

**The Basque Country's Relation
to the European Union –
Chaos of Interests or Symbolic Diversity?**

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Introduction

For decades now, Spain, Europe, and the rest of the world have witnessed strong separatist movements in the Basque Country, which have been especially violent when the Basque terrorist group ETA has been involved. However, in 1986, Spain entered – together with Portugal – the European Union. Obviously, this political move neither solved the Basque conflict nor ended Basque ambitions for a stronger autonomy, if not for a complete independence from Spain. But how does the Basque Country connect with the European Union? Do Basque politicians, parties, and people see advantages for themselves in Spain's EU membership? Or do they reject the idea of a “closer” Europe? These questions mirror another one: Is there a chaos of varying interests within the Basque Country that cannot lead to a uniform or working policy towards the European Union? Or are different interests even symbolic for the EU's motto “Unity in Diversity” and build so to speak a “small Europe” on their regional level?

When analyzing the “Basque Country” it is crucial to define what territory this term refers to. In this paper it will – unless specifically stated otherwise – mean only the Basque Autonomous Community (País Vasco), made up by the provinces of Guipúzcoa, Alava and Bizkaia. It neither refers to the (Spanish) Foral Community of Navarre, nor to the French part of the Basque Country integrated in the Department of the Atlantic Pyrenees.



The seven Basque provinces in Spain and France¹

Before turning to the main part of this paper, brief background knowledge on the development of the Basque conflict with Spain will be provided. The main part will analyze the positions towards the European Union held by the people, by their political parties within the Basque Country and by the former party Herri Batasuna as well as by ETA will be analyzed. The conclusions will be drawn from the main question running through the entire paper: What positions towards the European Union are present in the

Basque Country? Is it a chaos of interests, or symbolically reflecting the EU's diversity, or both?

The Development of the Basque Conflict

The History of the Basque Conflict goes back as far as to the year 1516 when the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were united under the marriage of the kings Isabela and Fernando. As these monarchs intended a stronger homogeneity in their country, they tried to enforce a territorial, religious and cultural unity by using well known measures like the Reconquista and the Inquisition. In the following centuries, the Spanish state-building continued step by step: the border to France, for example, was fixed in 1659 in the Treaty of the Pyrenees, in 1688 Portugal was finally separated from Spain and in 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht put an end to the War of Spanish Succession and consequently limited Spain's territory to that located on the Iberian peninsula.

In contrast to most other European countries in the nineteenth century, Spain did not experience a strong nationalism following and completing its state-building. It is due to this weak Spanish nationalism that local and regional particularisms managed to survive. The Basque provinces therefore succeeded in maintaining their so-called *Fueros* far into the nineteenth century. The *Fueros* were a system of political and financial self-government which secured a certain degree of autonomy to the Basque region and guaranteed political influence to traditional Basque agrarian elites. When the industrialization started in the Basque Country, the rising bourgeoisie complained about under-representation in the regional parliaments and Basque liberals demanded a reform of the *Fueros* that would adapt these to the new circumstances.

However, after the Carlist Wars² Cánovas del Castillo's conservative government completely abolished the *Fueros*. As a reaction to this, a broad popular movement – the *Fuerismo* – appeared and longed for the restoration of the *Fueros*. According to Mees, the *Fuerismo* can be seen as a “national awakening in the Basque Country”³. It created a hostile atmosphere to the central Spanish government and accelerated the raising of a Basque national conscience, although it did not yet question the Spanish unity.

This changed when, after a rapid industrialization and strong social unrests in Bizkaia in the 1880s, radical doctrines started to fall on fruitful grounds. At that time, the founder of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV – Partido Nacionalista Vasco), Sabino Arana Goiri, combined essential elements from Fuerist and Carlist ideas and derived the call for a completely independent Basque Country. For him, the solution to the conflict was the restoration of the Fueros, justified with the (just created) nationalist Basque history and nationalist Basque symbols (flag, anthem, and festivities), as well as a new consciousness for the Basque language.

The PNV found its first voters in the 1890s in the urban middle class where nationalism was a reaction to socioeconomic changes in the area, which had brought along mass immigration as well as rising criminality and riots. In the following years, the circle of voters grew and the nationalist movement turned into an influential group both in the Basque Country and even within Spain, giving peasants, fishermen and industrial workers a voice in the protest against the modernization and eventually a new identity. The PNV became a modern democratic popular party, which was embedded in a network of political and cultural organizations offering a huge variety of activities courses ranging from Basque language to football. Especially in the province of Bizkaia – but also in Guipúzcoa – the cross-class Basque nationalism developed to one of the most powerful political and social forces, while Alava and Navarre were still dominated by traditional elites. In 1917, the Basque nationalists obtained a majority in Bizkaia's provincial elections and therefore were the first to form a provincial nationalist government.

During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera from 1923 and 1930 the party was repressed and could only continue its cultural activities. After some time of recovery, a referendum on the Statute of Basque Autonomy in 1933 was backed by 84 per cent of the voters from Bizkaia, Guipúzcoa and Alava – but because of conflicts between Basque nationalists and Spanish rightist, autonomy was not reached until 1936. However, this success did not last long since Francoist troops conquered the Basque Country with German and Italian support; the Basque government fled into exile. Franco immediately abolished the just re-gained autonomy and repressed both Basque nationalism and cultural particularisms.

In the late 1950s, the Basque society came to a crisis – due to another wave of industrialization (and therefore modernization) and immigration, which this time also affected Navarre and Alava. While still being repressed by the Franco regime, traditional Basque values became more and more endangered. In this crisis, the Basque society was polarized and in 1959 the underground organization ETA was founded. Ten years later, the group – initially fighting for mainstream-nationalism – had turned into a Marxist-Leninist paramilitary group. After the first lethal attack in 1968, more than 800 people have been killed by ETA attacks up to today. From 1968 on, Basque nationalism has been split into a peaceful, democratic majority and a minority using or sympathizing with violent actions.

When General Franco died in 1975, a new Constitution had to be drawn, and the question of power between the central Spanish government and the regions had to be solved. The Constitution of 1978 announces the “unity of the Spanish nation”, which is “made up of nationalities and regions”. This guaranteed a right to a certain degree of autonomy for the regions. In a referendum on the Constitution in 1978, there were high rates of abstention and “no”-votes in the Basque provinces after the PNV had recommended this to its voters. However, Basque autonomy could be re-established because in 1979, more than 90 per cent of the voters in the País Vasco approved the Statute of Autonomy at a turnout of about 60 per cent – this time supported by the PNV.⁴ ETA opposed the autonomy, as its basis was an “anti-Basque” Constitution, which separated the Basque regions (Navarre and the French Basque Country) and kept the Basque Country dependent as a part of the Spanish state.

As a result, today's Basque Country has a far reaching self-government with its own institutions and police, and it also enjoys some autonomy concerning taxes, education, media, justice and more. Basque nationalists, though, consider autonomy as an obstacle to self-determination. This is why HB has gone on promoting violence and the ETA has continued killing. In 1998, a promising ceasefire was decided on as a result of negotiations with ETA. Despite all hopes, ETA ended the ceasefire after only fourteen months due to suspicions from both ETA members and Spanish politicians. Recent approaches to solve the conflict, like the so-called Ibarretxe Plan, failed, as well.⁵

The Basque Country's Positions towards the European Union

a) The People

About 2.1 million people live in the Basque Country; most of them are Roman Catholics. In the Basque regions, the Basque language (Euskara) has co-official status next to Spanish. But the region where it is spoken is significantly smaller than the Basque Country. This is especially evident in the total number of its speakers who are little more than a million; only 700.000 use it as their first language.⁶

But how does this minority in the Spanish state feel about itself and the “Basque nation”? According to a survey from 1996, 40 per cent of the Basque people consider “Euskadi” (the Basque Country) as a nation, but 50 per cent as a region. This already hints at the fact that the majority of the inhabitants of the Basque Country is not radically nationalist. Another survey confirms this by stating that, in a hypothetical referendum, only between 25 and 30 per cent of the Basque people would favor complete independence for the Basque Country. The majority, again, takes a more moderate position by favoring a Spanish state of Autonomous Communities in their present shape or in a version with increased federalism.⁷

However, this does not give any information about the people's identities. Do they consider themselves rather Basque or Spanish? There are polls that show that a significant number of the Basque people feels some kind of a dual identification: In a survey from 1996, 50 per cent of the Basque people stated they felt only Basque, 36 per cent Basque and Spanish (but with varying intensities), and 9 per cent only Spanish. Generally, it can be said that the Basque inhabitants show a lower identification with Spanish symbols than the rest of the Spanish people.⁸

Another survey from 1994 also considers a possible European identification; its score results can only be interpreted by comparisons, though. (The absolute values for the scores corresponding to completely favorable and completely unfavorable responses are unknown.) An identification of the Basque people with Spain was marked with the score 5.71, the Spanish average was at 8.8. This is a very low score, especially when comparing

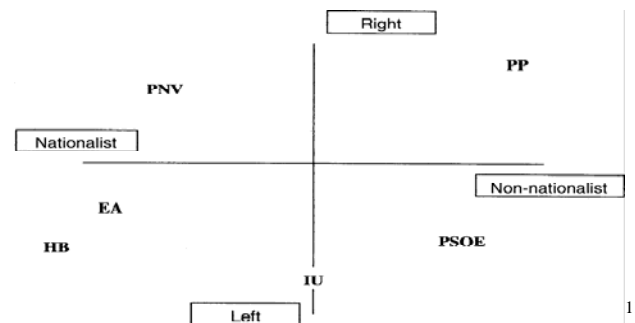
it with Catalonia, which ranged at 8.2. The same can be said about the Basque people's identification with Europe, which received only a score of 5.2, but in Spain altogether 6.8 (Catalonia even got 7.6). This goes along with another result of the same study. Compared with all other autonomous communities in Spain, the Basque people have the worst picture both of the Spaniards (6.13) and the Europeans (5.41), here the results for Spain as a whole were 8.41 and 6.94. These results show an interesting trend. Although within Spain the Basque people identify the least with their state, they still put this identification higher than their European one. But as this study does not consider Spanish regionalism and is rather old, its informative value is quite limited.⁹

The most recent and direct results concerning the Basque people's attitude towards the EU come from the referendum on the European Constitution Proposal in Spain in February 2005. With 42.32 per cent Spain had a very low voting turnout. The lowest, however, was to be found in the Basque Country (38.74 per cent). As such a high level of abstention cannot only be due to involuntary circumstances, a high degree of disinterest – in the Basque Country a little stronger than in the rest of Spain – can be concluded from it. The Spaniards overall approved the Constitution with 76.72 per cent for “Yes” and 17.24 per cent of the votes for “No” very clearly. The highest rate of rejection, again, came from the Basque Country: With 33.66 per cent of the votes it was almost twice as high as the Spanish average.¹⁰

Of course, these results do not directly show a rejection of the EU or of Spain's EU membership by the Basque people. But, nevertheless, they indicate stronger suspicions against it and a little more disinterest for it than apparent in the rest of Spain. However, it is important to notice that, despite partial strong identifications with the Basque Country, the majority of the Basque people seems to have a rather moderate attitude concerning the Basque nation and more or less accepts the Spanish state, which in Spanish-Basque history has not always been the case.

b) The Political Parties

In the Basque Country, there are six considerable parties, three of which (PP – Partido Popular; PSOE – Partido Socialista Obrero Español; IU – Izquierda Unida) are to be found in all of Spain and have a definite pro-European stance. As those have to be analyzed from a wider perspective, here the focus will be on the three Basque parties Partido Nacionalista Vasco and Euzko Alkartasuna, as well as Herri Batasuna in the following chapter.



In 1895, The Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV, Basque Nationalist Party; Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea, EAJ) was founded – as already mentioned – by Sabino Arana Goiri in order to preserve the old Fueros. Early in the party's history, a dilemma became evident which would remain with the party for a long time. It was the conflict between the radical hope for an absolute independent Basque Country and the actual short-term policy of winning as much autonomy as possible step by step. After Francoist repression, in 1977 a new party program was drawn with the emphasis on the restoration of the Fueros and an aspiration for future integration into the European Union was included. The rebuilding of the party as not only a political, but also as a cultural organization has helped its immediate success. It was involved in the negotiations over the Statute of Autonomy and was by far the strongest party in the first elections for Basque Parliament in 1980 (and has always been in government since). Only after this, internal disputes became visible so that the party split in 1986, when the former Lehendakari (president of the Basque Government) Carlos Garaikoetxea founded the party Euzko Alkartasuna (EA, Basque Solidarity).

Due to their origin, both parties are in fact quite similar. However, with the call for a united and independent Basque state EA takes a more radical, nationalist stance. In

contrast, the PNV formally never gave up this goal, but has taken a more moderate position, especially after governing in coalitions (with non-nationalist parties like PSOE) had become necessary. Consequently, EA also has the more radical voters – which means more voters who consider their national identity “only Basque”, as well as more speakers of the Basque language. This also explains the party's success in the province of Guipúzcoa, where Euskara is spoken the most. PNV, which reaches a wider spectrum of the population, is more successful in Bizkaia. Since the middle of the 1990s, EA and PNV converged, again, and formed an electoral coalition in the Basque Country since 1998.¹²

For the PNV, Europe has become a key theme of its policies. It proved to be a supporter of the EU and favors its measures of integration, even the single currency. The party therefore joined the recently founded European Democratic Party (EDP), which was formed as a reaction against euro-sceptic parties at European institutions, and it significantly supported the European Constitution Proposal, which Spain voted on in February 2005.¹³

For the PNV and its moderate nationalist policies, the Union brings many advantages. The EU is not only a source of economic opportunities, but also one of support for the Basque cultural and linguistic particularities – and for Basque self-government aspirations. Keating points out that the party's final goal is still very ambivalent and could aim at the national independence of the Basque Country within the EU. This trend seems to be obvious in more radical proposals, which the PNV came up with in 1995, when it called for direct Basque representation in European Union institutions. That way, the party could circumvent the Spanish government and a long decision process, and could instead try to influence EU politics directly. Another example for this party policy is the demand on the extension of article 146 of the Maastricht Treaty to Spain, so that Basque ministers could be represented in the European Council of Ministers.

As a national independence of the Basque Country is not highly probable, these moves can be seen as particularistic and opportunistic utilizations of the EU, in order to continue the Basque policy of increasing independence without ever reaching it

completely. As a majority of the Basque inhabitants already seems to more or less accept the Spanish state and does not directly seek independence any more, which has been shown in the prior chapter, this seems to be a reasonable way; and the actual gains of the Basque Country will continue to be decided by Spanish or European politicians.

The utilization of the EU for possible Basque benefits can also be traced in the behavior of another party. In the 1980s, the Basque branch of the PSOE asked the European Union for similar (monetary) treatment of the Basque Country like Northern Ireland had received due to the ongoing conflict there. In 1998, the PNV tried the same; both were rigorously rejected, though. Here, an economic interest in the EU becomes obvious, especially when considering the fact that financial aids in such conflicts have, if at all, according to experience only little success.

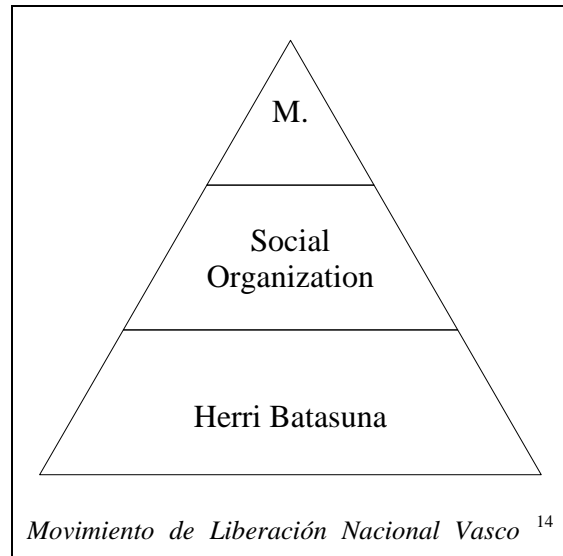
Support for the EU can be seen across the Basque parties in the EU's fight on terrorism. The PP and PSOE have actively been working together with European institutions, even before September 11. The PNV and the EA also support these European measures – including those against ETA – and thus signed the Madrid Pact in 1987, emphasizing once more their criticism for ETA's use of violence. This topic regarding EU policies seems to find an overall common opinion; in the Basque, the Spanish and in the European Parliament the EU measures are widely regarded as crucial to fight ETA.

Both, EA and PNV consider European integration as positive for the Basque country and favor – due to their nationalist standpoints – a Europe based on regions or nations instead of states. As mentioned before, that way they hope to increase their political influence through direct representation in the EU institutions. The final goal of these two parties whether they aim for a nationalist independence is not clear, which at the same time secures more voters. However, both parties are equally supportive for the EU. Although the EA is pro European and formed a coalition with the Republican Left of Catalonia (ERC, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya) for the European Parliament elections in 2004, it called – contrarily to the PNV – for a “No”-vote to the European Constitution proposal in Spain in February 2005. Whether this attitude results from the

party's more radical stance towards a Basque independence or from a strategic move in the fight for voters with the similar PNV remains unclear.

c) Herri Batasuna and ETA

Quite contrary to those rather moderate positions are those of Herri Batasuna and ETA. ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, Basque Homeland and Freedom) emerged in 1959 as a response to Francoist repression and developed to a politically violent organization, fighting for the independence and reunification of Spanish-Basque and French-Basque territories. The organization



has a great pool of sympathizers (although the numbers have been going down) as well as a big supportive social network to rely on, which give it its strength. In 1978, out of rejection to the Constitution, its supposed political wing Herri Batasuna (HB, People Unity) was founded. Together, these groups formed the so-called Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Vasco (MLNV, Basque National Liberation Movement), which developed a pyramidal structure (see image). At the top were few ETA militants, backed up by social organizations fighting, for example, for the Basque language, whereas Herri Batasuna built the broad, political basis.

However, Herri Batasuna always denied any links to ETA. During the 1980s and 1990s there were several attempts made to ban HB, but these efforts did not succeed until 2002, when Judge Baltasar Garzón suspended the party for three years in order to investigate the alleged links to the terrorist organization. The Spanish Parliament, though, voted for an indefinite ban (295 to 10) and thereby also forbid a reorganization of the party under a different name. Despite this fact, former members of the party formed the party Autodeterminaziorako Bilgunea (AuB, Meeting Place for self-determination) for local elections in 2003. Due to its connection to HB, the Spanish Constitution Court finally declared all its votes invalid.

In May 2003, Herri Batasuna was put on the U.S. list of terrorist organizations, a month later also on the European one. As an interesting fact, as of June 2003, the only people on the EU's list of terrorist persons, who were of European nationality, were 26 supposed ETA terrorists. However, despite the banning of HB in Spain, it is still an active, legal party in France. One of the reasons for the banning was that the party was never able to explicitly distance itself from ETA's violence. For instance, while the PNV played a leading role in the signing of a unanimous declaration against terrorism, HB was the only of all Basque parties who did not sign it. Consequently, HB is very critical of EU terror measures as they from HB's standpoint fail to induce political dialogue and convert "all social battles into terrorism"¹⁵.

Batasuna, as the party was called in the last few years, had representatives in the European Parliament and recommended to its former supporters to vote for a new party in the European Parliament Election in 2004: Herritarren Zerrenda (Citizen's List). While this was legal in France, the party was banned, again, in Spain due to assumed connections to HB. Most of the 12 per cent of the null votes in the Basque Country are believed to be on that account. Despite all this activism, Batasuna called to vote "No" in the European Constitution Proposal in France and in Spain. That two parties, namely HB and EA, recommended to vote with a "No" in this referendum could explain the fact that the "No"-rates in the Basque Country were more than twice as high as in the rest of Spain. That would also mean then that the influence of these more radical and very radical parties is still considerable, although not huge.

HB's rejection of the proposal for the European Constitution goes along with the party's absolute rejection of the EU – which is shared by ETA. Both already rejected the Autonomous Statute in 1978 since it relied on an "anti-Basque Constitution". In the following, while all nationalist parties pursued greater autonomy, HB was the only one following an "anti-system" strategy, which made it become marginalized in the political spectrum and banned in 2002. Both HB and ETA do not follow the policies of PNV and EA to increase the autonomy further and further, they prefer a much more radical ("anti-system") way. They want to secede from Spain (and the Basque territories in France should secede

from France) so that the seven provinces of the Basque Country could form a united Basque nation state, which should be recognized by the other nation states.¹⁶

Conclusion

The clearest conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis is the circumstance that there is no single attitude towards the European Union within the Basque Country – as was to be expected. Nevertheless, the EU wants to be a Europe of Regions and therefore minorities like that of the Basque people have to be integrated, as well. In order for this to happen, it is crucial to know the current positions towards the EU present in the Basque Country.

The analyses of polls, surveys and referenda in the Basque Country showed that a majority of the people has become moderate, only a minority is left favoring a completely independent Basque state, and even fewer would consider violence as an option to achieve this goal. At the same time this shows a grown acceptance of the Spanish state – which was quite different in 1978 when the Spanish Constitution was to be voted on. This also is an important prerequisite in order to accept the European Union and the Basque dependence on Spain within it.

The acceptance of the European Union within the Basque Country is not yet that strong. With the lowest identification rates with Europe, as well as the poorest image of Europeans among Spaniards, there still seems to be a pretty distanced view on the European Union. The highest rates of abstention and “No”-votes in the Spanish referendum on the European Constitution Proposal last year hint at disinterest or strong suspicions against the EU on side of the Basque people.

The political parties in the Basque Autonomous Community show a healthy diversity of positions. The parties PSOE, IU and PP, which are present in all of Spain, are definitely pro-European. The Basque parties PNV and EA also present themselves as supportive of the EU and are in favor of the EU measures of integration. However, in the referendum on the European Constitution Proposal, the EA called to vote with “No”, while the PNV continued its supportive policies towards the EU.

Both of the two parties show an ambiguity towards their final goal, though. It could well be that they still hope to achieve an independent Basque nation while continuing their policy of increasing the Basque autonomy. One of the reasons for support for the European Union could be its advantages, especially the financial ones. But the EU also supports the Basque language and cross-border initiatives, for example with France. In case of the Basque Country, this means that the border between the French and the Spanish-Basque territories is being weakened. For the nationalist parties this means an important step towards a re-unification of the Basque provinces. This explains why the nationalist parties favor a Europe of Regions instead one that is strongly based on its state's borders.

Despite this range in support of the EU, all of these parties agree with the EU's political measures against terrorism. They therefore take a unanimous stance in condemning ETA's practice of using political violence. The only party that was not able to distance itself from this practice was the now-banned HB, which was supposed to be ETA's political wing.

Both HB and ETA completely reject the EU like they already rejected the Spanish Constitution in 1978. Support of the EU would mean an acceptance of the current state borders and this is against the goal both want to achieve. Consequently, they disagree with the European measurements against terrorism, as these are directed against themselves.

Altogether it has to be stated that the diversity of opinions concerning the EU among the legal parties in the Basque Country is a normal result political spectrum, which helps to stabilize democracy both in Spain and the EU. They can therefore be seen as symbolic for a politically integrated European diversity. However, the "anti-system" strategies of ETA and HB are with the measures of violence and unconstitutional goals a danger to democracy and therefore to the EU, as well. If taken up into the political spectrum, this indeed would lead to an unsolvable chaos of interest. That would neither help solving the conflict in the Basque Country, nor would it help the EU to form a stable and democratic unity.

Notes

¹ Map from: *Meet Euskal Herria, the Basque Country*, <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/9479/basque.html>, 28.12.2005.

² “The three Carlist Wars took place between 1833 and 1839/40, 1846 and 1849, and between 1872 and 1876. Carlism was the social, political and military representation of the *Ancien Régime* opposed to liberalism.” (Footnote quoted from: LUDGER MEES, *Between votes & bullets: the Basque Country*, In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24:5, 2001, 823.)

³ Quoted from: LUDGER MEES, *Between votes & bullets: the Basque Country*, 802.

⁴ Numbers from: LUDGER MEES, *Between votes & bullets: the Basque Country*, 808.

⁵ See BOURNE, ANGELA K., *European Integration and Conflict Resolution in the Basque Country, Northern Ireland and Cyprus*. In: *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 4:3, 2003, 391-415. Or KASPER, MICHAEL, *Baskische Geschichte in Grundzügen*, Darmstadt, 1997. And UGARTE, BEATRIZ ACHA and SANTIAGO PEREZ-NIEVAS, *Moderate Nationalism Parties in the Basque Country. Partido Nacionalista Vasco and Eusko Alkartasuna*. In: DE WINTER, LIEVEN and HURI TÜRSAN, *Regionalist Parties in Western Europe*, London, 1998, 87-104.

⁶ Numbers from: *Basque Country (autonomous community)*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basque_Country_%28autonomous_community%29, 03.01.2006.

⁷ See XOSÉ-MANOEL NÚÑEZ, *What is Spanish nationalism today?*, In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24:5, 2001, 741-742.

⁸ See XOSÉ-MANOEL NÚÑEZ, 742-743 and JUAN DíEZ MEDRANO and PAULA GUTIÉRREZ, *Nested identities: national and European identity in Spain*, In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24:5, 2001, 758.

⁹ See MICHEAL KEATING, *The minority nations of Spain and European integration: a new framework for autonomy?* In: *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 1, 2000, 36 and M. K. FLYNN, *Constructed identities and Iberia*, In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24:5, 2001, 36.

¹⁰ See for example EUROPEAN COMMISSION, *Flash Eurobarometer 168: The European Constitution: post-referendum survey in Spain*. This also provides reasons for the high abstention level in Spain. Or: <http://www.robert-schuman.org/anglais/oe/e/espagne/referendum/resultats.htm>, 03.01.2006, or: <http://www.cap-lmu.de/themen/eu-reform/ratifikation/spanien.php>, 28.12.2005.

¹¹ Table from: IBARRA, AHEDO, *The Political Systems of the Basque Country: Is a Non-Polarized Scenario Possible in the Future?* In: *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 10, 2004, 359.

¹² See UGARTE, BEATRIZ ACHA and SANTIAGO PEREZ-NIEVAS, *Moderate Nationalism Parties in the Basque Country. Partido Nacionalista Vasco and Eusko Alkartasuna*, 87-104. Or *Basque Nationalist Party*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basque_Nationalist_Party, 03.01.06. Or *Eusko Alkartasuna*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eusko_Alkartasuna, 03.01.06.

¹³ See KEATING, 32, 37. About PNV: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basque_Nationalist_Party, 04.01.2006. About EDP: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Democratic_Party, 04.01.2006.

¹⁴ Pyramid drawn by author after description of IBARRA, AHEDO, *The Political Systems of the Basque Country: Is a Non-Polarized Scenario Possible in the Future?*, 360.

¹⁵ Quoted from BOURNE, ANGELA K., *European Integration and Conflict Resolution in the Basque Country, Northern Ireland and Cyprus*, 397.

¹⁶ See for example *Batasuna*, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Batasuna>, 03.01.06. Or BOURNE, ANGELA K., *European Integration and Conflict Resolution in the Basque Country, Northern Ireland and Cyprus*, 391-415. Or *ETA*, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ETA>, 03.01.06. And UGARTE, BEATRIZ ACHA and SANTIAGO PEREZ-NIEVAS, *Moderate Nationalism Parties in the Basque Country. Partido Nacionalista Vasco and Eusko Alkartasuna*, 87-104.

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