



**EUZKADI,  
NAZIOÁ  
EUROPAN**

**EUZKADI,  
NACION  
EUROPEA**

**EUZKADI,  
NATION  
EUROPÉENNE**

**EUZKADI,  
NATION OF  
EUROPE**

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# **Euzkadi, Nation of Europe**

**POLITICAL CHALLENGES 2015**

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## INTRODUCTION

Policy papers developed since 1977 have given the EAJ-PNV a tight, solid doctrinal basis and positioning as a political organization. This is the result partly of the ability to constantly adapt to the evolution and transformation of society and the nation that gave birth to it in the late nineteenth century, together with its ultimate goal of political action in achieving the independence of Euzkadi or the Basque Country.

As laid out in the 2007 policy paper, the EAJ-PNV seeks to “recognize the existence of the Basque people as a political subject and the right to their free choice. The EAJ-PNV, therefore, will push for the recognition of Euzkadi as a political entity with decision-making capabilities, overcoming its status and political and administrative condition as a subordinate part of the Spanish and French states”.

Our Party has fought for the survival of the Basque people in a wide variety of economic, social and political circumstances. Even now, when it is time to define our policies for the next four years, the important thing is to once again get the analysis and assessment of the times we live in right. Not to make mistakes in the diagnosis so that we can get the means to achieve our goals right.

Globalisation, the transformation of identities, migration, the crisis of nation states, the progress of European integration, the global crisis, the financial weakening of institutions, lack of future hope for young people, the repositioning of the ideological spectrum, the complexity of political governability, the end of ETA and the achievement of peace are some of the factors that lead us to consider what Euzkadi may be like in the coming years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

These challenges call for specific responses and the renewal of political projects in this new context. Responses generated for Euzkadi, by Euzkadi. In this paper we present the answers of the EAJ-PNV so that we can continue moving forwards as a Nation in Europe.

## A) CHANGES IN EUZKADI SINCE 2007

In 2007 the Basque Nationalist Party held its last General Assembly, in which the membership approved the policy papers that firmly marked the strategy and the short and medium term objectives laid out by this century-old organization.

These papers, a result of the previous documents approved in 1977, continue to maintain their doctrinal and strategic force, keeping the position of an organization which must evolve as the circumstances that surround it change, as society evolves and transforms, like the country and nation that gave it life and for whose emancipation it took shape in the late nineteenth century.

In the current policy paper, the EAJ-PNV establishes its claim to the political and legal recognition of the Basque Nation, in a setting where the full right and ability of the Basque people to decide their political future is stated and defined. It also underlines the commitment to democratic institutions as a political instrument par excellence to advance and defend the culture of consensus on the basis of the recognition of the various political subjects on equal terms, without imposition or vetoes. The horizon is the "partnership of equals" as the key to political practice in an interdependent world. These principles, approved in the paper of 2007, remain the basis of the political action of the EAJ-PNV.

In the global society we live in, social changes of all kinds have occurred and are occurring at a dizzying rate. In the past four years we have experienced very significant events, and the Euzkadi of today, at the end of 2011, has little resemblance with just five years ago.

The strategy for achieving the political objective of the EAJ-PNV is taking place in real time, in the space and time we live in, which is why this party is concerned about the socio-economic situation of the moment and why it is working on the answer to the everyday and urgent needs of the citizens, the indispensable basis for aspiring to the construction of a Basque nation.

For this reason, the EAJ-PNV pays close attention to the economic and social changes that have occurred in recent years. The global economic crisis began as a major international financial fiasco and has turned the developed world into a maelstrom of uncertainty. The bursting of the speculation bubble means that because of the influence of globalisation and a change in the hierarchy of values, we are faced with a very difficult economic situation, with high unemployment, high rates of debt and deficit and a general decline in economic growth. In this scenario, Euzkadi, despite its strong industrial infrastructure forged over the years, has not been able to isolate itself from major international trends.

In such circumstances we are faced with the reality of a different country. With strengths but also weaknesses that we must face with courage and realism, to secure positions and find new economic agreements that enable us to improve and emerge stronger from this crisis.

In politics, there have been many changes. In the institutions, despite winning the regional elections with a comfortable margin, the use of political manoeuvring in the application of the law of political parties and the reaction to it –draining of seats in the Basque parliament and the PSE-PP Alliance– resulted in the eviction of Basque nationalism from the Basque Government's use of power.

In Navarre, the EAJ-PNV renewed its commitment to the coalition Nafarroa Bai, as a strategic commitment to and by Navarre, and as an engine of political change that has meant the consolidation of their own political space, capable of undermining the foundations of the political and institutional architecture of Navarrism.

This was a commitment which was then broken by EA and Aralar and which has continued with our support, along with independent groups, in "Geroa Bai", a group which is heir to Nafarroa Bai in targets and political strategy.

The constitutionalist parties have tried to set up a new 'central channel', an idea already in action in a few local councils in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), as well as in Navarre with the UPN-PSN agreement. This is an idea that is based exclusively on Spanish constitutional frontism, with the progressive assimilation of southern Euzkadi into the constitutional system, turning the autonomous community into another community of the State. We have witnessed an attempt by the State, including the law of political parties, to achieve the objective of cancelling out the Basque differential.

We are also aware that the political rehabilitation of the traditional nationalist left wing opens the door to a political sensitivity in the nationalist world that aims to replace the EAJ-PNV as the main nationalist political force in the country and, within this strategic objective, it has not been unusual to create a pincer movement with the constitutional parties, to disable the action and political proposals that we have implemented as a party.

The reality is that two years after getting into power, with a monochrome Basque Government in minority, with theoretically sufficient external parliamentary support and with minority social backing, this option has failed miserably. It has failed, not because of inefficiency and artificiality, but because Basque society itself has rejected it at the municipal and provincial elections held recently.

Elections which, with the reincorporation of the left-wing nationalist parties, have redrawn the political map of the southern Euzkadi. A pluralistic map, in which the EAJ-PNV has lost seats. A new map which requires continuing with what is a central part of the political practice of the EAJ-PNV, the search for agreements on the basis of mutual recognition, as well as the need to acknowledge the real plurality and equality of status of all the political players and projects.

That said, we must affirm that the ongoing search for big agreements as a basis for sound political projects for the future must necessarily be complemented with respect for the democratic principle of respect for majority decisions, which is a basic condition for a democracy to work.

This political change and move towards pluralism have all been possible in Euzkadi because of another important evolution; the end of the cycle of violence of ETA. We are witnessing the last stages of a terrorist organisation which has decided on a definitive end to its armed activity and which should soon confirm its dissolution. This end of an era will open the way for new hope in Euzkadi and has already done so. A new era is here.

This is a new era which opens up opportunities for solving the Basque political conflict still being fought. The Basque nation, as the expression of the collective identity of the Basques, is backed by the right to freely and democratically choose our own political structure. The only subject of legitimation for this political structure is the Basque nation residing within the seven territories. That is the end goal of the EAJ-PNV.

The EAJ-PNV is an instrument at the service of the Basque people, as well as an instrument in the search of a solution to the political conflict of Euzkadi with the Spanish state and France, which centres round the lack of recognition of the Basque nation and its right in the same terms as these states recognise the rights of the Spanish and French nations.

ETA has been a player which, objectively, has prejudiced the building of the nation and the interests of Euzkadi. The end of ETA's violence provides an opportunity for the Basque people to make a qualitative leap forward and the EAJ-PNV should become the central instrument for this strategy.

In its long life as a political party, the Basque Nationalist Party has adapted to all the changes taking place in Basque society. And now it will continue doing so.

This paper discusses the challenges which, predictably, we face as a people and as a political organization that seeks to continue to lead our country. Challenges that we must accept, to guide the feet of Euzkadi as a nation in Europe, to consolidate the strategic processes in order to achieve recognition of our rights as a people, including the right to decide, and its incorporation into the relevant law.

This paper presents an analysis, a diagnosis and an indication that aims to update strategies and to propose the most suitable routes for the best achievement of them in the time we have from the end of this General Assembly (January 2012) until the next edition, at the end of 2015.

## **1.- Economic problems in a global context**

We live in times of crisis. If something has become evident because of this crisis, it is that we live in a global world. Globalisation is not chosen. It is an unstoppable phenomenon with which we have to live. It is true that it generates threats for us (increased competition from emerging countries with lower production costs), but it also provides undoubted opportunities (access to huge markets).

The times in which we live are certainly very difficult. While some shoots of economic recovery can be seen, they are still weak and lacking in energy and certain elements of this crisis are here to stay.

The current global economic and financial crisis has in several respects exceeded both the 1929 crash and the crisis of 1973, both in intensity and speed. With significant falls in production and trade, there are enormous financial difficulties and job losses. There are countries that, after a major fiscal and budgetary effort trying to stop the crisis, are experiencing high deficits and, therefore, an exponential growth of debt, both public and private, which causes great difficulties in accessing credit markets because their risk is seen to be high. There are some countries which have had to be rescued and other states in obvious risk of needing rescue. And besides, there is a high level of social and political debate over the apparent lack of efficiency, if not complete dysfunction in which the political established structures seem mired, in the perceived inability to take measures that address speculative threats from certain operators in the markets.

In the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), the crisis is not as intense as in the Spanish state, but it is certainly affecting a significant proportion of the population. Even with problems, the situation of the southern Euzkadi is substantially better than that experienced by the Spanish State.

This is not due to any accident of fate or strange natural phenomenon, but can be explained by at least three clear factors in the case of the BAC. They are factors that have contributed through public action to promoting and stimulating private entrepreneurship, the real star of the least bad economic situation in our community.

The first is an industrial policy that goes back in time to the early nineties, or even to the beginning of the action of the Basque Government. Thanks to this policy, around 30% of our Gross Domestic Product still comes from an outward-looking industrial sector which is therefore less dependent on the structural weaknesses of the Spanish economy and its low demand capacity.

At the same time we have taken the opportunity of diversifying our economy by promoting sectors like tourism and services associated with industry, which has strengthened our productive structure and has contributed significantly to our growth.



Secondly, the positive economic factor can also be attributed, among other reasons, to the rigor and responsibility of institutional policies developed under the leadership of the EAJ-PNV. These policies have resulted in substantial investments in infrastructure, research, development and innovation, and ensure adequate provision of social services, health and education. All this without losing sight of the need to maintain balanced public accounts.

Thirdly comes the good, responsible management of the savings banks (BBK, Kutxa and Vital are at the top of solvency rankings in Spain) and Basque credit institutions, which have enabled the country to give essential financial support to economic projects for businesses and families without incurring risk.

With these three factors, the crisis is having a much lower impact on the southern Euzkadi than it has had on the Spanish state. In the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), economic activity has not suffered to the same degree, unemployment is being kept at much lower rates, government accounts are healthier (and could have been more so, had it not been for the management by the socialist Basque Government for the last two years) and the Basque savings banks BBK, Kutxa and Vital are at the top of the ranking of creditworthiness in the Spanish state. This is not so in the Autonomous Community of Navarre, where the Savings Bank of Navarre, with their own different project, has been less effective than other Basque savings banks.

In this context it is necessary to vindicate the value of the instruments of self-government and its correct and effective use, because without them our situation today would be much more similar to that of our neighbours. The Basque Economic Agreement allows us to maintain a different environment in the southern Euzkadi as far as financial health is concerned. This is a vital tool in our economic policy and as a direct consequence, in our political ability to self-govern, especially in the BAC.

We are better, but we are not alright. The difficulties of our companies, in part because of the contraction of domestic demand, but mainly because of the difficulty of accessing finance, have led to job losses, which in some sectors such as industry have been dampened by the responsible behaviour of our companies, and the good performance of our exports.

In particular, the construction industry and related sectors have suffered an unprecedented collapse. The most pernicious effect of this has been an increase in unemployment, combined with the social problems associated with the risk of exclusion that this entails.

Over the past 30 years, the defence and development of the welfare state has been one of the flagships of our self-government, especially in the BAC. At a time when the economic crisis is causing vulnerable situations in our society, it is necessary to adopt measures for the effective management of our resources. The challenge for the EAJ-PNV is to consolidate a sustainable system of care and social protection for today and tomorrow.

## **2.- Peace, seen as the end of ETA, closer now**

We find ourselves closer than ever to our objective of Peace, setting out from none other than the end of ETA's violent activity.

The firm desire of Basque society to reject ETA's violence has been a fundamental factor which has meant that the left-wing nationalist parties and ETA itself have had to reorient their strategies. The message from Basque society is clear; there is no room for violence. This pressure from Basque society, added to police and judicial action, as well as coordination on the international stage, has borne fruit and weakened ETA enormously, forcing it to decree a permanent cessation of its armed activities.

The historical left-wing nationalists, who for a long time lived in submission under the political and military leadership of ETA, have accepted that the use of arms is impossible. They have declared this before Basque society, and have proceeded to adapt themselves to legality, which has enabled them to compete in elections. They are cognizant that a 'politico-military strategy' with the use of violence is outmoded and that new times are here, times for politics. They have taken an important step, and have to take many more to be incorporated irreversibly into the democratic culture, the only way to achieve and attain political objectives.

We are living a new political era in which Basque society sees the end of ETA nearing. The clear, forceful rejection of terrorism by society has made the nationalist left contemplate a strategy based exclusively on political and democratic means.

However, achieving real peace and an authentic reconciliation goes beyond the disappearance of ETA, as ETA was not the only one to exercise violence in Euzkadi. It is necessary to go deeper into the values and the democratic culture of all the citizens, carrying out a real educational campaign for democratic life in attitudes, values and behaviour.

The construction of peace and reconciliation must be based on the recognition of others' pain and on moral and material compensation for all the victims. The end of ETA must be supported by the ethical attitude of Basque society as a whole and not by the victory of any political project over another. Writing a story about the end of ETA based on political interests would only lead to the establishment of shaky foundations on which to build a future of peace and reconciliation. The support of the new era must involve an ethical attitude shared by the entire society.

Spanish democracy also must mature in attitudes, values and behaviour, enabling all political projects to have the same real application depending solely on the will of the citizens.

### **3.- New players on the institutional stage**

In the institutional context, the nationalist left wing in coalition with EA and Alternativa, has made a strong entry in the municipal and provincial institutions. The state has yet to legalize the brand of the nationalist left, which has already fulfilled the conditions for its legalization. However, there are still steps to be taken in the political and ethical conditions necessary for democratic life.

In any case, it should be noted that the institutions are not only there to assert themselves, much less in a vacuum, but mainly to work and solve the problems of the Basques, in the spirit of public service and common sense. This is something that is more important, if possible, in an economic situation like the present that demands serious answers.

On the other shore, we find the "constitutionalist bloc" consisting of PSE-PSN-PP-UPN-UPyD. With its frontist "conquest of Ajuria Enea" as an ensign in the BAC, with a non-existent economic policy based on destroying what has already been created politically. Their choice, considered as "the state bid" will go down in history as the political pact that raised the least support among the Basques. Or, put another way, the cross-party group that had the lowest opinion of the Basques in the BAC. The PSE-PP deal was an agreement based on the consideration of "the Basque matter of state" and "the object of assimilation", whose primary objective was the removal of the EAJ-PNV in the areas of responsibility for institutional governance, as well as preventing access of those matters to the coalition NaBai as a result of the UPN-PSN pacts in Navarre. Four years lost in a time when we could and should have cemented our new development model.

In the area of Navarre, the new proposal Nafarroa Bai, which had begun to reap its first fruits, was first frustrated with EA's lineup with Bildu and the subsequent incorporation of Aralar in "Amaiur". Faced with this repositioning, the EAJ-PNV, together with the group of independents integrated into the "Zabaltzen" group, we collected and gave continuity to the spirit of NaBai through "Geroa Bai." "Geroa Bai" is the expression of a new political culture based on the recognition of the plurality of the people of Navarre and the assumption of transversality as the driving political axis. Our mission encompasses promoting political change in Navarre through approaches of citizenship and civic institutional nationalism. This is a change whose basic premise is based on the consideration that only Navarrans should decide their political status and determine their own future.

With respect to Iparralde, although our situation is still weak, with a percentage of 6.6% in the regional elections of March 2010, we have managed to move forward, because these are without doubt the best results in our history. These results, however, as 0.6% of the vote count of Aquitaine, keeps us beyond the minimum of 5% and, therefore, we have not won any seats. In the cantonal elections of 2011 we also increased in votes but we could not present a candidate in more than half of the 10 cantons. In the north Euzkadi, it is clear that more than the EAJ-PNB brand name, trust is generated by the people who make up the lists of each location, and proximity is the most important weapon when it comes to attracting votes. To make use of the immense work done by these people, the EAJ-PNB as a strong brand needs to be strengthened in Lapurdi, Behe Navarre and Zuberoa, so that our area of influence can extend to all people on the other bank of the Bidasoa.

This colourful new political map reflects the reality and plurality of Basque society. Certainly in this new landscape the EAJ-PNV has also lost weight. The EAJ-PNV should go back to two traditional arguments. On the one hand, with the serious and constant work shown in each institution in which we are represented, in government and responsibilities of the opposition. And on the other, giving the Basques new proposals, new programmes and new commitments that strengthen our ability to generate hope. The EAJ-PNV has a great ability to connect with the values and aspirations of the Basque people. And we will continue to do so, as we have demonstrated in government and also in opposition. Our commitment is to Euzkadi and all our work, our commitment and expertise is poured into constantly improving the quality of life and welfare of those who make up this country.

The EAJ-PNV should lead a project to build a Euzkadi in line with its principles and strategies, including proposals and initiatives that are identified as possible and realistic to continue building the 21st century Euzkadi, a European nation present in the world. This is a job has already been mentioned in the process of reflection "Think Gaur Euskadi 2020", "Nafarroa 2020" and "ADOS". It is a job that will also have continuity in the new project "Gaur Iparralde 2020." This strategic analysis should determine the foundations on which to address the strengthening of the future of the Basque language, the Basque department and nation-building in each territory, with their different situations and needs. To give answers in each place to the needs of Lapurdi, Behe Nafarroa and Zuberoa for the development and promotion of Basque, in education and in its struggle to become official.

#### **4.- Despite everything, more self-government**

The more than three decades of self-government since the adoption of the Statute of Guernica have been an unprecedented milestone in institutionalisation and development in modern Basque history. During these last four years, despite the fact that the PSE-PP alliance has not done anything in the Basque Government to complete the competences agreed in the statute that the PSOE and the PP have spent decades denying from central government, we have continued to make progress in self-government.

In these last four years we have achieved representation in working groups of the Council of Economic and Financial Affairs of the European Union (ECOFIN), allowing us to participate in decisions affecting the singularly unique material scope of the Economic Agreement of the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) and Economic Agreement of Navarre, one of the engines of our development

In addition, we have achieved seventeen new transfers. We have achieved this by getting them to abide by the spirit and letter of the Statute of Autonomy of Guernica, as we have always advocated. All are important, but certainly we should emphasize active employment policies, involving not only the possibility of improving support for the unemployed, but of completing our own framework of training and integration in employment, essential for promoting lifelong learning necessary for the competitiveness of our economy.

We have also managed to get incentives for hiring employees, through the bonus scheme of social security contributions, which can help decisively to promote job creation.

We have achieved much of this progress in self-government because of the fact that EAJ-PNV that has been the only permanent nationalist party in Madrid that has defended Basque interests. Working as always in defence of the interests of Euzkadi, here in the state and also in the European Parliament and other international forums.

Everything we have done is very important, but it should be recalled that following the finding that the State was systematically failing to apply the Statute of Autonomy of Guernica, the Basque Parliament approved a New Political Statute for the Basque Country with an absolute majority. The proposal, passed with absolute majority in Parliament, as well as seeking basic powers, seeks to strengthen new basic institutional rules for Euzkadi based on two inalienable principles; the right and the ability of the Basques to decide, and respect for all human rights. The Statute of Guernica has been a fundamental instrument in the development of the political, social and economic identity in the BAC. The EAJ-PNV, along with the majority of Basque society, aims to go beyond it.

## B) OUR CHALLENGES AS A COUNTRY

### **1.- The way out of the crisis. Moving forward in our own socioeconomic model**

The crisis is hitting Europe particularly hard, but it is not affecting all countries equally. Those who have long been preparing for the changes resulting from both globalisation and their own demographic and social dynamics are avoiding the crisis better and are ready to move forward.

It has been shown that a two-speed Europe is a reality. States that have done things well, planning and facing challenges with courage, and States that have chosen to look the other way, which have borrowed in the extreme and are now trapped.

The answer to these challenges, it is evident, does not come from the model followed by Greece or the Spanish State; corporations and general government virtually bankrupt, with huge economic and financial imbalances, and political systems unable to cope with their problems. These societies can expect many years of unemployment and poverty ahead.

In the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) our self-government has helped to mitigate the consequences of the crisis. We have shown that our model works, but we need to go deeper into our own socioeconomic model that takes advantage of the opportunities before us and allows us to achieve a leading position in the European Union and the international community.

Basque society, Euzkadi, has its own values that it must continue preserving and enhancing; shared values such as work, effort, solidarity, entrepreneurship, cooperation, partnership, the search for new opportunities, commitment to quality, training and innovation. They are values of a winning society, which always looks to the future to consolidate levels of life with a basic threshold of dignity.

Among these values, solidarity is an asset that we must strengthen in particular. Solidarity with those who have lost their jobs. Solidarity with the elderly. Solidarity with many of our young people who, having made a great effort to train, now have an uncertain future. And solidarity with families who, even in this scenario, make the social contribution of raising their children and caring for their elders. The sustainable Welfare State achieved in recent years has also had some negative consequences, especially the breakdown of understanding between generations. The habit of living beyond one's means has affected competitiveness, solidarity and hierarchy of values.

The success of our economy, based fundamentally on industry, in the current economic situation includes improving organization, enhancing export capacity, reducing costs and

developing products and services with greater added value, through innovation and quality, determinants of competitiveness.

To do this we must not forget that a prerequisite for innovation and quality, as a strategic objective to characterize a socioeconomic model, is the qualification of men and women to develop products and services.

## **2.- More sovereignty and self-government**

To achieve our goals, we need to be less and less dependent until we achieve independence; to have, at all times, greater ability to react and take decisions for ourselves, greater independence. We need to gain space as a society and a country of reference in the international arena.

Euzkadi is our own social, economic and political project. We have our own culture, language and identity. It is a project based on the will of the Basque citizens. We are and want to be ourselves. We share an identity that we want to strengthen. The progress towards sovereignty and self-government is now presented as a new strategic project for the country that integrates the democratic principles of the recognition of the right and ability to decide the future, as well as respect for all human rights.

The will of our people legitimises our desires and rights to self-government, but we cannot forget that self-government is not an empty word, but a proposal for welfare, quality of life and for building the country. The construction of institutions in Euzkadi has brought us economic growth (human development, income level above the European average) and efficient basic public services (health, education, social services, culture, transport and mobility), mainly in the BAC.

Our path has not been wrong. The strength of our identity and the common interest of Basque society has led us deeper into self-government, which was and is progress, welfare and quality of life. Therefore, we must continue to strengthen our identity and the common interest of Basque society.

We are not giving up the self-governing status we have achieved. Instead, we want to grow institutionally from this base, to consolidate our position in the world. Euzkadi neither is nor wants to be pushed to the rear end. Our place is to be at the head of the European train, in the construction of the most advanced economic, social, cultural and political Europe, giving it all the crosscurrent added value of our language and culture to develop as the Basque people.

In this context, modern Spain has become an even greater obstacle to the development of the southern Euzkadi. Economic and institutional imbalances in Spain generate great international distrust. This distrust is transferred to the international financial markets and also to those who may be client markets of Basque companies. We need to form an

international benchmark, not only politically, but also socially and economically, with a presence and identity unique to Euzkadi throughout the world.

We need to reach a pace of development that is impossible to achieve while we depend on the circumstances of other countries. And this requires politically applying and structuring the principle of sovereignty, i.e., the right and ability to decide our own future. Not by confrontation but through the political interest of the citizens. Because the Basques aspire to a better future, and because we are backed by the same rights as other nations in the world. The EAJ-PNV manifests its willingness to arouse broad agreements through their own political approaches, and take them to the forums and institutions that are necessary for putting them into practice.

We must defend and enhance these values, and who better to do so that the EAJ-PNV, which has always defended the interests of Euzkadi not only because of political claims, but also from the interest of the citizens. The EAJ-PNV should be leading the Basque national strategy, to seek agreements with political and social agents on the basis of shared principles and content, for a new project for the country. A strategy to develop in the institutions that we have given ourselves as a nation, and in other forums, including from the opposition. Always at the service of our country.

To become anchored in the uniformity or in the fields of power already achieved, is to be left behind, losing out to the reality of the future. We aspire to have our own political structure that will allow us to protect and develop our social, economic, cultural and political identity. The Basques want to live better, with certainty about employment and welfare, and with top level public services. With economic strength. Achieving all this requires first achieving institutional development and government commensurate with the challenges.

Our strategy aims to encourage growth in Euzkadi, to grow from a political, social, economic and institutional standpoint; to achieve the gradual institutionalisation that involves the recognition of Euzkadi as a free nation on the international stage. Economic growth and institutional growth are the foundations that should underpin the achievement of greater social cohesion and development. Creating well-distributed wealth for a cohesive, strong society in Europe should be our choice. To exercise sovereignty day by day, consolidating spaces that we have conquered and taking new steps.

Euzkadi is an old nation, which is renewing and strengthening itself. Euzkadi should be a nation in Europe, along with some that already are, such as Estonia or Croatia. In addition to others who are calling for their place, such as Scotland, Flanders or Catalonia. We should set our sights wherever the European train goes, to link political sovereignty with economic sovereignty, without confusing economic sovereignty with economic protectionism, because we want and need a Euzkadi that is more independent and, at the same time, more open to the world.

Our gateway to the world is Europe. It is our natural geopolitical and economic space, from which we also look to the rest of the continents.



Europe itself is a reality that affects us more and more often. 80% of European legislation is applied directly in the member states. Political communities in the South Euzkadi with their own personality and competences cannot remain outside the scope of European decisions. We do not want to be subsidiary or subordinate in this, nor in the North Euzkadi where we aspire to a new model of local government with institutions that have the powers and the autonomy necessary for the development of this area. We believe that the project of the Basque nation has a future, and it has it on its own merits, as a reality that seeks space and recognition at the same level as the rest of the states in the heart of the European Union.

Therefore we must look further ahead. We need to develop a project for the economic, political and cultural internationalisation of Euzkadi, based on our socio-economic model, on our own political institutions and maintaining the fact of the cultural difference of the Basque people.

This project should have Europe as its first destination, but it should reach the new global scenario. Euzkadi, a nation in Europe and in the world. Close to countries which we are linked to by economic, cultural or emotional ties, because they have large Basque communities. And also with countries that we have less of a relationship with, but which are an opportunity for our businesses. We must approach them with determination.

We are a country that knows how to do things, that makes the effort to do things well. Therefore we have to create, enhance and position our own brand, the Basque brand. A brand that represents the Basque Country, with values and an identity of our own, different, plural and open to the world, that affects our country in a positive way and contributes to our participation on the world stage in an open dialogue between countries and cultures. This also includes the institutionalisation of relations on the basis of a Basque territory, the shared cultural territory that locates the Basque community in the world. A territory that goes beyond the limits of political limits known today and that takes in those who, by free will, feel and express themselves as Basques.

### **3.- Building a nation-state via a strategic process**

In order to meet the challenges of competitiveness and internationalisation, we need the most cohesive Basque society possible. In turn, internationalisation and decisions about the sectors in which we have to be competitive will allow our society to come together. A society that works efficiently and that really is the sum of all those who want to join it, in which all rights are recognized and which can develop a system of effective self-government. A Basque nation for a new social and economic development.

We need this new system of Basque self-government to be based, as we said in the steps given in the framework of the ADOS initiative, on respect for all democratic options, of a spirit of agreement and on the decision of the Basques. We need to strengthen and consolidate the Basque space of democratic coexistence.

The first essential ingredient in this recipe is Peace. If we have been capable of reaching the current level of welfare in a context of violence, we must ensure that this new era, the end of the cycle of violent activity by ETA, is an opportunity for a new start. A time in which, of the free will of our people, our legitimate political aspirations can become reality.

To do this, as well as more self-government, we must foster a new culture based on democratic political and civic participation, in the modernization of the processes of government. From maximum transparency and rigour in the management of our institutions, promoting participation spaces for citizens and social and economic agents. The EAJ-PNV should not be left outside this momentum, and we should set ourselves up as a leader and example in this field.

We require not only participation but also collaboration and co-responsibility. Political lack of communication and continuing confrontation weaken the configuration of common resources to advance as a country.

It is essential to build a political climate that allows us to reach agreements and manage the differences in a regulatory context, shared by the majority. A partnership that feeds the dynamics of national construction, based on the strengthening of our institutions.

Any shared project for the future of Euzkadi will need social and political legitimacy. Beyond the agreements of the parties and social partners, the degree of social consensus over the project of the new global institutionalisation of the Basque nation, it will come, conditioned by the effective exercise of the expression of the Basque society. The irrefutable role of Basque society is to be able to formulate its desires through the expression of democracy in the polls, because the legitimate base of the institutionalisation of Basque society lies with its citizens. The decision of the new political status for Euzkadi will always be in the hands of the Basque people, and the Basque citizens of the BAC and the Community of Navarre, as well as the people of Iparralde.

This new political status should be at hand to provide solutions for our great challenges; to improve our competitiveness, to generate employment, to achieve top level continuing education and training, to organize a sustainable quality health system, and develop advanced social policies for cohesion and coexistence. All this from a model of sustainable development, underpinned by institutional development and by the exercise of good government.

Building on what we have achieved. Euzkadi, a nation of identities. A nation of strong will. The right to be the owners of our own fate. The right to have our own model for a society at the forefront that allows all the Basques to look ahead, to advance and grow.

## C) PROPOSALS FOR EUZKADI, NATION OF EUROPE 2015

These new challenges demand specific answers to continue moving forward as a nation.

The horizon of 2015 is very important for Euzkadi. Possibly, the economic cycle will have changed and, if the appropriate measures are taken, we will be generating employment. Also, the curse of ETA's violence will have ended for ever. We also hope, at a political level, to be on a new stage, moving towards the construction of a Basque nation. With this future, and with this objective, the EAJ-PNV has brought a series of proposals that will allow us to continue to grow as a nation and to improve our answers to the needs of the citizens in the new global scenario in which we find ourselves.

### **1.- Peace and Harmony**

The search for peace is a social imperative. Our society cannot understand how the political parties step up their efforts to reach agreements over minor issues and, by contrast, are calculating and selfish when it comes to the major interest, peace.

There are as many prices for peace as unavowable desires to get it, but only if personal benefits are obtained by getting it. Peace for all is not achieved after an interim payment of profits to be gained by each political agent. Peace is what it has always been, the object of political calculation, if not negotiation.

Peace is a priority. Peace for all has as a premise and condition the absence of fear, and as a result and prize, the end of the terror and democratic normality. It is not possible for us all to win if everyone is determined to "win." If ETA is sparing with its decisions, calculating the success or benefit the legalized nationalist left will get from them. Or if, on the other hand, the government of the day or the opposition party, with a desire for victory, seek to profit from the end of violence as a springboard to electoral and political goals. Neither attitude is now admissible.

The antecedent in this period, following the strength of society at large in the delegitimation of the practice and justification of violence for political ends, and after the uprightness of Basque nationalism in institutional commitments, took place in November 2009 with the unilateral declaration of the traditional left-wing nationalists, assuming the "Mitchell principles", i.e., using exclusively political and democratic means.

This statement, endorsed in Brussels and Guernica, and accepted by groups of ETA prisoners includes the demand to ETA for a "permanent ceasefire, unilateral and verifiable by the international community as an expression of a definite will to abandon their armed activity."

Before anything else, the key to the process is the total incompatibility between dialogue and violence. Therefore, the acceptance of a resolving phase towards peace and normality in coexistence starts with a complete cessation of violence. Thus, dialogue and negotiation are not in themselves an instrument of the peace process, but a consequence of a verifiable desire for the end of violence.

ETA must stand aside, absolutely suspend its military activity, and do so in ways that can be proven externally through an institutionally authorized and ratified verification.

Similarly, ETA must cease to be a political reference. Not only must it silence its weapons, but also cease to be a leading reference in the process. Only a civil settlement can build a lasting peace.

When these expectations have been met, the new political times will require us to share views and assessments of the validity of the abandonment of violence. We will link our assessment to a definition agreed between the political parties about the abandonment of violence and a shared verification of its authenticity.

The Basque Nationalist Party believes that it is time to act with the responsibility that Euzkadi demands, and to this end, establish the following considerations:

⇒ ***Peace requires a process with guarantees***

There is an element of decision which clearly lies with those who exercise violence, as to what is the will of ETA to end its activity.

The political parties and social partners can contribute to creating the social, political and legal conditions that contribute to this decision. Therefore, the end of violence cannot be addressed with a mixture of hurry and good intentions.

The EAJ-PNV, who cannot accept a process with no guarantees, demand of ETA its acceptance and unconditional respect for the decisions we Basques may take freely.

⇒ ***Dialogue and negotiation***

The necessary condition for a decisive dialogue process is the complete cessation of violence by ETA, as well as compliance by the Spanish state of the current legislation, both internally and internationally, in questions of Human Rights. In this context, the dialogue should be aimed at a technical negotiation process for bringing about the absolute end of violence and terrorism.

⇒ ***The disassociation of the traditional left-wing nationalists from ETA***

The reformulation of traditional left-wing nationalism as a democratic, autonomous organization should have the recognition and legitimacy that the legal framework establishes for other political organizations, with the same level of rights and obligations, restoring the full civil rights that a political party has in a democratic system. Such recognition will not only serve for the sociological and electoral rebuilding of Basque society, but will also permit the political debate to reach a path of civil and institutional standardisation.

⇒ ***A process with parliamentary validation***

The resolution adopted in Congress by all parliamentary groups except the PP, in May 2005, literally citing point 10 of the 1988 Ajuria Enea Agreement, declared that *"if there are suitable conditions for a negotiated end of violence, based on a clear will to put an end to it and unequivocal attitudes that can lead to this conviction, we support dialogue processes between the competent authorities of the State and those who decide to abandon violence, whilst respecting at all times the undeniable democratic principle that political issues must be resolved only through the legitimate representatives of popular will..."*

Now, as before, the EAJ-PNV maintains these principles, although our earlier experience from previous processes leads us to believe that any initiative of technical or sectorial dialogue with ETA, for the sake of a verifiable exercise of the permanent abandonment of its armed activity, should have *parliamentary authorisation, parliamentary control and parliamentary sanction. Only the people's representatives in their natural seat, the Parliament, can guarantee the success of the dialogue or assume its failure without further cost.*

⇒ ***Penitentiary and reintegration policy in the service of Peace and Harmony***

In a democracy, prisoners are entitled to basic rights that public authorities have a duty to respect and protect in all circumstances. If anything characterizes the rule of law in the area of prison policy, it is that it is always aimed at social reintegration. In that sense, a flexible application of the Criminal Code, the serving of sentences in prisons close to the homes of the detainees, the consideration of their families and relatives as potential agents of peace and reconciliation and, in no case as *collaterally guilty* are today more than ever, essential elements in the service of pacification.

This does not require any precondition. It is, therefore, the time to give, finally, a new orientation, an agreed, dynamic and flexible approach to prison policy. We therefore reiterate the commitment of the EAJ-PNV to this challenge. In any case, it is something that we believe should have been done already, according to the resolutions adopted by the Basque Parliament in 1997 and by the Congress in 1998.

### ⇒ ***The road from Peace to Harmony***

We want and seek a fair peace, as something that Basque society needs inexorably after so many years of violence. But we must not forget that the ultimate goal should be harmony, reconciliation. The suffering, the pain suffered by the victims must be acknowledged by everyone, with generosity and high-mindedness. So we will have to design and lead that difficult path from peace to harmony. Other people have succeeded. We must also do so.

### ⇒ ***Conclusion***

As progress is made at this stage and irrefutable steps are taken to consolidate an option for peace and normalization, the Basque Nationalist Party will encourage and participate in the proposal of joint initiatives with all political parties and institutions in ways that contribute to achieve these ends.

## **2.- Updating historical rights, enshrining the right to decide**

In recent years much has been said and written in relation to the existence and the characteristics of the Basque political problem. There are even political groups and leaders who have denied that it exists. They deny the larger question to say immediately afterwards that any change of political status in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) must have a higher popular support than the Statute of Autonomy currently in force in the Community, not to mention their closed positions with respect to Navarre.

Despite everything, there is no doubt that the issue of Basque nationalism exists.

We can put a precise date to the beginning of the Basque political conflict; the abolition of the Fueros. We can also establish a specific area to determine the end of this conflict: full foral reintegration, or if you use the current terminology, the updating of Historic Rights of the Basques, with the recognition of the right and ability of Basque people to decide their own future.

For years we have experienced a situation of political disagreement. We have been unable to agree, but we can recognize the reality with honesty and objectivity. A photograph of what the majority of our society wants can be summarized in four points:

- Basque society demands comprehensive Peace. Living together without violence must be built on respect for all human rights and freedoms of individuals.
- Basque society is democratic. The treatment of political problems should be based on dialogue, negotiation, agreements and democratic principles.
- Basque society is made up of people who willingly recognize themselves as a nation. They have stated repeatedly and in the majority their will for national self-definition which should be respected through the right to decide.

- Basque society is plural. It is composed of people with different political, cultural and national identities which should be respected by an ongoing commitment to dialogue and consensus. Moreover, the Basque language Euskera is suffering from a situation of minoritisation which the EAJ-PNV has always tried to overcome and will continue in this endeavour until it manages to do so.

With the restoration of political pluralism and the definitive disappearance of violence for political purposes, the way must be opened to the articulation of a broad consensus that will update the political will of the Basque People.

With respect to the matter of Navarre, and also aware of the different correlation of its political forces, we do not discard the possibility that in this new scenario, in this territory, which is a real political subject, they will be able to determine with complete freedom the political regime that their citizens see fit. The EAJ-PNV, as a political party in Navarre, will fight because of the historical, cultural, linguistic, economic and social ties that unite the BAC and the Territories of Lapurdi, Lower Navarre and Zuberoa in Iparralde for the establishment of a confederated legal framework, which starts with recognition and respect for what is agreed in each of the three areas of decision.

An agreement based on dialogue as a basic tool for defining and giving rise to a new legal-political formula that respects the rights of the majority and minority.

An agreement that will lead us from unilateralism and subordination by way of fact, to the bilateralism and a relationship on an equal footing by means of the law.

An agreement to preserve the coexistence of different national identities and realities.

Our aim is to update the old laws to new laws, to provide us with a new status that is based on peer agreement and consensus in the political arena, and bilateralism and guarantees in the legal field.

Achieving this new deal for a new era of political coexistence in Euzkadi is a priority and involves the following commitments:

- Agreeing that the most basic democratic principle requires providing the majority will of the citizens with a relevant normative value, which means that the political and institutional actors concerned must negotiate the necessary adjustments that respond to the clear expression of that will.
- Agreeing that Basque society is a people with the right and ability to decide their future, to be consulted and that their democratically expressed will should be respected.
- Agreeing that Basque society is composed of plural identities that must coexist through mutual respect in a democratic setting.
- Agreeing that the method of conflict resolution is based on dialogue and negotiation, on the broadest possible agreements among political forces or, failing that, on respect for the majority position in society.

- Agreeing that the whole democratic process requires inclusion rather than exclusion, it requires equal basis, which means no threats, and that all political traditions may have a legal expression.

As reflected in the bases of what could have been the agreement of Loyola, we need an inclusive agreement between the different political sensitivities of the country to establish democratic coexistence and provide us with a new legal-political framework that is widely shared, that guarantees us a scenario of stability. A shared agreement, developed and enriched by the political parties, dealt with in the relevant institutions and which has been approved by the Basque people. A broad-based majority agreement should incorporate a level playing field for creating any political project, which does not happen at the moment, because while the PP or the PSOE have a nation with a constitution, the society to which the EAJ-PNV belongs does not have a recognized right to have its own constitution.

Self-government has made the cycle of change possible. The rejection of terrorism is the sine qua non condition for the free exercise of politics (the game of political parties and alliances) and institutions (practical government and alternation). Citizens who know the political actors, along with the excellent results that self-government has provided in terms of modernization of the country, have enabled this new cycle.

We have grown in every way; Basque society wants and demands to continue to grow. Now is the time when we can and must access a new status, with political will there are ways and legal and political tools to achieve this, as demonstrated by the handling of the New Political Statute for the Basque Country since 2004, which was rejected by the Spanish parliament, without respecting its own rules.

This is a status that exceeds the blockade to which the State has submitted the Basque national question: since political transition the constitutional process, in which Basque nationalism was excluded with the implementation of the LOAPA and the consequent delay in full compliance of the Statute of Guernica, the failure to consider the Resolution in favour of the right to self-determination adopted by the Basque Parliament in 1990, with the refusal of the proposed New Political Statute for the Basque Country approved by an absolute majority in the Basque Parliament in 2004, and the refusal of the recent constitutional reform proposal presented in September 2011.

It is necessary to achieve a new Agreement involving the political and legal recognition of the Basque nation, affirming the right and ability of the Basque people to decide their own future freely and democratically.

We begin a new era in which the decision, the will of the Basques, shall be the beginning and end of a democratic path. The EAJ-PNV is called to develop a strategic leadership in political terms to strengthen Euzkadi, to back the achievement of a new agreement; an agreement that enshrines the right to decide as an exponent of a free and democratic society.



### **3.- An open agreement, an agreement for the 21st century**

The agreement that we are looking for will be inclusive. It will be one that the public will largely endorse. An updated agreement involving mutual recognition, equality of conditions and one which accepts the real possibility of carrying out any political project based on the democratically expressed will of Basque citizens, through their free decision.

The Basque people, Euskal Herria, a melting pot of different cultures, is identified by means of the Basque language, culture, tradition, or the country's own provincial legal institutions; it finds its presence and expression both in the BAC, and in Navarre and in Iparralde.

The Basque people are the group of citizens that make up the Basque Nation. This is an agreement that recognises, enshrines and enables free adhesion to the new legal, economic, institutional and political framework, if most of the citizens agree to it. An agreement that includes the assumption of the principle of respect for the wishes freely and democratically expressed by the population.

Moreover, if that sum of all the territories does not occur, this Agreement should ensure the existence of institutional channels for collaboration, and secure the fundamental cultural ties that make up the community of the Basques. We will continue to work in this way to achieve full formalization and real promotion of Basque in Navarre and in Iparralde, as well as working to overcome the social situation of social minoritisation in the BAC.

### **4.- Recovering a Government committed to its country**

The EAJ-PNV claims that political changes in the democratic institutions are a sign of normality and maturity in a society which strengthen their representation in every situation or policy cycle. The Basque Nationalist Party recognises, therefore, that its institutional shift, mainly in the Basque Government, was a difficult ordeal to overcome, basically because of the circumstances surrounding this transition and political manoeuvring it was based on.

After some time, having demonstrated the ineffectiveness of that political strategy, as also seen in Navarre, the Basque Nationalist Party proposes, as a short-term goal, to recover the institutional leadership of the BAC. The priority is therefore to get all the popular, social and political support it can.

In this regard, the Basque Nationalist Party commits itself to reinforcing a clear profile of their own, recognizable by the majority of Basque society. A profile that identifies both the value of "management" or technical competence, and also our view of self-government and national and social building of Euzkadi. We recognise self-government linked only to the will of the majority of Basque society, without any dogmatic prior conditions, seeking broad complicity in society and acting intelligently in the State and the European Union, in order to obtain also the ability to agree in these areas.

Recovering the institutional leadership in the autonomous community with an eye to the whole of Euzkadi together, not as a sign or claim of hegemony but as an expression before Basque society of a new government committed to its country and demanding with itself.

A new government which, having learned from its previous mistakes, feels supported in making a call to a new time and space for our country –consonant with the proposal we made in the ADOS Project– for creating with the largest and widest agreement possible, a new contract for living together in Euzkadi.

## **5.- Economic development; cooperation agreement for employment and the Basque system of labour relations**

Economic recovery and job creation require a great pact for cooperation between all sectors of society.

This is our proposal. A pact that must have, as a fundamental axis, the creation of jobs coming from a more competitive Basque economy that encourages higher sustainable growth. This pact, which must include all the institutions (governments and provincial and city councils) and socio-economic agents, should seek a breakthrough in competitive matters in enabling job creation and economic-social development.

This pact must rely on our own system of labour relations. We need economic and social agents Basque to agree here, taking into consideration the context of our own social and economic reality.

An agreement that combines the concepts of economic development, social improvement and national construction.

There are two ways in which to intervene without delay; first, the modernization of active and passive employment policies, and second, the reformulation of the way the collective bargaining system works.

The first of these ways requires active upgrading of policies that have not met the basic objective of improving the real employability of those who are in work, and the overall productivity of the economic system.

The transfer of this authority to the BAC, achieved through the negotiation of the EAJ-PNV in Madrid, is a great opportunity for much of our society, as long as it is oriented towards an integrated vision between the worlds of business, education and employment.

We must look to configuring a powerful system of training, guidance and professional integration, built on the real demands of companies, in which there is lively participation of working people, training centres and job placement agents. A system that allows the

adjustment of the employee to the needs of the market without any social and personal cost.

A system that promotes the culture of work, effort, innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship, lifelong learning and cooperation. In short, the professionalism and employability of our citizens, which is a real challenge in this global economic moment of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

It is also necessary to act on passive employment policies, contained in the Statute of Guernica as our own responsibility and not yet transferred to the BAC. A responsibility which, together with active policies, is essential to building a Basque framework in autonomous labour relations; the transfer and exercise of these policies are key to the EAJ-PNV.

Passive policies should link receiving unemployment benefit and the activation of the unemployed more closely. Passive policies should move from a model that is limited to "subsidising the unemployed", to another in which labour downtime leads to re-education and vocational training.

The second way refers to the collective bargaining system, which also has substantial deficits. Collective bargaining has to adapt to an increasingly complex, global and interconnected environment. It should be an instrument to encourage the adaptability of the business to changing conditions in the economic environment, not a limiting straightjacket for it. It is urgent and necessary to move forward from a system that sees industrial relations from the perspective and strategy of confrontation, to one whose cultural background is cooperation, dialogue and consensus between different interests. Only then can it act on key issues for the future of the Basque economy.

The economic and social moment requires high-mindedness and assuming responsibilities.

The current socio-labour framework is going under, and calls for a profound transformation.

In any case, we must be realistic and be aware that in the coming years, many jobs will remain unstable and many wages will remain low. In addition, social benefits should be measured and be very close to actual needs. All this means a reformulation of our internal economic model, adjusted to new times.

We must move towards a model that promotes and ensures the real participation of workers in information, management and business results. This model has brought benefits to countries that have used it and the agents who have participated, and it can ensure solidarity, maintaining jobs in times of crisis, the motivation that facilitates competitiveness and commitment among the workers to the company better than other systems.

Denmark, Holland, Germany or Austria, for example, have also faced this challenge in previous years. They have undertaken the task of reshaping their collective socio-labour framework and today are a model for many countries. They form an accumulation of historical experiences of success that all the Basque territories can learn from.

This is no time for confrontation but for cooperation, shared work, responsible and constructive discussion to get the design and development of our great social innovation right; a new framework of employment for the 21st century.

## **6.- Euzkadi, present in the world**

At the beginning of a new era, we need the world to rediscover Euzkadi, to know and understand a reality, an identity, a unique and distinct culture, which aims to have its own space among other nations. In this context, the internationalisation of Euzkadi becomes an inescapable challenge for our national character.

A challenge that underpins our international recognition, our position in the world. To do this, we must banish the stereotype generated for years that has linked Euzkadi with violence. A stereotype that has hindered us as a people, which has marked our abilities negatively, which has prevented people from seeing in its entirety the true Euzkadi, its uniqueness, the will of its people, its history and traditions, as well as the potential of this nation.

Euzkadi must define a strategy of internationalisation of the country in all its parameters: institutional, cultural, social, educational and economic. "*Eman ta Zabal zazu Munduan fruitua*" (Bear fruit and spread it all over the world).

Euzkadi, with its knowledge and recognition, should conjure up the image of a country that has a future in the global economic context, in the cultural world, which wants to be a reference in innovation, solidarity, education, human development, where the human factor is a fortress of knowledge and other powers in our territory.

We need a strategy based on the pursuit of international recognition in social and political terms, the existence of the Basque people and their rights. A strategy of internationalisation of our identity, culture and of the Basque language. And also of economics and business, developing strategic public-private partnerships, supporting our businesses, universities and technology centres, through the configuration of institutional and social networks that will help ensure and promote the competitiveness Euzkadi.

We need to promote a strategy to accredit the quality of the Basque product at international level. The quality and the values of responsibility and confidence that are inherent in our people. We need to apply that to our industrial products, our tourism products, our services, our institutional know-how, so that can be both a distinctive element of our external action and recognition of a job well done and a requirement of continuous improvement.

An identity institutionally approved, capable, through objective parameters, of reflecting the criteria of innovation, quality, sustainability, protection of the physical and social environment, economic reliability and national identity.

We need, in addition, to promote Euzkadi with force. This is why it is essential to have Basque delegations in those areas that are strategic for our Country. These delegations

should have, in addition to a political nature of institutional representation, also an economic nature, in the service of our business.

At the same time, we need, and in this desire we will put all our efforts towards political action, a greater presence in all areas of European and international decision-making, in the forums that discuss regulations and measures that affect our responsibilities and interests as a society and as a country.

Our purpose is that Euzkadi should be more present in the world.

## **7.- Openness, communication, participation, transparency and the fight against corruption**

If anything is evident at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is the need to renew and to fit public and private behaviour to a new political culture.

The societies of today demand of their public representatives, as well as of their political parties, a new way of governing and communicating with the public, to solve the problems, besides being very demanding in their ethical standards.

The EAJ-PNV has full confidence in the maturity of Basque society and in its ability to decide and to participate in the development of political, social and economic life. In a comprehensive framework, this party will always be at the forefront, from a rational and progressive prism of participatory democracy and 2.0 politics.

The EAJ-PNV has to lead this new political culture in Euzkadi. Therefore, we will defend and put into practice a new way of doing politics from respect and non-enforcement. If we demand it of the Spanish state, we have even more reasons to apply those values here; dialogue, integration and pact, as well as transparency and the fight against corruption.

In this regard, we will take on more commitments, even more specific with the transfer of rules, so that no particular interest or group has an impact on the organizational life of this party, with total independence from the *burukides* (elected members of the EAJ-PNV governing board) and political and institutional tables at the highest levels in each area.

The party members and those who wish to be part of the Basque Nationalist Party are renewing and we personalise each of the specific ethical commitments that promote the regeneration of the image of our public activity and allow us to recover the confidence of the public in political representation.

We will promote, beyond what we've done so far, transparency and participation, openness of our legislative and executive institutions to the citizens. Real democracy is the same as transparent and participatory democracy. Maximum transparency and participation for a better informed, more active and more committed public. With capacity to give opinions, to propose and to decide.

## D) WORKING FOR TOMORROW

The commitment of the EAJ-PNV is to move in time with the political challenges of Euzkadi for 2015 with a response to the demands and needs that the Basque society faces every day.

A political party is its ideas, as well as its people and organization. Therefore, looking forward to its General Assembly, the EAJ-PNV will present its document "Working for tomorrow", in which it lays out the responses and sectorial commitments of the Party.

Our goal is to maintain the constant drive of social relations which for many years has allowed us to know and understand social demands, to get ahead in the preparation of proposals, as well as putting them into practice.

The baggage of knowledge and experience that we treasure allows us to look to the future now again, to tomorrow, and make a diagnosis of the economic, social and cultural situation, together with the answers that we are going to use to meet the challenges we face as a country.

Policy initiative is the engine of the EAJ-PNV, which moves the proposals and projects for the construction of a more economically competitive society, with a top-level system of education and health, socially cohesive and with the assurance of good public government.

These are the keys to the document "Working for tomorrow", the response of a party committed to the leadership of Euzkadi from the base.