Contemporary Basque Politics
Center for Basque Studies
University of Nevada, Reno
Cross listed: PCS 407V and BASQ 407

Course: Contemporary Basque Politics
Instructor: Dr. Xabier Irujo
Semester: Spring
Schedule: Wed. 16:00-18:45
Room: Center for Basque Studies (Mathewson-IGT Knowledge Center), Conference Room 305N

Contact information

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Nota bene

Please read this syllabus carefully, for your decision to enroll in this course constitutes your acceptance of the requirements stated in it.

This is an elective course; you are not required to take it. One main topic of this course is censorship versus freedom of expression in the Spanish state. Students will be required to read, view, ponder, and write about the works read in the course. No one will be excused from doing this work and no alternative assignments will be given.

This syllabus represents my best effort to project the design of this course. Nonetheless, I reserve the right to modify any aspect of the course as the need arises.

Course Description

Subsequent to an introduction of the history of Basque politics and law, this course initiates students to the Basque political conflict (1789-). The Basque political conflict offers an interesting case study for the analysis of a process of state making in the context of a multinational Western European state, marked by a strong clash of political and cultural identities, continuous violations of human rights and episodes of state terrorism and genocide. Furthermore, during the German occupation of the Northern Basque Country, the Basques became part of the Holocaust.

We will examine contemporary Basque politics on its many different aspects, studying works, laws and relevant documents produced under the different historical periods of the contemporary Basque Country.

After an initial presentation of historical background information, each session will be devoted to an aspect of contemporary Basque politics. A final exam will cover all required reading assignments. Lastly, each student will design a creative project of 10,000 words in response to one of the topics we have studied and present it to the class.
As an upper-division elective, the class will be dedicated to refining advanced notions of cultural understanding. The entire course content will enhance political and cultural knowledge of the Basque Country.

**Course objectives**

To explore the relationships between history and politics within the context of the 19th and 20th centuries, in both the Spanish and the French states, during the War of 1936, the German Occupation (1940-1944) and the Francoist dictatorship (1936-1975), with special reference to the Basque Country and other stateless nations in Europe;

To gain insights from a range of disciplines and genres that have contributed to the political and sociocultural history of the contemporary Basque Country, drawing upon works of politics, history, culture, criminal justice, films and documentaries;

To understand the sometimes confused, often changeable, and complex meanings attached to “nation,” “self-determination” and “genocide” within the context of Western Europe;

To gain an understanding of the post-dictatorial quest for independence, justice, reconciliation, and forgiveness in the 21st century, after two centuries of war, violence, deprivation and economic depression.

This course satisfies CORE OBJECTIVE 10: Students will demonstrate an understanding of diversity through courses that focus on topics such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, physical ability, language, and/or social class with an emphasis on the analysis of equity. Students will apply and evaluate approaches or modes of inquiry used to analyze diversity and equity and the social barriers to these goals.

**Student Learning Outcomes (SLOs) and Correlation to Core Objectives (COs):**

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

1. Demonstrate an understanding of Basque history and politics in the 19th and 20th centuries and be able to analyze complex moral, socio-political and cultural issues relating to the administration of terror in the context of western state-making of the 19th and 20th centuries;
2. Identify and articulate the multiple ethical interests at stake in situations of total war, terror bombing, atrocity, crime, genocide and holocaust from a historical, political and legal standpoint;
3. Analyze the contemporary concept of human rights in light of humanitarian international law and issues of race, ethnicity, marginalized groups and the inequities they suffered (CO10);
4. Articulate characteristics of the socio-economic, historical and political context in the Basque Country from the beginning of the 19th century, through Franco’s dictatorship, and up to the contemporary democracy, gender and political inequities and political troubles (CO10);
5. Use advanced search strategies in library research databases and tools to find primary and secondary sources for the term paper;
6. Present ideas in a clear, persuasive manner, both orally and in writing.

See the course schedule for specific lectures/discussions/assignments/other activities that offer students opportunities to practice skills related to the SLOs listed above.

Students will acquire the competencies through a research paper that will integrate and synthesize students’ knowledge of the macro and micro-history of Basque politics derived from reading assignments and other
learning materials. Their leadership and participation in structured discussion groups will help them integrate and synthesize such knowledge as the semester progresses. The research paper and two exams are designed to gauge the extent of student success in meeting this Core Objective.

Assessment Methods and Plans for the Evaluation of Students' Work

The final grade for the course will be based upon a total maximum number of points @ 1,000.

Students will earn their grades by completing the following course components. To estimate your grade, fill in the corresponding blanks below with the results of your work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Points</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classroom participation (SLOs 2, 4, 6)</td>
<td>100 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midterm examination (SLOs 1, 2, 4, 6)</td>
<td>200 points</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research paper (SLOs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)</td>
<td>400 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Examination (SLOs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)</td>
<td>300 points</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Total 1,000 points

The grading scale is: A 100-94; A- 93-90; B+ 89-87; B 86-84; B- 83-80; C+ 79-77; C 76-74; C- 73-70; D+ 69-67; D 66-64; D- 63-60; F below 60.

All classes are conducted in English. You may consult with me before or after class, during office hours, by phone or via e-mail in English or in Basque.

Any written assignment may be submitted early, but no written work will be accepted late. No exam missed without justification can be made up. Please, coordinate your other commitments with the syllabus throughout the course and consult with me if a conflict should arise. If you must miss a class unexpectedly, please leave a message for me. In the event of an absence caused by an official university-recognized activity, jury duty, or a medical emergency, please provide written documentation in a timely manner.

If you have difficulty with the course for any reason, consult me sooner rather than later so that we can work out strategies to help you complete the course successfully.

Punctual attendance and active participation: **100 points**. Punctual attendance at all class meetings is obligatory. There will be a great deal of group work and discussion required in this class. If you are not in attendance, you can contribute neither to your own learning nor to that of your peers. Attendance and participation are graded components of the course. Every student begins with 200 points. For every class missed, a student will lose 50 points. Thus, you can improve your grade by making every effort to attend every class. To miss three classes (200 points, 30% of the course) will result in failure of this course.

Active participation in all aspects of the course is essential. Participation does not imply only speaking, but rather actively contributing to the discussion. If you have done the assigned readings and have prepared for each class, it will be all the easier for you to participate.

Assess your own participation periodically during the semester: Are you well prepared for every class? Do you speak up in class to offer your opinions and share your ideas? A good rule of thumb is this: If I have to call on you, you are not participating enough. Rather than waiting for me to call on you, choose the time you feel most comfortable joining in and then seize the opportunity.

**You will take a midterm exam (200 points) and a final exam (300 points).** The midterm and the final will entail short-answer questions and 2 to 3 short essays, one of which will focus on issues of diversity and equity. Study guides for both exams and in-class revision will be provided. The exams may be comprised of 1)
identification of clips or stills from the lectures, documentaries or films, 2) commentaries on quotes from the articles and documents we have read, 3) short-answer questions, and 4) a choice of essay questions. Be prepared not only to analyze individual documents but also to compare and contrast various papers, authors or times.

The tests will cover all assigned lessons, readings, lectures and class discussions. Evaluation of the exams will be based on accuracy of expression as well as on content. Students will be asked in no ambiguous or uncertain terms in these exams to demonstrate through concrete examples and cultural comparisons how they relate or correspond to the course SLOs. Course materials such as films and documentaries added to questions have been developed so that students can make greater connections.

No exam missed without justification can be made up.

**Research project/paper and presentation in class: 400 points.** Students will be able to work on the project primarily through bibliography that the professor will help providing. Also, through class discussions and the midterm, since all the topics that the students have to choose among are an integral part of the course. The course material and assignments will fully enable students to meet the CO10 standards.

After you have learned about the Basque culture, politics, history and economy, assimilated the implications of their socio-historical context, and explored what scholars have to say, I would like you to respond creatively. Create a project related to what you have learned in this class from the list of topics that I will provide. Then bring it to class and tell us about it. So, after reading and studying the books, reading secondary sources and pondering a while, you will choose a topic, analytical or comparative, and elaborate a thesis statement on one of the topics studied in class. Then, you will develop a paper, (6,000 words or 37,000 characters with spaces), using at least three secondary sources. It will include the following parts: Introduction (10%), thesis (70%), conclusions (15%) & bibliography (5%). It has to have footnotes. Written in English, your paper will conform to the format in the fifth edition of the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* (LB2369.M53 2009 & LB2369.M53 2003) or *The Chicago Manual of Style*. The paper must be submitted by e-mail in digital format and is due the last Wednesday of November.

Please be advised that the first draft of your paper must be your own work. Do your best work on your own. Then, on the second draft, you may seek help from me or from another professor to improve your paper. You must document any help you receive on a separate acknowledgment page. You must also document any written materials you use to write your paper. Follow the *MLA Handbook* or the *Chicago Style Manual* for documenting your sources. By following these guidelines, you will produce an academically honest paper.

Your work will be evaluated on the basis of elaboration of a thesis statement, organization of content, compelling argumentation, accuracy of expression, sophistication of style, appropriate use of terminology, and appropriate format.

At the end of the semester, you will present your final paper to your peers.

**The assignment may be submitted early, but the paper will not be accepted late.**

**Additional expectations for graduate students at 600-level:**

To receive graduate credit for this course, students will complete a longer essay, which will be roughly 10,000 words in length, including footnotes and bibliography and the rest of the requirements explained above. They will be expected to read more extensively than undergraduates, and this should be reflected in their essays. Each graduate student will receive two tutorials from the instructor. Tutorials will focus on their additional reading and chosen essay topics. Essays will be evaluated according to the following additional criteria:
• To what extent and how does the essay utilize the additional reading expected of graduate students?
• Does the student’s writing reflect broad familiarity with approaches to the concepts of total war, terror bombing, atrocity, crime, genocide and holocaust from a historical, political and legal standpoint;
• Does the student’s writing demonstrate his/her understanding of the complex moral and socio-political issues that people face in civil and world wars?
• Is the student able to analyze key themes within an interdisciplinary framework that includes political science and history?

Student learning outcomes: In addition to the SLOs outlined in 5.), graduate students will be able to:

• Apply the concepts of “self-determination” and notion of “genocide” in their analyses of case studies relating to Basque politics;
• Demonstrate a clear understanding of the dynamics of contemporary Basque politics.

Due dates for written assignment/dates of exams

Midterm Exam: To be announced.
Term Paper: To be announced.
Final exam: To be announced.

Statement on Academic Dishonesty

“Cheating, plagiarism or otherwise obtaining grades under false pretenses constitute academic dishonesty according to the code of this university. Academic dishonesty will not be tolerated and penalties can include canceling a student's enrollment without a grade, giving an F for the course or for the assignment. For more details, see the University of Nevada, Reno General Catalog.”

Statement of Disability Services

“Any student with a disability needing academic adjustments or accommodations is requested to speak with the Disability Resource Center (Thompson Building, Suite 101) as soon as possible to arrange for appropriate accommodations.”

Statement on Audio and Video Recording

“Surreptitious or covert video-taping of class or unauthorized audio recording of class is prohibited by law and by Board of Regents policy. This class may be videotaped or audio recorded only with the written permission of the instructor. In order to accommodate students with disabilities, some students may be given permission to record class lectures and discussions. Therefore, students should understand that their comments during class may be recorded.”

Statement for Academic Success Services

“Your student fees cover usage of the Math Center (775) 784-4422, Tutoring Center (775) 784-6801, and University Writing Center (775) 784-6030. These centers support your classroom learning; it is your responsibility to take advantage of their services. Keep in mind that seeking help outside of class is the sign of a responsible and successful student.”

Reading assignments
Students will be required to read the following books:


We will also use documents (articles and other texts) available in the internet and the notes written by Dr. Irujo.

**Additional Bibliography that students may find helpful and available at the Basque library at UNR (these readings are optional, not required)**

**State Terrorism**


The Basque Political Conflict


**Videorecordings**

• Barker, Greg (Dir.), *Francisco Franco*, Films for the Humanities & Sciences, Princeton (NJ), 1996. (V11384)

• Bernstein, Sidney; Hitchcock Alfred (Dirs.), *Memory of the Camps*, 1945.1

• Chomsky, Marvin (Dir.), *Holocaust: The Story of Man's Inhumanity to Man*, Worldvision Home Video, New York, 1988. (V10538 pt.1)

• Diack, Anne (Pro.), *English only in America?*, Films for the Humanities & Sciences, Princeton (NJ), 1997. (V07122)

• Franco, Franco, Franco, Films for the Humanities & Sciences, Princeton (NJ), 2005. (DVD2307)


• Lanzmann, Claude (Dir.), *Shoah*, New Yorker Video, Hollywood (CA), 2003. (DVD0923)

• Luftwaffe, *Feuertaufe - Der Film vom Einsatz unserer Luftwaffe in Polen*, 1940. (D765 .F484 2006) Online German version: http://www.archive.org/details/1940-Feuertaufe

• Marengo, Paul, *Hitler's Hidden Holocaust* [Before Death Camp: Einsatzgruppen Facts], Creative Differences Productions for National Geographic Channel, 2009.2

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1 In February 1945 the Psychological Warfare Division (PWD) of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force decided to compile a documentary film on German atrocities under the name “F3080”. Sidney Bernstein, chief of PWD’s Film Section started to compile film material shot by the American, British and Soviet armies after the liberation of the Nazi Concentration Camps. However, on July 9, 1945, the Psychological Warfare Division was dissolved. The project was never finished until Frontline first broadcasted it in May 1985.

2 German mobile killing units (Einsatzgruppen) operated in German-occupied territories in eastern Europe during World War II. This rare footage shows a mobile killing unit during a massacre in Liepaja, Latvia. The film was taken, contrary to orders, by a German soldier. Before the war, the Jewish population of Liepaja stood at more than 7,000 residents. German mobile killing squads shot


Pierson, Frank (Dir.), *Conspiracy*, HBO Home Video, New York, 2001. (DVD2191)


Riefenstahl, Leni (Dir.), *Triumph of the Will = Triumph des Willens: das Dokument vom Reichsparteitag 1934*, Connoisseur Video Collection, Santa Monica (CA), 1995. (V08748), (DD253.28 1934 .T75 1986) and (DVD2205)

Stevens, George (Dir.), *Nazi Concentration Camps* [Produced and presented as evidence at the Nuremberg war crimes trial], 1945. Online version: [http://www.archive.org/details/nazi_concentration_camps](http://www.archive.org/details/nazi_concentration_camps)


**Web Pages**

- National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism: [http://www.start.umd.edu/start/](http://www.start.umd.edu/start/)

**Magazines**

Political Science

• American Journal of International Law (American Society of International Law): http://www.asil.org/ail.cfm
• American Journal of Political Science (Midwest Political Science Association): http://www.ajps.org/
• American Political Science Review (American Political Science Association): http://www.apsanet.org/content_3222.cfm
• Comparative Political Studies (SAGE Publications): http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal200828
• Comparative Politics (City University of New York): http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/
• Contemporary Politics: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/ccpo
• Democratization: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/fdem
• European Journal of International Relations (European Standing Group on International Relations (SGIR) of the European Consortium for Political Research): http://ejt.sagepub.com/
• European Journal of Political Theory (SAGE Publications): http://ept.sagepub.com/
• Global Crime: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/fglc
• Journal of Conflict Resolution (SAGE Publications): http://jcr.sagepub.com/
• Journal of Genocide Research: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/cjgr
• Journal of Peace Research (Peace Research Institute Oslo): http://jpr.sagepub.com/
• Journal of Politics (JOP Cambridge Univ. Press): http://www.journalofpolitics.org/
• Language Policy: http://www.springer.com/education+%26+language/linguistics/journal/10993
• Peace and Conflict, Journal of Peace: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/hpcn
• Political Analysis (official journal of the Methodology Section of APSA): http://polmeth.wustl.edu/analysis.php
• Terrorism and Political Violence: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/09546553.asp
• West European Politics: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/fwep
• World Politics (Princeton University): http://www.princeton.edu/piirs/

Philosophy

• American Philosophical Quarterly (University of Illinois Press): http://www.press.uillinois.edu/journals/apq.html
• Analysis (Oxford University Press): http://analysis.oxfordjournals.org/
• British Journal for the History of Philosophy (Routledge): http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/09608788.asp
• Synthese: http://www.springer.com/philosophy/epistemology+and+philosophy+of+science/journal/11229
Course calendar. Contemporary Basque Politics (PCS 407v / BASQ 407)

Lecture 1

Introduction (Reading Assignment: Irujo, Xabier; Cenarrusa, Pete, On Basque Politics. Conversations with Pete Cenarrusa, chapter one, pp. 15-83.)
Human geography of the Basque Country

Documentary

Lecture 2 (SLO 1, 4, CO11).

Students will explore the concepts of the socio-economic, historical and political context in the Basque Country in the beginning of the 19th century (CO13)

Ancient Basque legal institutions: From the 12th to the 19th century (Reading Assignment: Irujo, Xabier; Cenarrusa, Pete, On Basque Politics. Conversations with Pete Cenarrusa, chapter two, pp. 85-116.)
Proto-democracy and cooperativism

Lecture 3 (SLO 1, 4, CO11).

On the origin and characteristics of the ancient Basque legal institutions (Reading Assignment: Baleren Bakaikoa and Eneka Albizu, Basque Cooperativism, pp. 35-71. Book available online at: https://basque.unr.edu/books-current_research-download.html)

The Code of Laws of Estella (1076)
The Kofradiak (Guilds)

Lecture 4 (SLO 4, CO11)

Students will explore the concepts of constitutionalism; identify & analyze the ethical issues related to the drafting and approval of a constitutional text.

State making and political identity vs. nation making and cultural identity (Reading Assignment: Irujo, Xabier; Cenarrusa, Pete, On Basque Politics. Conversations with Pete Cenarrusa, chapter three, pp. 117-140.)
The creation of the modern state and political conflicts in the 19th century Europe: 1789
- State making processes and strategies for de-nationalization
  The concept of “constitution” and “constitutionalism”
  Ethnic conflicts, cultural conflicts or global conflicts?
Early programs of the Basque political nationalism (1833-1876)
- Nationalism and human rights: Social, cultural, economic and political rights

Recommended documentary
- Mouseland

Lecture 5 (SLO 2, integrating CO12 Ethics)

Students will explore the concepts of total war and terror bombing; identify & analyze the ethical issues at stake when such phenomena occur.

The Fourteen Points and Greenville’s Hypothesis
War economy and terror warfare: the concept of “control without occupation”
Four Political Theories of War: Franco, Mola, Richthofen and Gomá
Terror Warfare in the Basque Country: Gernika, April 26, 1937

Recommended documentary
- Riefenstahl, Leni, *Triumph of the Will = Triumph des Willens: das Dokument vom Reichsparteitag 1934*, Connoisseur Video Collection, Santa Monica (CA), 1995. (V08748), (DD253.28 1934 .T75 1986) and (DVD2205)

**Lecture 6 (SLOs 2, 3, 4. CO11 and 12)**


Fascism, Nazism, National-Catholicism and other totalitarian doctrines
Dictatorship and Occupation (1936-1945)
From the Madagascar Plan to the Final Solution: Concentration Camps and Death Camps

Recommended documentary and film:
- Pierson, Frank (Dir.), *Conspiracy*, HBO Home Video, New York, 2001. (DVD2191)

**Lecture 7 (SLOs 2 & 3)**

War against Nazism and Fascism: From Gernika to Pearl Harbor (Wiernik Yankel, *A Year in Treblinka*; available at http://www.zchor.org/treblink/wiernik.htm)

The Basque Government in exile (1937-1975) and the cooperation agreements with the U.S. Office of Strategic Services during World War II
The Cold War and the end of the agreements

**Lecture 8 (SLOs 2, 3 and, CO11/12 through the readings)**


The U.N. Resolution on Spain (Document A/40) and the public denunciation of the Spanish regime Atrocity vs. Crime: Crimes against Peace, War Crimes, Crimes against Humanity and Genocide
The Genocide Convention of 1948

Recommended documentary:
- Willard, Brennan (Dir.), *The Crime with No Name.*

**Lecture 9 (SLOs 1, 3, 4)**
The Francoist regime: The Organic State (Reading Assignment: Irujo, Xabier; Cenarrusa, Pete, *On Basque Politics. Conversations with Pete Cenarrusa*, chapters six and seven, pp. 223-293)


Transition from dictatorship into democracy (1975-2013)

Violence and transgression of human rights in democracy

Political institutions of the Basque Country: a nation, two states and a supranational entity, the European Union

The control of the majority by the minority (Elections in 2009)

Recommended documentaries:


**Lecture 10 (SLOs 1, 3, 4)**

Political Parties and Programs. The Two Blocks: Spanish-French Constitutionalism vs. Basque Nationalism

Violence Today: Terrorism and counter-terrorism (Reading Assignment: Irujo, Xabier; Cenarrusa, Pete, *On Basque Politics. Conversations with Pete Cenarrusa*, chapters eight and nine, pp. 295-338)

ETA (1954-2012)

Political consequences of violence: The Batasuna and Egunkaria cases

Anti-terror laws and human rights (1975-2013)

Political conflicts and world-wide peace-making movements

Conflict resolution in the Basque Country (1998-2013)

The concept of justice of Desmond Tutu and the Basques in 2013: Brian Currin

Recommended documentary:


**Lecture 11 (SLOs 1, 3, 4)**


Cultural rights and cultural genocide

Modern history of a standard minority language (1789-2013)

A political theory of languages

The Basque language and the new states (1789-2013)

Recommended documentary:

- Diack, Anne (Pro.), *English only in America?*, Films for the Humanities & Sciences, Princeton (N.J.), 1997. (V07122)

**Lecture 12 (SLOs 1, 3, 4)**

The right for self-determination (1918-2013) (Reading Assignment: Irujo, Xabier; Cenarrusa, Pete, *On Basque Politics. Conversations with Pete Cenarrusa*, chapters eight and nine, pp. 387-438)

On the ship of Theseus: Culture and identity, basic aspects of politics

Liebig and the concept of territoriality

Identity across borders: Transnational identity, transnational nationalism

Construction and deconstruction of identities: The Europe of the states vs. the project of the Europe of the peoples
Lecture 13
General Overview

Lecture 14
General Overview
Contemporary Basque Politics. Questionnaire

By the end of the semester the students will be able to answer 280 questions that we are going to explore in class and in both the required and supplemental readings through the semester.

The questions on the mid-term and final examinations will be chosen from the following list.

On Politics

1. Origin of the word. “Politics” comes from the Greek word “Πολιτική” (polis) meaning city or state. “Politics” therefore described in origin anything concerning the state or city affairs.

2. Groups of definitions of the concept “Politics”

   - Social relations involving authority or power. The total complex of relations of the people living in society.
     a. Politics consists of “social relations involving authority or power” and refers to the regulation of a political unit, and to the methods and tactics used to formulate and apply policy.
     b. Conflicting interrelationships among people in a society. Competition between competing interest groups or individuals for power.
   - Instinctive aim for organizing the distribution and rights on the sources. Practical ethics: day to day ethics. Ethics with practical limitations.
     b. Politics as a part of sociobiology. Politics are the nerve or the bone of societies.
   - Politics is the process by which groups of people (civil governments, corporate, academic, and religious institutions) make decisions and organize themselves.
     a. The science of government; that part of ethics which has to do with the regulation and government of a nation or state, the preservation of its safety, peace, and prosperity, the defense of its existence and rights against foreign control or conquest, the augmentation of its strength and resources, and the protection of its citizens in their rights, with the preservation and improvement of their morals.
     b. The art of government or governing, especially the governing of a political entity, such as a nation, and the administration and control of its internal and external affairs.
   - The management of a group within a group (party).
     a. The conduct and contests of parties with reference to political measures or the administration of public affairs; the advancement of candidates to office; in a bad sense, artful or dishonest management to secure the success of political candidates or parties.
     b. The methods or tactics involved in managing a state or government.

3. Political science (also political studies) is the study of political behavior, and examines the acquisition and application of power. Related areas of study include political philosophy, which seeks a rationale for politics and an ethic of public behavior, ethics, sociobiology and public administration, which examines the practices of governance.

4. On Concepts regarding a definition of Politics:

   Authority and legitimacy
   Sovereignty
   Territoriality
   Nationalism
Centralism
Federalism
Confederation
Union (European Union)
Unionism (statism)
Culture
Human rights
Civil rights
Political rights
Cultural rights
State of law
Constitution
Hierarchy of law
Autonomy
Political conflicts
International relations
Violence
War
Terrorism

5. Two different perspectives of politics:
   - US administration and the political role of a super-power: “All politics is local” Thomas P. O'Neill.
   - The Basque administration and the role of a nation without state: “All politics is international”

On Culture

6. Mention some of the main aspects of a complex definition of the concept “culture” (Culture as a “cocktail”)

7. Groups of definitions of the concept “Culture”
   - Systems of knowledge shared by a group of people.
     a. Collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another.
   - Theory of life of a group of people (Way of life); behaviors, beliefs, values, and symbols that they accept, generally without thinking about them, and that are passed along by communication and imitation from one generation to the next.
     a. Culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving.
     b. Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other hand, as conditioning influences upon further action.
   - Civilization or cultivated behavior; the totality of a person’s learned, accumulated experience which is socially transmitted, or more briefly, behavior through social learning.
     a. Culture is the sum of total of the learned behavior of a group of people that are generally considered to be the tradition of that people and are transmitted from generation to generation.

[18]
• Inner capability to face life (Sociobiology); one of the main elements of survival (an inner necessity, a necessary tool) and the main network of human understanding.
  a. Communication and imitation (empathy). Symbolic communication learned and deliberately perpetuated in a society through its institutions including symbols as skills, knowledge, attitudes, values, and motives.

8. Synonyms of the concept “culture”: civilization, background, mores, traditions, ethnicity, customs, way of life, ethos, philosophy, nation, urbanity, cultivation, sophistication, refinement…

9. Ethimology of the term “culture”: from the Latin noun cultura derived from the Latin verb colere meaning “to cultivate”.

10. Mention some of the most relevant aspects of the Basque culture.

On the definition of Identity (On a theory of identity)

11. Groups of definitions of the concept “Identity”

• The collective aspect of the set of characteristics by which a thing is definitively recognizable or known (distinctive character).
  a. The set of behavioral or personal characteristics by which an individual is recognizable as a member of a group (essential self: the characteristics and qualities of a person, considered collectively and regarded as essential to that person's self-awareness; the set of characteristics that somebody recognizes as belonging uniquely to himself or herself and constituting his or her individual personality; possessing character or personality regarded as a persistent entity).
  b. The condition or fact of being a specific person or thing (individuality: the condition of being the same as a person or thing described or claimed).
  c. The distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity; individuality.

• The set of essentials or particulars that unite groups of elements or people (groups united by identity of interests).
  a. The quality or condition of being the same or exactly alike as something else (sameness; oneness).
  b. Equation true for all its variables: An equation that is satisfied by any number that replaces the letter for which the equation is defined, this is, an equation which is true for all permissible sets of values of the variables which appear in it: Ex.: x – y = (x + y) (x 6 y) (Mathematics).
  c. Identity element: set element that leaves others unchanged: an element of a mathematical set that leaves other elements unchanged when combined with them. Ex.: 7 x 1 = 7

12. Which are from your point of view the basic elements (semas) of a definition of the concept “identity”? 
13. Ethimology of the term “identity”: Word of the late 16th century < late Latin identitas < word with the root ident- which is a combining form of Latin idem meaning “same” and id meaning “that”.
14. Synonyms of the concept “identity”: sameness, oneness, correspondence, indistinguishability, identification, individuality, uniqueness, distinctiveness, self, personality, character, eccentricity…
15. What connection do you observe between “identity” and “lineage” or “family”? 
16. Comment on the long term impact of loss of a loved one (through death) on one’s identity.
17. Is identity static or dynamic?
19. Is identity individual or collective?

On Culture, Identity and Politics

20. What do you think the concepts “cultural determinism”, “cultural relativism” and “cultural ethnocentrism” mean?
21. Could we also speak about “identity” in terms of “determinism”, “relativism” or “ethnocentrism”?
22. What connection exists between culture and identity?
23. What do you understand as “cultural differences”? Is there anything in the definition of “culture” and “identity” that may be considered “universal” (apart from the main concept “definition”)? May we speak of “cultural reconciliation”? What does from this scope the concept “globalization” mean?
24. Which may be, from this scope, a theory of “racism”?
25. Can Identity be “transnational”? Explain. If so, which do you think are the key elements of a definition of “Translational identity”?
26. Is the Basque Country a state or a nation? What is the difference between “state” and “nation”?
27. Should a “state” have “identity” or “nationality”? How do you conceive a “state” without “cultural identity”? Explain.
28. In this sense, which is the importance of “symbols”? Are symbols cultural, political or both at once?

Basque Language

29. What can you comment on regarding the origins of the Basque language?
30. When and where was the Basque language first spoken in Europe according to the latest theorists?
31. Mention some key historical events in the history of the Basque language.
32. Which are, in your opinion, some of the main elements of a cultural description of the Basque language?
33. What is the connection between language, culture and identity?
34. Which connections do you perceive between Basque language and politics?
35. Why do you think the Basque language has become a “political issue” in the Basque Country?
36. What connections do you observe between “Basque language” and the “Basque political conflict”? In what sense does that anything to do with “identity”?
37. Which is the connection between the Basque language and the claim for independence in the Basque Country?

Basque ancient customary law

38. What are the “Foruak”?
40. Give a definition in your own words of the concept “orube”.
41. What would you underline about the institution of “maiordazgoa” or “premua” and the inheritance in the ancient Basque legal system?
42. What is the “trunk” family? Could you discuss on some of the differences between the Basque family structure and the American one?
43. What is a “contract”?
44. What is a “donatu”?
45. Which are the three main factors that shape the family structure of a given culture, society or nation?
46. Mention some (three or four) of the social factors that characterize the Basque family structure.
47. Mention some of the women’s rights in the Basque Country.
48. Which was the connection between political rights and house ownership in the Basque Country?
49. What does the “fogueral” vote mean?
50. What was, in general, the importance of common land in the Basque Country?
51. Mention some of the civil and political rights women enjoyed, according to the ancient Basque legal systems.
52. Mention and comment on the seven principles of the ancient Basque political codes.

53. Do you think that is there some similitude between the American democracy and the Basque ancient way of understanding equality? (Take into account John Adams’ IV Letter)

54. Consuetudinary laws based on culture, expression of the life of a nation. When culture becomes law, can we say that freedom or democracy (understood as it is in the Basque codes) is one of the constituent elements of the Basque culture? In other words, is freedom as shaped in the ancient Basque codes one of the elements of Basque identity, one of the cultural essentials for being or feeling Basque?

55. Do you think that liberty also has languages? That liberty and freedom are part of the cultural background of a nation? Comment on this quotation of De l’esprit des lois (1748) by Montesquieu on the different significations of the word “liberty”:

There is no word that admits of more various significations, and has made more varied impressions on the human mind, than that of liberty. Some have taken it as a means of deposing a person on whom they had conferred a tyrannical authority; others for the power of choosing a superior whom they are obliged to obey; others for the right of bearing arms, and of being thereby enabled to use violence; others, in fine, for the privilege of being governed by a native of their own country, or by their own laws.

56. Comment the following text (comment it looking at the meaning of “freedom” that you may deduce from this text written in April 15, 1440):

The land of Baztan and its inhabitants and the residents living in it since ancient times were conquerors of lands, as ever referred to them in the ancient laws, and those who populated these lands were noblemen, free, acquitted of any bad laws and unbound to any servitude, attached and under the protection of the General Law of Navarre, and all have a term of his own, and it is of their own, and not attached to the services of the King, and their ancestors in their time and the current inhabitants now have built and have make build in this land churches, palaces, houses, cattle buts, trashing floors, mills, farmlands, fields of apple trees, gardens, orchards, fortresses of stone and wood, and many other buildings, and have enjoyed and benefited from their lands after their first came here, sowing and planting and plowing where they wanted in this land, and also have taken, received and depleted, distributing, enjoying and taking advantage of the fruits that God, openly and freely, has given to them and gives to them, without being forced to pay a tribute for it.

57. Comment on this.

Equality, the law of laws, would be one of the first elements of any definition of liberty. Also in the case of the Basques. The meaning of the universal nobility that has such a presence in the Basque ancient codes is the sharing of equal liberties for every citizen. And also the idea of a unique citizenship so all the citizens of the nation have the benefit of the same civil and political rights. Together with these principles, there are some rights that have a persistent and unambiguous appearance in all the Basque Codes through the history of the Basque law:

- Almighty popular assemblies
- The compulsory oath of the Lord and the King in front of the assembly and their promise of maintaining, defending and improving the laws
- Federalism
- The division of powers
- Right to vote in open assemblies
- Right to be elected for any public responsibility per term
- Right to elect all the officials of the Republic per term
- Right not to pay any tax that has not been passed and contracted in assembly
- Free trade
- Right to detent and make use of the common land in hands of the assemblies
- Habeas Corpus and other procedural rights
58. What is “liberty” or “freedom” for you? Does it have something to do with what you consider to be your
“identity”. In what sense?
59. List and comment on four of the seven main Basque Legal Institutions.

Origins of the Basque political nationalism (1789-1830)

60. Cite some early expressions of the Basque patriotism before 1789. Can you mention some political
sources for this period of time?
61. Why do we speak of “nationalism” only after 1789?
62. To what extend can we speak about Basque regionalism from 1795 to 1876? What are we making
reference to? What is the difference between regionalism and nationalism?
63. What are some early expressions of Basque nationalism (if there are any) before the end of the 19th
century?
64. What are some early expressions of the Spanish or French nationalism in the Basque Country in the late
18th or early 19th centuries?
65. Do you think there is a link between the origin of Basque nationalism and French and Spanish
nationalisms?
66. Who was Dominique Garat?
67. Who was Agustin Chaho (1810-1858)?
68. Who was Jose Mari Iparragirre?
69. What was the Carlism? List some 5 to 10 key Carlists.
70. Cite 10 main ideological sources for studying the Carlism as a political movement.
71. Explain 7 main elements of the Carlism as a political ideology.
72. What was the Liberal Party? Which were the main ideological guidelines of the party?
73. Can we say that the Liberal Party was a nationalist political party? Why?
74. What is the political meaning of the law of 1839?
75. What is the political meaning of the “Ley Paccionada” of 1841?
76. Do you consider that there were ideological or political streams within Carlism?
77. Do you think there is a link between Carlism and Basque nationalism during the 19th century?
78. Explain the meaning of the Law of suppression of the Basque ancient laws of 1876.
79. Explain why you think the Basque Country suffered two revolutions (1789 and 1823) and 4 wars (1794,
1804-1812, 1833-1839, 1872-1876) in that period of time?

Basque political nationalism after the Second Carlist War (1876-1894)

80. What is the “Restoration”? What were the main political goals of the political architects of this historical
period?
81. What was the evolution of Carlism after the defeat at the battlefield (from 1876 to 1911)?
82. What political parties existed in the Basque Country between 1876 and 1903?
83. Do you think that Sabino Arana “invented” or “created” Basque nationalism?
84. What is Euzko Pizkundea? What did it stand for? Do you consider it was an ideological, political or
cultural reaction? Why? Reaction to what?
85. Which were the main goals of Euzko Pizkundea? What was Eusko Ikaskuntza? And Euskaltzaindia?
Why were they created? Who created these two institutions? Were they political or cultural institutions?
86. Was there a different nationalist party created before the PNV?
87. For the period 1876-1911, how many ideological perspectives can you identify within Basque nationalism? Can we say that there was one nationalism or several types of Basque nationalism?
88. Who was Estanislao Aranzadi Izkue? Who was Arturo Campion?
89. Who were the Euskaros? Cite some key political works by them.
90. What was the “Gamazada”?
91. Why do you think the PNV was created in 1894/1895?
92. What can you say about the inner organization of the PNV?
93. Cite seven main political works by Sabino Arana.
94. What were the seven main political principles of Sabino Arana’s nationalism?
95. What were the symbols of Arana’s nationalism? Were they invented or designed by him or were they pre-existing?
96. What were the main guidelines of Sabino’s political program within the PNV?
97. Why was Sabino Arana taken to court and jailed? Describe the processes.
98. What was the program of the PNV after Sabino’s death (1903-1930)?
99. What can you explain about Arana’s Christian Democracy?
100. Outline the main guidelines of the ideological development of the Jeltzalism between 1903 and 1930.

Gernika 1937

101. What happened on July 18, 1936?
102. Why did U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers say that the “Spanish Civil War” was a “Prologue to World War Two”?
103. What was the Movimiento Nacional?
104. What is the National-Catholicism?
105. What was the Non-Intervention Agreement?
106. Why did the German and Italian governments assist General Francisco Franco in his coup against the Republic?
107. Who was Hermann Goering and why was he interested in bring the Luftwaffe to war?
108. Who was Wolfram von Richthofen? Which were his strategic ideas regarding the use of the air force in a modern war?
109. What does “terror bombing” mean?
110. Give six reasons why Gernika was bombed.
111. What happened in Gernika on April 26, 1937? Describe the bombing.
112. What does “carpet bombing” mean?
113. What was the international impact of the bombing of Gernika?
114. What was the reaction of the U.S. administration regarding the bombing of Gernika?
115. What was the reaction of Senator Borah regarding the bombing of Gernika?
116. What measure was adopted at the U.S. Congress as a result of the bombing of Gernika?
117. What was the official version of the Spanish, German and Italian administrations regarding the bombing of Gernika after the event?
118. How was Gernika rebuilt?
119. Which were the main consequences of the bombing of Gernika?
120. Describe the exile of the 32,000 Basque refugee children.
121. Who was Cardinal William H. O’Connell of Massachusetts and what was his position regarding the evacuation of Basque children from the Basque Country?

OSS and the Basque Secret Services

122. What did President Jose Antonio Agirre decide to do after the capture of Bilbao in June 1937, surrender or keep on fighting? How?
123. How did the Basque government in exile reorganize its army in order to take part in World War II?
124. Who was Manuel Irujo and what was his role in London after the occupation of Western Europe by the Germans in 1940?
126. What cooperation agreement was signed between the Basque government and the U.S. administration in May 1942? Which was its goal? Explain.
127. Which measures did the UNO adopt in 1946 against the Spanish state?
128. What is the Drumbeat Report (1947) and how did President Truman react to it?
129. Who was Pat McCarran and what did he propose at Congress in 1950 regarding the Spanish regime?
130. How did the policy of the Eisenhower administration regarding the Spanish regime change as compared to the one headed by Truman?

On the Long Dictatorship: Atrocities and Crimes

131. What is an “Organic state”? Was the Francoist regime an Organic state?
132. Which were the main characteristics of the Spanish regime between 1937 and 1975?
133. Which was the Lawyers Committee of the American Bar concern regarding the diplomatic recognition of the Spanish government by the U.S.?
134. What is an “atrocity” and what is a “crime”? Explain.
135. Explain some of the legal problems involving the trial of war criminals after World War II. What does the principle first coined by Feuerbach in 1813 “Nullum crimen, nulla poena sine praevia lege poenali” mean?
136. What does “Ex post facto” or retroactive law mean? Why is it relevant in the context of the legal problems involving the trial of war criminals after World War Two?
137. What is a “War Crime”? Explain.
138. What is a “Crime against Peace”? Explain.
139. What is a “Crime against Humanity”? Explain.
140. Could an atrocity be considered a crime against humanity and a war crime at the same time?
141. Could the bombing of Gernika be considered an atrocity? Could it be considered a War Crime or a crime against humanity? Explain.
142. Why was the massacre of Gernika not included in Nuremberg? Explain.
143. What is “Genocide” according to the Genocide Convention of 1948?
144. Would Himmler have been considered guilty of a crime of genocide for being the main responsible for the killing of millions of human beings in gas chambers during World War II? Explain.
145. Why was the legal figure of “cultural genocide” removed from the first and second drafts of the Genocide Convention?
146. List some of the major cases of mass murder in the twentieth century. Are them “atrocities”? Are them “crimes of genocide”? Explain.

ETA

147. What was Ekin in 1954?
148. When did Ekin become ETA?
149. When and why did ETA become a terrorist group?
150. Explain if there is a difference between a “terrorist” and a “freedom fighter”. Explain.
151. What were the “Burgos Trials” in 1970? How did they impact the Basque Country and the international media? Explain.
152. What was the impact of the Burgos Trials in the U.S.?
153. Why did the Idaho houses pass the first Memorial regarding the Basque political conflict in 1972? Explain the Memorial.
154. Who was Carrero Blanco and what happened in 1973?
155. Why did ETA continue its bombing campaign after the death of General Franco in 1975?
156. What happened in Hipercor in 1987?
157. What was the GAL (1983-1987)? Explain.
158. Explain the Negotiations of Algeria in 1988. Why they did not bring a permanent peace?
159. What is the Lizarra-Garazi agreement of 1998?
160. Why was Aralar founded in 2000?
161. What was the aim of Idaho’s second Memorial of 2002?
162. Who was Javier Rupérez and why did he protest for the approbation of the second Memorial? What was the reaction to Rupérez declarations at the houses in Idaho?
163. What happened after the truce of 2006? Explain Idaho’s third Memorial of 2006. What are the main aims of it?
164. What can you say about ETA’s truce in 2010? In which way is it different to previous peace attempts?
165. Which are the different “views” or strategies regarding a peace process in the Basque Country?
166. In what way are they similar and different the situations of Ireland (IRA) and the Basque Country (ETA)?
167. What is the content of the Year Report of Amnesty International regarding the anti-terror actions of the Spanish executive?

Transition to Democracy

169. What does it mean “transition to democracy” in political terms?
170. What was the procedure of transition to a democratic parliamentarian system followed by the revolutionaries in the thirteen colonies in 1776?
171. How can you describe the transition to democracy of the Spanish state in 1975-78? Explain which steps were taken.
173. Why were the Basque nationalist political parties opposed to the Law of Political Reformation?
174. What was the result of the referendum for the Spanish constitution in the Basque Country? Explain.
175. What is the Basque Autonomous Community? And the Chartered Community of Navarre?
176. Name the main institutions of the Basque autonomous communities within the Spanish state.
177. Which is the link between the Basque institutions and the Spanish central administration?
178. Which is the difference between Hegoalde and Iparralde regarding the political administration of the ancient Basque states?
179. What is a “Statute of Autonomy”?
180. What was the “Ibarretxe Plan” of 2003? Was it passed? Explain.
181. What is a “Status of free association”? Explain it regarding the Basque Country.

Anti-terror Policies

182. How can you describe in your own words what an “anti-terror policy” is?
183. Explain what “preventive arrest”, “inviolability of the dwelling” and “judiciary warrant” mean.
185. What does “Isolation” mean in the context of procedural rights? Why does it suppose a violation of basic human rights?
186. How does governmental detention violate basic human rights?
187. In what way does the Spanish or the U.S. anti-terror legislation disregard the principle of presumption of innocence?
188. In what way does the Spanish or the U.S. anti-terror legislation disregard the principle of effective judicial protection?
189. In what way does the Spanish or the U.S. anti-terror legislation disregard the principle of inviolability of the dwelling?
190. In what way does the principle of preventive detention disregard the principle of presumption of innocence and several other procedural rights?
191. In what way does the Spanish or the U.S. anti-terror legislation disregard the principle of the division of powers?

192. In what way are the Spanish and the U.S. anti-terror legislations related?

193. What does “favor libertatis” mean in the context of anti-terror legislation?


195. Explain the principles on which the Spanish Organic Law 7/2003 of 30 June is founded.

196. What does “justicia a la carta” mean?


198. Why was Javier Rupérez elected president of the Counter Terrorist Committee of the United Nations for the period 2000-2004? Explain what relation did this decision have with the war in Iraq.

199. Which are the main risks of pieces of “emergency legislation”?

200. Which are the risks of the involvement of the victims in the process of rewriting of the Criminal Code?

**The Batasuna and Egunkaria Cases**

201. What is the “judicial war” against ETA? Explain.

202. Who are the “Superjudges”?

203. Explain the fight for the control of the General Council of the Judicial Power in the Spanish state.

204. What is the Batasuna case of 2003? Explain.

205. Explain the principles on which the Organic Law 6/2002 of Political Parties was based. Comment it in your own words.

206. Explain in your own words under which principles should it be allowed to close a political party in a democratic state? Should it be allowed at all?

207. Analyze the closure of a newspaper in the light of the freedom of association or the freedom of expression.

208. The newspaper Egin was closed temporarily in 1998 by order of examining magistrate Baltasar Garzón. Explain.


210. What was the reaction of Amnesty International regarding the closure of Egunkaria?

211. What was the reaction of MIDAS regarding the closure of Egunkaria?

212. What has been the reaction of the Idahoan press to the closure of Egunkaria?

213. How has the Egunkaria case closed? Comment the sentence 27/2010 by judge Javier Gómez Bermúdez.

**Language Policies**

214. What is a “minority language” or a “lesser used language”?

215. What is an “endangered language”?

216. What is a “standard” or “normalized” language?

217. What is an “official” language?

218. What are some of the principles behind a monolingual legal strategy in the context of a multilingual society?

219. How may you describe monolingualism?

220. What is a “language policy”?

221. Which are the main characteristics of the European language policies in the nineteenth century?

222. Which has been historically the main strategy in order to make languages disappear?

223. Provide some data on endangered or extinct languages of the UNESCO. Comment them.

224. How do you think we may explain that 90% of the extinct languages have no official status?

225. Which is the best strategy for protecting endangered languages?

226. Looking at the data on the Basque language, is there a connection between the increment or decreasing of the number of speakers of a given language and the legal status of that language?

227. What endangered languages are there in the U.S.? And in the Spanish and French states?
228. How many languages are spoken in the state of Nevada. Which is the social and legal situation of each of them? Comment.
229. The Basque language did not have any legal status from 1936 to 1978 in the Basque Country. What is the legal status of the language today?
230. How many different administrations affect the Basque language speakers? Which are the differences?
231. Explain the “Language models” dealing with education in the Basque Country?
232. What is language diversity? And cultural diversity? Explain why should we promote cultural diversity.

Political Parties and Ideologies

233. What are the three political blocs in the Basque Country today? Which are the main political or ideological guidelines of each of them?
234. What is EAJ-PNV? Explain.
235. What is EA? Explain.
236. What is Batasuna? Explain.
237. What is Aralar? Explain.
238. What is Izquierda Unida-Ezker Batua? Explain.
239. What is PSOE? Explain.
240. What is PP? Explain.
241. What is UPN? Explain.
243. What is NaBai? Explain.
244. What is Batzarre? Explain.
245. What is PSN? Explain.
246. What Basque political parties have representation at the French state?
247. What can you tell about the French electoral system and the Basque nationalist representation?
248. In 2009 the Constitutionalist bloc had 46.95% of the votes and earned 51.96% of the parliamentary representation meanwhile the Basque nationalist bloc won 48.28% of the votes and has 46.6% of the parliamentary representation. Explain how it is possible?
249. Which is the political situation (political representation by parties) at the Basque Autonomous Community’s parliament today? Comment.
250. Which is the political situation (political representation by parties) at the Chartered Community of Navarre’s parliament today? Comment.

Peace engineering and conflict resolution strategies

251. Is there a Basque political conflict? Or is the conflict cultural in nature and origin? Are all political conflicts cultural conflicts in origin?
252. If the solution to any conflict should be based on a previous diagnosis, peace building should be built on understanding. Then, which is the origin, nature and scope of the Basque political conflict?
253. Political violence is the product of the political conflict, or the origin of it? What is the scope and meaning of violence in the Basque Country?
254. In this sense, what is peace, a goal or a solution?
255. Which have been the main causes bringing Batasuna to ask from ETA a farewell to arms?
256. How much faith should we have in ETA’s peace declaration?
257. What does ETA’s declaration mean for the Basque Country?
258. Why has ETA made this decision? Which have been the main elements bringing ETA to an end?
259. With an upcoming victory by the Popular Party in Spain, could ETA’s declaration be jeopardized?
260. Who are the victims of the conflict?
261. Has the Basque society been a victim of terrorism also?
262. What can be done to help the victims?
263. How should we understand the concept of justice in the current post-violent stage of the peace process?
264. Should the Spanish government now send ETA prisoners closer to home?
265. Should the anti-terror legislation be adjusted? Should the Criminal Code be modified?
266. What is the biggest obstacle for a solution to the Basque political conflict today?
267. Is dialogue a key to solving the Basque political conflict and, if so, which are the main obstacles for setting a round table of negotiation?
268. Once a table of negotiation is settled, which are the main obstacles its members have to face?
269. What measures should be taken for ETA to disappear after its farewell to arms?
270. What can you comment on the responsibility of the political representatives and media in the context of a peace building process?
271. What role do you believe the political and social organizations in the Basque Country should play in the current post-violent stage of the peace process?
272. What role do the Spanish and the French governments play in this peace-building process? And what role should they play?
273. Is the Basque Government promoting peace? Is the Navarrese government involved in the process?
274. Is the Basque Government promoting solutions for the constitutional future of the Basque Country?
275. How should we interpret the results of the May 2011 elections (61 percent Basque nationalist vote at the BAC) regarding the peace process?
276. Should a referendum on the constitutional future of the Basque Country be held? Why?
277. What should a referendum on the political future of the Basque Country ask the citizens?
278. Is self-determination a basic human right? Is it universal? Should it be a universally recognized right?
279. Is self-determination one of the keys to solve the Basque political conflict? Is the recognition of the right of self-determination the key for solving political conflicts?