in Euskal Herria, Basque Country, in the last 70-75 years, since the end of the "Spanish Civil War", since hundreds and thousands of our families and peoples left and migrated to hundreds of communities in the USA, Latin America, and elsewhere. They left, often leaving behind brothers, sisters, aging parents, and whole families because they had fought in a war for the ideals of a Basque culture and identity, and the vision of true autonomy and independence for Euskal Herria one day. In their new homes, towns, and cities many of those peoples, and the new generations that followed, believe that the work of their fathers and their grandfathers is being carried out today in Euskal Herria today, while the truth may be quite far away from that ideal. May be so, maybe not so, but the fact is that there is no real debate of the issues, neither in Euskal Herria nor in the Basque Diaspora, because the politicians in power in the Basque Country have become an elite of the rich, powerful, and self-serving, more obedient to the interests and demands of the Spanish State than to their own people. Basque Americans and all Basques everywhere deserve better. It is the intent of this article, with its text, statistics, and arguments to demand facts, to open up the debate among Basque Americans on the issues cited in this article and to share the findings with our brothers and sisters in the whole of Euskal Herria.

Notes

1. *Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea* (UAJ), in Euskera, or *Partido Nacionalista Vasco* (PNV), in Spanish, founded on 31 July 1895 by Sabino Arana.
2. *Euskal Herriko Autonomia Estatuto*, 24 pages, signed into law by the king of Spain, Juan Carlos de Borbon and the President of the Spanish Government, Adolfo Suarez Gonzalez, on 18 December 1979; an earlier version was accepted by the leaders and followers of the PNV party during the national elections of 1977, breaking file and rank with the other Basque nationalistic organizations, and predominantly the *Izquierda Abertzale*.
3. Agirre, Joxean, *Cipayos? Basque Police or PNV's Armed Force?*, 370 pages (Spanish version), Txalaparta Press, 2007, www.txalaparta.com
4. *Abiadura Handia Trenea (AHT)*, or *Tren de Alta Velocidad (TAV)*, a multi-million project sponsored by the Madrid Government and being implemented by the Basque Government without citizen consultation or approval, resulting in thousands of hectares of land being confiscated or

- "bought" by the Spanish State at below-market values. See <http://sindominio.net/ahtez/?q=eu/node/2020>;
5. *Global Financial Crisis*.
 6. *OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development*, an international forum integrated by 30 countries to study and report on social and economic issues, dating back to 1948, sponsored by the US Government and based in Paris, www.ocde.org
 7. EU-15:
 8. *Unemployment rates*: "The seasonally adjusted unemployment rate in the European Union (EU27) in March 2008 was 6.7% compared to 7.5% in March 2007.⁶¹ The unemployment rate (EU25) had already declined in prior years from 8.9% in March 2005 to 8.4% in March 2006.⁶¹ The rate varies widely by member state. By comparison in March 2008 the [United States](#) had an unemployment rate of 5.1% (2007: 4.4; 2006: 4.7; 2005: 5.1) and [Japan](#) a rate of 3.9% (2007: 4.0; 2006: 4.1; 2005: 4.5) measured by Eurostat, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_the_European_Union#Unemployment; in this same report Spain and Basque Country appear with an unemployment rate of 9-10%.
 9. *Ertzaintza*: Basque Police force that was constituted by the newly created Basque Government led by the *lehendakari* Jose Antonio Aguirre and that came into power on 7 October 1936, at the very outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Telesforo de Monzón, the new Basque minister of the interior, was in charge of the forming, funding, and training of that force (Kurlansky, 1999).
 10. *Anti-terrorist laws in Spain*: There have been anti-terrorist laws in Spain since 10 July 1894. More recently, during the Franco regime, Law 42/1971 was passed on 15 November 1971, called "Law of Public Order" that for practical purposes placed all Spain and Basque Country in a permanent state-of-exception limiting, conditioning, or voiding all human rights while enabling police arrest and detention. By 1973 the *Codigo Penal* provided for jail sentences to "*that person integrated in an armed band, rebel or terrorist organization, or that person that utilized fire arms, bombs, grenades, substances or explosives,...as well as leaders and organizations that direct such acts.*" By 1975 ETA had assassinated 44 people. Once again the Spanish Government approved new, harsher anti-terrorist legislation in the form of Decreto-Ley 10/1975, on 26 August 1975, which extended provisions for death sentencing against: "*Communist, anarchist, and separatist groups and organizations, as well as against those that employ violence as instruments of social and political action...*" Numerous additional

amendments to that law have produced additional infringements on human rights: (a) Ley Organica 1/92 (*Corcuera Law*) of 21 February 1992 that allows police to "kick down the door" to access households if there was suspicion of a crime; (b) sentencing of minors suspected of street disturbances ("*Kale Borroka*") with up to 18 years in prison; (c) extension of the *Ley de Partidos* that eventually the Spanish State utilized to illegalise political organizations as *Herri Batasuna* (HB) on the *izquierda abertzale* side; (d) Ley Organica 7/2003 that provides for sentencing of terrorist activity up to 40 years in jail; (e) the "dispersion policy and practice" that places some 400 ETA political prisoners away from their homes in Basque Country in jails throughout Spain; (f) impossibility of "conditional freedom" to ETA members; and (g) the application of the "Parot Doctrine" that denies merits gained by ETA prisoners through study, exercise, and other good conduct activities and must complete full, lengthy jail sentences.

11. *Conferences on Human Rights by Basque Government: Derechos Humanos, Gobierno Vasco*: International congress sponsored by the Basque Government, 14-16 November 2006, Euskalduna Palace, in Bilbao to review human rights conditions in Ireland, South Africa and other countries (http://www.juslan.ejgv.euskadi.net/r45-19300/es/contenidos/informacion/congreso_2006/es_0001/congreso.html).
12. *Mondragon Corporation Cooperative (MCC)*: "The **Mondragón Cooperative Corporation** (Spanish: *Mondragón Corporación Cooperativa - MCC*) is a group of manufacturing and retail companies based in the Basque Country and extended over the rest of Spain and abroad. It is one of the world's largest worker cooperatives and one important example of workers' self-management. The company was founded in Arrasate, a town in Gipuzkoa known as *Mondragón* in Spanish. The town had suffered badly in the Spanish Civil War and there was mass unemployment. A young priest, Father José María Arizmendiarieta, arrived in 1941 and decided to focus on the economic development of the town, settling upon co-operative methods to achieve his goals. Co-operatives and self-help organisations had a long tradition in the Basque Country but had died away after the War. In 1943, Arizmendiarieta set up a democratically-managed Polytechnic School. The school played a key role in the emergence and development of the co-operative movement. In 1956, five young graduates of the school set up the first co-operative enterprise, named ULGOR (now Fagor Electrodomésticos) after their surnames, which during its early years focused on the manufacture of petrol-based heaters and cookers. In 1959, they then set up the Caja Laboral Popular ("People's Worker

Bank"), a credit union that both allowed the co-operative members access to financial services and subsequently provided start-up funds for new co-operative ventures. New co-operative companies started up in the following years, including Fagor Electrónica, Fagor Ederlan and Danobat. It has also extended by inviting other co-operatives to join the group and offering rescue for some failed companies on condition of becoming *cooperativas*. The group companies give preference to fellow co-operatives. Co-operative workers manage their finances through Caja Laboral, hold health insurances and pension funds at Lagun Aro and have discounts at Eroski markets and on Fagor appliances. Eroski stores are furnished by co-operative trucks. Members may have studied at a group *ikastola* and extended studies at the Mondragon University while having a labor stage at a co-operative. When a cooperative has got in economical trouble, workers have preferred to take pay cuts over layoffs. If the situation deteriorates seriously, redundant workers are provided with positions in other group co-operatives. In the 1980s, the various companies responded to pressures of globalisation by joining together as the Mondragón Cooperative Corporation . The MCC is now the Basque Country's largest corporation, the seventh largest in Spain. It is considered the world's largest worker co-operative. In 2006 the MCC contributed 3.8% towards the total GDP of the Basque Country. Education has always been key to MCC and its development, hence the conversion of the old school into the University of Mondragón in the 1990s, a private university to promote further development. Some 4,000 students attend the university campuses in Oñati, Eskoriatza and Mondragón. MCC now constitutes over 150 companies, with important manufacturing and engineering interests, as well as retail, financial and educational arms. Its supermarket arm, Eroski, is the largest Spanish-owned retail food chain and the third largest retail group in Spain. The Basque government and the tax authorities of the Basque provinces have special measures to help co-operatives. The Deba county around Mondragón has kept a very high employment rate even during Basque industrial crisis. The sovereign body is the 650-member Co-operative Congress, its delegates elected from across the individual co-operatives. The annual general assembly elects a governing council which has day-to-day management responsibility and appoints senior staff. For each individual business, there is also a workplace council, the elected President of which assists the manager with the running of the business on behalf of the workers" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mondragon_Corporacionn_Cooperativa)

13. *List of Eusko Etxeak, Foundations, and Organizations in the Basque Diaspora*: See Chapter 13, in Goikoetxea (2007) for a list of 158 Eusko Etxeak and Organizations with full listing of points of contact, including names, phones, and e-mail addresses.

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Biographical Sketch

Dr. Ambrosio Goikoetxea Martínez, Ph.D.

The author was born in the town of *Biasteri-Laguardia of Navarre*, province of Alaba, Euskal Herria (Basque Country) from a family of carpenters on his father’s side (the Goikoetxeas), farmers, monks and nuns on his mother’s side (the Martinez), all "*Carlistas*" for generations. At the age of 14, and right after the Spanish Civil War, the family migrated to Mexico and a few years later to the EE.UU. B.S. (Bachelor of Science) in Aeronautical Engineering, California Polytechnic Institute (Cal-Poly), Pomona, California, 1969; M.S. (Master of Sciences), Mechanical Engineering, University of California at Los Angeles, 1970; Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Systems Engineering and Economics, University of Arizona, Tucson, 1977, USA.



Dr. Ambrose Goikoetxea has over 20 years of experience in the design and application of systems engineering principles and methodological frameworks to problems in computer architecture design, decision support systems, database design, transportation systems, data fusion for military object classification, design of multiple criteria decision support systems (MCDSS), and programmatic efficiency in city hall, public administrations, local and

regional governments, and military services (US Air Force, Army, Navy, and Coast Guard).

Founder and Director (part-time) of the *Euskal Herria 21st Century Foundation*, based in Arrasate-Mondragon since February 2007, an organization that works with citizens to re-build the social and political fiber in Euskal Herria (Basque Country); bilateral projects with Eusko Etxeak and other Basque centers in the USA and Latin America (Please see web site: www.euskalherriasiglo21.org). From 2004 to 2007 he worked in the Department of Information Sciences at the *University of Mondragon* (MU) where he taught graduate and undergraduate courses in software engineering, design of software processes with UML (Unified Modelling Language) tools, enterprise computer architectures, and digital government administration. As Director of the *e-Democracy Project*, his team lent technical support to members of the *Basque Parliament* in an assessment of the use of the new information technologies (e.g., e-mail, digital TV, electronic signature, etc.) in 74 Parliaments and regions with legislative capacity in the European Union (EU).

Earlier, 1999-2004, he was a Sr. Information Systems Engineer at the Center for Excellence in Software Engineering (W908) of the MITRE Corporation, Virginia, EE.UU. In that capacity he supported business systems architecture development in the IRS Modernization Enterprise Architecture, applications test planning and business rules integration in the Customer Account Data Engine (CADE), and performance assessment of messaging middleware (MQSeries). At MITRE he also completed an architecture design to support intra-site and inter-site data backup, failover, and recovery for the Army's Defense Message System (DMS). Prior to joining MITRE he was the Performance and Capacity lead engineer for the Global Transportation Network (GTN) at Lockheed Martin Corporation, in Manassas, Virginia (1997-1999) where he created the system performance and capacity planning (PCP) group, designed and instituted PCP processes, responsible for setting up a suite of modeling and measurement tools.

An Associate Professor in the Systems Engineering Department, *George Mason University*, 1985-1999. President and Technical Director of Integrated Technologies and Research, Inc., from 1995 to 1997, where he designed and developed decision support systems for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. In 1985 and 1986 he was NASA-ASEE Research Fellow at the Goddard Space Flight Center, in Greenbelt, Maryland, designing decision support systems for NASA managers to assist with systems engineering and configuration functions

of space projects; also, a member of the Man-Machine Interface Design Group. 1979, NASA-ASEE Research Fellow, Jet Propulsion Laboratory of the California Institute of Technology (Cal-Tech); evaluation and selection of projects in the areas of solar-thermo power plants, underground nuclear plant location analysis, and urban public transportation systems.

Organizer and *General Chairman* of the IX-th International Conference on Multiple Criteria Decision Making (MCDM), Fairfax, Virginia, August 5-8, 1990. Dr. Goikoetxea is a recognized speaker at international conferences on system performance modeling, decision analysis, distributed database design, and risk analysis. A member of several engineering professional organizations, and a lecturer in the Department of Engineering Management, Department of Operations Research, and the Department of Management Science of *George Washington University*, 1990-Present. He is the author of over 25 published papers and 5 technical books taught in engineering, information systems, mathematics, economics, and business universities in over 30 universities in the USA, Latin America, Asia, and Europe. His more recent works are:

- (1) ***Enterprise Architectures and Digital Administration: Planning, Design, and Assessment***, World Scientific Press, New York, 565 pages, April 2007 (See book promotion: <http://www.worldscibooks.com/business/6239.html>).
- (2) ***Euskal Herria Estado-Nacion en el Siglo 21: Una Nueva Arquitectura Socio Politica***, in Spanish, Euskal Herria 21st Century Press, 487 paginas, February 2008 (See book promotion in: www.euskalherriasiglo21.org).
- (3) ***Early Architects of the Church and the Witches of Getsemani***, an historic novel, book in progress, to be published in 2008-2009; it examines *the role of women* in the shaping of the Church, their persecution and margination as "witches", as well as their emerging role as leaders in public life today; Editorial Euskal Herria Siglo 21.

As elected Program Chair of the *Association for Development of the Information Society* (IADIS), Dr. Goikoetxea brought together Mondragon University and Universidade Alberta of Portugal to celebrate an international conference on Applied Computing and Web-Based Communities (see www.iadis.org/ac2006, www.aidis.org/wbc2006) in San Sebastian, Basque Country, 25-28 February 2006 with the participation of 250-275 persons from 25 countries.

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