

Being Basque

*Every constitution... naturally expires at the end of 19 years.
If it be enforced longer, it is an act of force, and not of right.*

Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, Paris 6 September 1789

*"All cats have cat faces,
and all oxen have ox faces,
but most men do not have man's faces.*
Pío Baroja

Abstract

Being Basque: How to change a country; Global Society & Local Response; Learning to be.

In the 21st century local culture moves the world. The previous, unsuccessful "global beats local" paradigm has opened the way for a new one, in which local culture and values hold the keys for development. In fact, in the Stiglitz's words, "countries that have taken care of their own destinies are the ones that have profited the most from a globalized world".

In this context, the Basque Country's socioeconomic transformation model within the last few decades has risen some international interest. In this particular case, E. F. Schumacher's prophetic words from the 1970s are now truer than ever: "small is beautiful". As Basque renowned physicist Etxenike claims, our biggest challenge in today's world lies on the small, local culture: we need to bet on an economy that looks up to the world without forgetting its own roots. And the growing number of countries in the UN and EU is the living proof of that.

Today's hope in regards to economic and social development relies on the R+D+I+K polynomial (Research + Development + innovation + culture - culture with a "k", because that's its initial in Basque). Research, development and innovation policy experiences are of course still reliable, even advisable, but it has become blatantly obvious that no policy can work everywhere. There's no applying the same recipe or the same magic formula for development. What works in one place doesn't necessarily need to work in another one. And the reason for that is as simple as it seems: each place has its own local culture, values and ways that need to be taken into account for policies to be successful.

This is why individual, distinctive projects are not just important, but determining for successful development in a globalized world. Local identity today is not just political concept, but the basis of sustainable human development.

Progress with "roots, faces and eyes"

The world we live in is complex, hectic and cruel. Every day in our lives, we are demoralized by an increasing number of images showing crude inhumanity, appalling poverty, massive migrations in search of opportunities, refugees fleeing from horror, people looking for better lives in crowded tiny boats that often end up at the bottom of the sea along with their dreams, despicable terrorist attacks... We are also demoralized by the responses being provided here in the self-proclaimed "developed world," because they lack intelligence and respect for human dignity. They are responses which seem to come from the past, responses which attempt to overcome problems that we ourselves have created by raising walls, treating people like cattle. More often than not –as we are seeing in the present– they are based on the old adage that "if you want peace, make war," a folly that has caused so many troubles and deaths in the human race. As a result, we seem increasingly closer to consummating the curse that "mankind will get it right in the end, but only after going down all the wrong paths."

We are facing complex problems, profound changes and massive transformations. Therefore, we need complex solutions. In the words of Edgar Morin, it is necessary to "gérer la complexité" ("manage complexity")¹. As if these problems were not enough, we are also experiencing a major global crisis, different from all the prior crises before it. Because this crisis has appeared in a multi-layered form. It is a crisis of the legal, political, economic, sociological, environmental and cultural systems, and therefore a crisis of values, ethics and axiological foundations.

¹ MORIN, E., *El método: La naturaleza de la naturaleza* [The Method: The nature of nature], Madrid, published by Cátedra, 1981, p. 436, says: "I have now been persuaded that all simplifying and, therefore, mutilated knowledge is mutilating and gets translated into manipulation, repression, devastation of the real, as soon as it is transformed into action, and particularly into political action. Simplified thought has become the barbarianism of science. It is the specific barbarianism of our civilization. It is the barbarianism which allies itself with all historical and mythological forms of barbarianism today." One particular example of what "gérer la complexité" consists of in terms of Law can be found in: ARNAUD, A. J., *Pour une pensée juridique européenne* ["Towards European Legal Thought"], Paris, published by PUF, 1991, pp. 241 et seq.

Few things will require such ongoing, in-depth, global reflection as the current situation of global crisis and ethical disaster, crisscrossing the world. One part of this enduring crisis, though certainly not the most important, no matter how much it may affect us, is that it has taken hold in regions as important as the US, Japan and, above all, the European Union. To make matters worse, we are also witnessing an economic slowdown in regions which previously saw major growth and strong demand, including Brazil and China. The BRICS countries, too, towards which we all selfishly look seeking markets, do not seem to be going through their finest moments either.

Practically everything is immersed in uncertainty, and we have no clear diagnosis. “We do not know what is happening to us, and that is what is happening to us,” as Ortega y Gasset would have said. So, I wonder: how can we choose the proper treatment, if we have no diagnosis? The truth is it seems like almost nothing in the future will continue the way it is right now. The days go by with a huge amount of information almost impossible to process in its full breadth, causing further problems and new unknowns. Many require reaching difficult decisions, because they are surrounded by more doubts than certainties. At such a crossroads, nothing could be more negative than wanting to restore “the previous situation,” a stance which is defended by too many in the Western world, who impatiently long for “better times.” What must happen will happen, but it will be new and different, and it will not be borne from nostalgia –even less so from wars– but rather from intellectual tension, multidisciplinary reflection –nothing can escape rational questioning– and the search for paths, for points of convergence which create possibilities, because they broaden knowledge and the spreading of thought. They allow us to know that what we see off in the distance is a light at the end of the tunnel and not a train rushing towards us, as the Basque Country’s ingenious universal sculptor Jorge Oteiza said.

Over the last three decades of the twentieth century, neoliberal concepts built upon the postulates of the Chicago School became the mainstream viewpoint in Western society. Neoliberalism is now on the offensive all over the planet. The market has been imposed upon us, and this, in the end, means that, with individuals taken out of the picture, all moral justification flows out of a morality of means. This is based on utilitarian principles and identifies with the market system itself². In opposition to this reality, denouncing the *homo aeconomicus*, we must now reclaim those ethics for which the individual is an end in and of itself³. We must make a comeback from the totalizing market and return to economic practices with ethical foundations, knowledgeable as we now are that no economic project can exist without a life project that bears humanness in mind, in the broadest sense of that word. Because today, as Eduardo Galeano said, “Development is a voyage with more castaways than sailors.”⁴ This is the first teaching learned from our “new era,” “a market without values is butchery,” or to state it more crudely, using the words recently uttered by Pope Francis, “Such an economy kills.”⁵ Therefore, great doubt has been cast on F. Hayek’s concept of “self-regulation”⁶. This is the first obvious fact, but not the last.

² HAYEK, F. A., *Derecho, legislación y libertad (Law, Legislation and Liberty)*, v. II, Madrid, Unión ed., 1988, p. 201, states that: “The suggestion that [...] the only ties which hold the whole of a Great Society together are purely ‘economic’ (more precisely ‘catalytic’) arouses great emotional resistance. Yet the fact can hardly be denied; nor the fact that, in a society of the dimensions and complexity of a modern country or of the world, it can hardly be otherwise. Most people are still reluctant to accept the fact that it should be the disdained ‘cash-nexus’ which holds the Great Society together, that the great ideal of the unity of mankind should in the last resort depend on the relations between the parts being governed by the striving for the better satisfaction of their material needs.”

³ This concern is also well reflected in DUFOUR, D. R., “En tiempos del capitalismo total. La nueva servidumbre del hombre liberado” (“In Times of Total Capitalism: The new servitude of liberated man”), Le Monde Diplomatique, Spanish edition, Madrid, October 2003, p. 4, when it points out the following: “We are living a capital change, because, if the form of the subject is affected, it will not longer be just the institutions we share which are in danger, but rather this will above all include “what we are,” as well. Therefore, nothing will be able to stop total capitalism, in which all without exception will form part of the mercantile universe: nature, the living world and the imaginary.”

⁴ GALEANO, E., *Las venas abiertas de América Latina (Open Veins of Latin America)*, Madrid, published by Siglo XXI, 2005, pp. 224 *et seq.*, as well as p. 363, points out: “Underdevelopment isn’t a stage of development, but its consequence.”; on p. 323, “The international system of domination suffered by each country is reproduced within each.”; on p. 234, “Latin America’s entry into the British orbit—which it would leave only to enter the U.S. orbit— took place within this general framework, and within it the dependence of the new independent countries was consolidated,” adding in n. 23, quoting MARX, K, Discourse on New Change, in The Poverty of Philosophy, Moscow, s.f., “If the free-traders cannot understand how one nation can grow rich at the expense of another, we need not wonder, since these same gentlemen also refuse to understand how within one country one class can enrich itself at the expense of another.”

⁵ HOLY FATHER FRANCIS, *Evangelii Gaudium, Apostolic Exhortation*, Point 53, Nov. 2013, states: “Just as the commandment “Thou shalt not kill” sets a clear limit in order to safeguard the value of human life, today we also have to say “thou shalt not” to an economy of exclusion and inequality. Such an economy kills.”

We now know that Culture, defined as an ensemble of shared understandings, and ongoing education are “silver bridges” linking politics, economics and life. In the late nineties, Baudrillard found that “the universal has had a historic opportunity. However, faced today with a world order providing no alternatives, to a globalization against which there is no recourse, on the one hand, and with the drift or tenacious insurrection of singularities, on the other, the concepts of freedom, democracy and Human Rights have grown extremely pale, as expected in accordance with their status as ghosts from a universe which has disappeared. It is hard to imagine that they might be resurrected from their ashes due to the mere game of politics, because they have also fallen victim to the same de-regulation and have no foundation other than moral or intellectual power.” On the basis of these findings, he opened a door to hope, pointing out that “our fate has not yet been decided, though, even if nothing works for universal values anymore. The trump cards have grown more powerful, and globalization has not won an early victory. Against its dissolving, homogenizing power, everywhere we see heterogeneous forces rising, not just different, but also antagonistic and irreducible”⁷. In recent times, we have been witnesses to and role-players in a change of paradigm, in a globalized world which, once again seeking universalization, has attempted to impose uniformity⁸.

A great deal of time and effort has been invested in convincing us about globalization’s benefits and values. It is now also obvious that this has been an attempt to make the economy, the rules on how the market operates and, ultimately, society itself more uniform. This has all been done to favor a global culture which was to pour out benefits and wealth ubiquitously. Some even unabashedly denied –and still deny– multicultural dialogue. The consequences of all this leave other obvious facts behind for us: those responsible for financial ratings which blessed high-risk, unsafe products, governments which turned a blind eye and regulators that neither regulated nor did the duties for which they were elected. In fact, the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers—an investment bank that had survived the U.S. Civil War and the Great Depression of the 1930’s– on September 15, 2008 was just the loud beginning of everything to come thereafter. The virus of rule-free markets with no controls crossed the Atlantic, and Europe fell into the lengthiest period of recession in its history, from which we have not yet emerged.

Enlightening in this respect, while at the same time gratifying and healing, are the words uttered in November 2014 by Pope Francis before the representatives of the European Parliament: “The European Union’s motto is *United in Diversity*, but unity does not mean political, economic, cultural or philosophical uniformity. In actuality, but true unity strives from the wealth of diversity which comprises it... In this sense, I believe that Europe is a family of peoples, who could come to feel the Union’s institutions are close to them, if those institutions learn how to wisely combine the desired ideal of unity with the diversity inherent to each of these peoples, valuing all traditions; becoming aware of their history and roots.” During a speech to the European Parliament members, the Pope then added: “Dear European Parliament Members, the time has come to build a Europe which does not revolve around the economy, but instead around the sacred nature of the human person and inalienable rights”⁹.

Fortunately, there are societies and individuals who are not willing to accept all of these changes and transformations passively, or accept that we must renounce what we are in order to benefit what “the global” is meant to be. This is to be understood as a set of rules and values that end up conditioning the actions we carry out as people and role-players in modern society. Against all of this we must vindicate the idea that today it is local things which provide the real hope that another world is possible.

For some time now, passive acceptance of the processes of transformation and change is starting to be rejected; instead intervention is taking over¹⁰. Rightly so, “modernity which bears the mark of otherness is not

⁶ Regarding this topic, see HAYEK, F. A., *Derecho, legislación y libertad* (Law, Legislation and Liberty), pp. 75 to 108.

⁷ BAUDRILLARD, J., *Pantalla total* (Total Screen), Barcelona, published by Anagrama, 2000, p. 183.

⁸ BAUDRILLARD, J., “Del antiterrorismo a la guerra. La violencia de la globalización” (“From Anti-terrorism to War: The violence of globalization”), *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Spanish edition, Madrid, November 2002, p. 17, states that: “the West’s mission (or rather the former West, because it has not had values of its own for a long time now) is to subject the various cultures to the ferocious law of equivalency by all means possible. (...) The creation of a world system is the result of tremendous envy: that felt by an indifferent, low-definition culture of high-definition cultures –those felt under disenchanted systems lacking the intensity of high-intensity cultures–.”

⁹ HOLY FATHER POPE FRANCIS, Speech to the European Parliament, Strasbourg, November 2014.

¹⁰ OSBORNE, D. and GAEBLER, T., *Reinventing Government: How the entrepreneurial spirit is transforming the public sector*, Barcelona, published by Paidós, 1995, pp. 62 to 66, reflects on the following: “smaller, but stronger,” pointing out that “communities enjoy good health when their families, neighborhoods, schools, volunteer organizations and businesses enjoy good health, and they also know that, in order to achieve this, the government’s essential role consists of taking the helm at these institutions (...) being the catalyst which helps these communities strengthen their civil infrastructure. (...). The governments which

passively accepted”¹¹. As a counterpoint to Immanuel Wallerstein’s catastrophically oriented vision of the individual seeking an identity, “identity insofar as it is ingrained in a flighty concept known as ‘culture’ or, to put it more precisely, ‘cultures’¹²,” today we are experiencing, as affirmed by Professor Caballero Harriet, the “return to cultures”¹³, not only from a social and political point of view, but also from an economic perspective. In other words, “doing what you know how to do,” but, of course, embracing new knowledge, new technologies... starting each day by innovating, “innovating with values,” innovating with roots.” This, creating noble resistance to the capitalistic world order, or “capitalist cosmos” of Max Weber¹⁴, is the new way to understand progress¹⁵. The wave of the future therefore lies in innovating with values, and innovation can only be performed in this way by keeping a grip on the ethics of our roots. What this means is that you must know how to complete tasks and live up to your commitments through the values contributed to you by your own culture.

The challenge of the small

Small is Beautiful proclaimed Schumacher in 1973. Today small is beautiful, as well as being powerful in the “networked society” of which Manuel Castells speaks. Because of this, an increasingly valid affirmation about global society is beginning to make full sense, that of “grassroots competition,” “grassroots cooperation,” “grassroots innovation” and “grassroots social construction.”

Therefore, one of the most notable changes of paradigm in globalization is the one which has taken place in the shift from the old “global voids local” of a few years back to the new –and current– “local moves the World,” assigning a growing role in the world to the small but politically, culturally and economically well-structured. All of this is wonderfully reflected in the works of Alberto Alesina, E. Spolaore¹⁶ and their colleagues, as well as Guillermo de la Dehesa¹⁷, and the reflections of extraordinary thinkers who, since E. F.

focus on remaining at the helm give form to their communities, States and nations. They reach *more* political decisions. They put *more* social and economic institutions into motion. Some even practice *more* regulation. (...) there is a greater demand for *managing government*, or in other words, ‘driving society,’ convincing the various interest groups to take on common goals and strategies.”

¹¹ MAALOUF, A., *In the Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong [Identidades asesinas]*, Madrid, published by Alianza, 1999, pp. 88 to 91, reflects on the fact that, in any place in the world, modernization means Westernization, and states: “This reality is experienced differently by those born in the dominant civilization and those born outside it. One might even say that the more Westerners modernize themselves, the more completely in harmony they feel with their culture. (...). For the rest of the world’s inhabitants (...) modernization has constantly meant abandoning a part of themselves. Even though it has sometime been embraced with enthusiasm, it has never been adopted without a certain bitterness, without a feeling of humiliation and defection. Without a piercing doubt about the dangers of assimilation. Without a profound identity crisis. (...). [Their] every step, for many generations, has already been accompanied by a sense of defeat and self-betrayal. How could their personality not be bruised? How would they not feel that their identity is damaged?”

¹² WALLERSTEIN, I., *El futuro de la civilización capitalista [The Future of Capitalist Civilization]*, Barcelona, published by Icaria, 1997, pp. 91 and 92, adds: “The new geo-cultural topic has already been proclaimed: it is the topic of identity (...) we can expect explosions in every direction.”

¹³ CABALLERO HARRIET, F. J., *Algunas claves para otra Mundialización [A Few Keys for Another Globalization]*, Fundación Global, Democracia y Desarrollo (FUNGLODE), 2009, pp. 196 and 197, understands that, “It is necessary to accept that the return to ‘cultures’ does not mean a clash of civilizations is taking place (...), the return to “cultures” must not be viewed as something tragic or a progression backward in the individual’s process of maturing and growing liberated throughout history, but rather as a return to the axiological storehouse in which individuals may once again find their lost identity, after the frustrated illusion caused by failing to achieve absolute individual freedom in a world where universal values, in the end, turned out to be the market’s chains.”

¹⁴ WEBER, M., *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism [Spanish language edition]*, Barcelona, published by Península, 1989, p. 49, points out the following: “The capitalistic economy of the present day is an immense cosmos into which the individual is born, and which presents itself to him, at least as an individual, as an unalterable order of things in which he must live. It forces the individual, in so far as he is involved in the system of market relationships, to conform to capitalistic rules of action.”

¹⁵ Of interest on the idea of progress, see NISBET, R., *History of the Idea of Progress*, London, published by Einemann, 1980.

¹⁶ See ALESINA, A. and SPOLAORE, E., *The Size of Nations*, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2005; ALESINA, A. and SPOLAORE, E., “On the Number and Size of Nations,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, v. 112, n°. 4, November, 1997, pp. 1027-1056; ALESINA, A., SPOLAORE, E. and WACZIARG, R., “Economic Integration and Political Disintegration,” *American Economic Review*, v. 90(5), December 2000, pp. 1276-1296; ALESINA, A. and WACZIARG, R., “Openness, country size and the Government,” *National Bureau of Economic Research* (6024), May 1997.

¹⁷ DE LA DEHESA, G., *Comprender la globalización [Understanding Globalization]*, Madrid, published by Alianza, 2002, pp. 109 and 110, states the following: “there is another impact, as well, which is of major political import to many countries, including Spain. In an increasingly globalized and more open world, it is easier for situations of political disintegration to arise (Alesina, Spolaore and Wacziarg, 1997). Globalization will tend to promote separatist processes. Many small regions which are homogeneous from a cultural, linguistic or ethnic perspective may attempt, democratically, to negotiate living independently from the country of which

Schumacher's "Small Is Beautiful"¹⁸ in 1973, and including "Small Is Possible" by George McRobie¹⁹ in 1976, have led up to the modern-day "nano-boom" of the twenty-first century, which has caused accredited Basque physicist Pedro Miguel Etxenike to affirm, regarding the claim that "small is different," that we are "facing the great challenge of the small"²⁰.

However, at heart, this is nothing novel either, because J.J. Rousseau himself, long ago in the eighteenth century, when, in his first version of the *Social Contract*, reflecting upon the widespread stereotype that nations saw their power and prosperity increase more by increasing the size of their territory endlessly, pointed out that just the opposite occurred, because, in addition to diminishing social bonds through this process, –he found that– "in general a small State is always proportionally more powerful than a large State"²¹. This is a prophetic vision which seems to have foreseen –more than 250 years ago– what can be seen on the following chart, which shows the top ten countries with the best behavior in the world in the years of 2013 and 2014 in decisive fields in terms of achieving sustainable development. Most of them are small countries, which do happen to have strong cultural roots and identities.

INSEAD/WIPO/Cornell Global Innovation Index 2013		WEF Glob. Comp. Index 2013-2014		INSEAD Glob. Talent Competitiveness Index 2013	
Country	Rank	Country	Rank	Country	Rank
Switzerland	1	Switzerland	1	Switzerland	1
Sweden	2	Singapore	2	Singapore	2
UK	3	Finland	3	Denmark	3
Netherlands	4	Germany	4	Sweden	4
US	5	US	5	Luxembourg	5
Finland	6	Sweden	6	Netherlands	6
Hong Kong (China)	7	Hong Kong (China)	7	UK	7
Singapore	8	Netherlands	8	Finland	8
Denmark	9	Japan	9	US	9
Ireland	10	UK	10	Iceland	10

Source: Nesta is the UK's innovation foundation, www.nesta.org.uk

Pointing in this same direction, in *The Harvard Kennedy School Review: 2011 Edition*, Adam Price published a work –"Small is Cute, Sexy, and Successful..."– in which, after verifying data from the last 30 years in Europe (coinciding, by the way, with the conclusions of another study –"Country size and growth strategy"– promoted by the Parisian Institut d'Études Politiques), he states: "The Big Advantages of the Small... openness to trade, social cohesion, and adaptability." In other words, the economies of small countries are better oriented towards exports than those of large countries (between the years 2000-2008, exports by

they form part. In a more democratic and open world, minorities will be able to choose their future more freely, becoming more autonomous, or even independent."

¹⁸ SCHUMACHER, E.F., *Lo pequeño es hermoso [Small Is Beautiful]* (1st edition, 1973), Madrid, Tursen S.A.-Hermann Blume ed., 1990.

¹⁹ McROBIE, R., *Apéndice. Lo pequeño es posible [Appendix to "Small Is Possible"]*, in Schumacher, E.F., *Lo pequeño es hermoso [Small Is Beautiful]*, Madrid, Tursen S.A.- Hermann Blume ed., 1990, pp. 264 to 306.

²⁰ ETXENIKE P.M., Conference titled "Crisis. Educación y Ciencia" ["Crisis: Education and Science"], AICE-IZEA 25th Anniversary, Guggenheim, Bilbao, May 8, 2009.

²¹ ROUSSEAU, J. J., *Du Contract Social* (first version) [*On the Social Contract*], O.C., v. 3, published by De La Pléiade, 1964, p. 320.

countries with fewer than 15 million inhabitants rose by 50%, compared with 35% among larger countries); small countries are more socially homogeneous and have a greater commitment to equality, and small countries are more flexible, possessing a greater ability to adapt to changes and transformations, making them more innovative than large countries.

Incidentally, these findings are similar to those of the winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics, Joseph E. Stiglitz, in his book *Globalization and Its Discontents*, when he points out that, “The globalization of the economy has benefited countries that took advantage of it by seeking new markets for their exports [...] Even so, the countries that have benefited the most have been those that took charge of their own destiny and recognized the role government can play in development rather than relying on the notion of a self-regulated market that would fix its own problems.”²²

Or, as claimed in a recent work by the Credit Suisse Research Institute, which, with the title *The Success of Small Countries*, starts by stating that the world has a growing number of “role-players,” most of which are small countries: “Since 1945, the number of UN country members has risen from nearly 50 to 193... two-thirds of which could be classified as ‘small’... 77% of all of the small states in the world have been formed in the past 70 years”²³. It then concludes that we are living a world which offers great opportunities to these small countries, if they invest in education and specialize in the proper way: “A successful small country can benefit from this global trend by investing in education and specializing to provide services...”²⁴

And this has been said by highly prestigious economists and institutions from around the world, with no political or personal interest in the matter. Professor Sala i Martin of Columbia University also paraphrased it when he stated in *The Independence of Catalonia: The economic viability* (1998): “as time goes by, the desirability of having smaller nations increases. And the economists who say so are not (I repeat NOT) just Catalan nationalists.”

Identity and innovation: roots and wings

If people’s future goal is to build a strategy of Sustainable Human Development, this will only become possible if the project is based upon two foundations: Identity and Innovation. In other words Roots and Wings. Identity to uphold the survival of a people open to the world, and Innovation to reach out in a creative way, with solidarity, towards the future²⁵.

Some of the most advanced countries in the world, especially the smallest of them in northern Europe – as we have seen on the above chart–, have turned innovation into an essential facet of their national identity, and the way in which they project themselves into the world²⁶. Difference and universality therefore become complementary. They mutually reinforce and complement each other²⁷, because it is perfectly possible to become enriched by universal culture while also making your own distinguished contributions, participating in global networks through an intercultural dialogue²⁸ and delving further into

²² STIGLITZ, J.E., *El malestar en la globalización [Globalization and Its Discontents]*, Madrid, Santillana Ediciones Generales, 2002, p. 309.

²³ CREDIT SUISSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, *The Success of Small Countries*, Zurich, Credit Suisse AG, 2014, p. 3.

²⁴ CREDIT SUISSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, *The Success of Small Countries*, Zurich, Credit Suisse AG, 2014, p. 35.

²⁵ It is precisely at times when solidarity is questioned or becomes forgotten that we need it most, as found by DOMÈNECH, A., *El eclipse de la fraternidad [Brotherhood's Eclipse]*, Barcelona, published by Crítica, 2004.

²⁶ CASTELLS, M. and HIMANEN, P., *El Estado de bienestar y la sociedad de la información. El modelo finlandés [The Welfare State and Information Society: The Finnish model]*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 2002, p. 186, point out: “Cultural identity and a strong national sentiment seem to be essential components of the Finnish information society model. They are sources of legitimacy allowing the government to take on an active role (...) Identity is also projected into the future, building up Finnish pride in Finland’s collective achievements as an advanced information society. Social homogeneity and national solidarity reinforce the support for inclusive programs and promote the emergence of a society-driven model of technology use. Therefore, instead of undermining global competitiveness, its strong national identity creates a platform for building technology capability and developing social experimentation. Local and national identity add value to Finnish companies when they interact with global networks of economics and technology.”

²⁷ JAUREGUI, G., *La democracia en el siglo XXI: un nuevo mundo, unos nuevos valores [Democracy in the Twenty-first Century: A new world, new values]*, Oñate, IVAP (Herri Arduralaritzaren Euskal Erakundea- Instituto Vasco de Administración Pública), 2004, p. 277, states that: “Universality and difference therefore need not become antagonistic (...) To counterbalance the community’s influence, the support of reason and modernization are essential. However, there is no possible way to resist the market’s seduction without finding support in some sort of social and cultural belonging.”

²⁸ MUÑAGORRI, I., “Derecho penal intercultural y crisis del principio de soberanía” (“Intercultural criminal law and crisis in the

your identity as a people²⁹.

In fact, it will be very easy to perish due to the political and economic ravages of this globalization, if you lack the foundation of “social and cultural belonging”³⁰.

This means that we must not turn to copying, but rather learning. One fine example of this is “the Basque identity,” which has long been associated with an entrepreneurial spirit, forming the foundation of an enduring history of growth and development. And tying in with that tradition, we must now unabashedly commit to getting involved in the global village and making social and technological innovation become a part of the Basque identity and the Basque way of relating with the world, thereby helping it to become an appealing crossroads that is open to global networks³¹.

In accordance with this view, identity may play the role of a driver in any people’s project for socio-economic transformation, which is true for the Basque Country in this new stage, as well. And above all today, when we are driven by the need to surmount a truly profound crisis, appropriating the positive vision of crisis expressed by A. Einstein³². However, in this crisis, we must rely on a more materialistic and affluent society, before which the project to build a country runs certain risks and requires some mechanism to give it new momentum.

We have no other choice but to face the challenge of an exercise in reflection: it is the ability to become collectively excited by a shared “vision” of sustainable human development that can mobilize and motivate the behavior of all and make the achievement of objectives a reality, as we have been shown by the Basque experience and others around the world³³.

principle of sovereignty”) in PORTILLA, G., (coord.), *Mutaciones de Leviatán. Legitimación de los nuevos modelos penales [Mutations of Leviathan: Legitimation of new criminal law models]*, Madrid, published by Akal, 2005, pp. 183 and 184, states: “Human rights must be conceived as multicultural; in other words, through a pluralism of cultural conceptions of human dignity (...) and, given the competitive concepts of equality and difference, one must choose the understanding of Law that we are all equal, provided that difference does not create inferiors, and the right to be different must prevail when equality jeopardizes identity. In other words, transcultural dialogue on human dignity must be sought that leads to a mixed-ethnicity conception of human rights which, instead of restoring false universalisms, is organized into a constellation of local, mutually intelligible meanings and networks that may gradually convey the power of those meanings into regulatory references.”

²⁹ CABALLERO HARRIET, F.J., *Algunas claves para otra mundialización [A Few Keys to Another Globalization]*, pp. 242 and 243, states that: “Today, yet again, cultures have begun to react defensively against the universalist aspirations of neoliberalism (in this case) which are being imposed as a planetary social, political and economic model, as a unique ideology and cosmovision, placing an emphasis on identity. (...) We must get back to culture! This is not just an outcry. It is now an attitude that helps demonstrate that the era of homogenizing universalisms has come to an end. The times of ‘utopian dreams in ‘false universalist utopias,’ which were masks that concealed real interest, form part of the past. Far from the end of utopias, now is the time when the ‘true utopia’ is beginning. This is the utopia that we gradually create not by dreaming, but rather through reality. In other words, it will not come out of ethereal universalism, but rather from the dynamic reality of cultures. This time, returning to cultures will not entail a defensive return to cultural identity as refuge, to remain hidden within it, but rather re-encountering the individual within it (as a cultural subject, political subject and universal subject), or in other words, as the foundation for the autonomous citizen, and through this, to begin going down the true path to freedom as we build an authentic ‘cultural-relational’ identity along the way, in permanent dialogue with all of the cultures on Earth. This is the ‘New Utopia’ viewed through the reality of the cultures of different peoples.”

³⁰ GUIBERNAU, M., *Los nacionalismos [Nationalisms]*, Barcelona, published by Ariel, 1996, p. 146, states: “Inherent to globalization is the dialectic between ‘local’ and ‘global’ (...). Globalization is expressed through the tension between forces in the global community and forces of cultural particularity, ethnic fragmentation and homogenization. (...). The renewed strength and appeal of ‘national identity’ and nationalism have come about as a secular response to the search for identity, in a world threatened by increasing homogenization.”

³¹ CASTELLS, M. and HIMANEN, P., *El Estado de bienestar y la sociedad de la información. El modelo finlandés [The Welfare State and Information Society: The Finnish model]*, Madrid, Alianza ed., 2002, p. 179, states: “The new economy is a global economy in which a nation’s success depends upon its ability to turn itself into an appealing crossroads for global networks of capital and people. (...) The idea is not just that we are entering into a new economy, but also into a new society which is characterized globally by multiculturalism and multiethnicity.”

³² EINSTEIN, A.: “Do not pretend that things will change if we always do the same. The crisis is the best blessing that can happen to people and countries, because the crisis brings progress. Creativity is born from the distress, as the day is born from the dark night. It is in crisis that invention, discovery and large strategies are born. Who ever overcomes crisis, outdoes himself without being overcome.” This statement traditionally attributed to Einstein is a non-verbatim transcription of his reference to the 1929 economic crash in his essay *The World As I See It*, published in 1935. This statement coincides with the profile of Einstein described by HOLTON, G., *Einstein, historias y otras pasiones [Einstein, Stories and Other Passions]*, Madrid, Taurus, 1998.

³³ CASTELLS, M., and HIMANEN, P., *El Estado de bienestar y la sociedad de la información. El modelo finlandés [The Welfare State and Information Society: The Finnish model]*, pp. 183 and 184, states: “Finland demonstrates that a fully developed welfare state is not incompatible with technological innovation, with the development of the information society and with a new dynamic,

From this point of view, a country in which humanism is a tenet of organizations, while social, scientific and technical innovation are included within its own identity open to the world, is a Country which possesses powerful leverage for transformation.

The Real Economy: a socio-economic lung

In fact, we also know now better than ever, within the interwoven multinational business fabric, how much strategic value is held by keeping industry “tied to the soil” and how important the local productive economy is for a country and the future welfare of its peoples. Today we talk about “looking at the real economy” as the best recipe for getting beyond the crisis and facing the future, when it is obvious that those countries with an unproductive “rentier” culture, in which a speculative economy has taken hold, cannot change their economic structure overnight. An economic culture comes into existence gradually, just as legal cultures do, both resulting from shared conceptions about economic or legal matters within the more general framework of a people’s culture. Individuals, companies and countries are all a product of the “cumulative” action of education, decisions and adaptations to an ever-changing cultural reality. What we are tomorrow will bear a direct relationship with our decisions reached today, whether they are mistaken or correct.

The ethical crisis permeating our world has not only taken its toll through widespread impoverishment, more unemployment, surprising mortgage foreclosures, the shutdown of companies, a downfall of undertakings in the social economy, salary decreases and savage ways of taking advantage of the current situation... This crisis has cast great doubt on our very lifestyle and, even more importantly, it has called into question the way we think about how we should continue living. The goal for society and socio-economic role-players today is not to endure, but rather to adapt. The transformations are of such a magnitude and depth that the youths who are now completing the lowest levels within the educational system will someday be hired for jobs that most likely do not even exist today, and they will do so in a company that has probably not been created yet. We need to be humbler, to learn from the past to build the future, because almost nothing will ever be the same again. Almost everything will be different. However, recent experience has shown us that a productive economy and education for individuals are the only ways to ensure “survival” for different peoples.

The Basque Case

A willingness to reach its own distinctive decisions, coupled with the real ability to implement them, have been the key factors making a difference in the Basque strategy, in line with the above-mentioned line of thinking by the Nobel Prize winner in Economics (2001), Joseph Stiglitz³⁴. Because of this, initiatives, laws, tax regulations, strategic plans and tools, as well as its own resources and financing, have been articulated on the basis of a concept of self-government in all of the policies which the Basque Country designs and implements. The Nobel Prize has continuously shown his interest in the Basque Country. During a recent visit to Gureak, a Basque social company that employs almost 6000 people, the vast majority of them has some sort of disability, he cited this as a model to follow internationally: Gureak integrates a number of people who otherwise wouldn’t be integrated in society. An interesting question is how can it be done in other places and applied to other similar challenges”.

Therefore, taking Basque self-government even deeper and defending the Basque political, cultural and economic identity has not only been behind the claim to the legitimate political project of becoming a nation in a globalized world. It has also been behind the development of a model of its own, as an inseparable attribute, differentiated from others in its surrounding environment, and a strategy of Sustainable Human Development for the Autonomous Region of Euskadi.

competitive economy. Quite the contrary, it seems to be a factor which makes a decisive contribution to growth in that new economy over a stable base. It provides the human foundation for the productivity necessary in the information-based development model, as well as contributing an institutional and social stability that mitigates the damage caused to the economy and to people during times of potentially acute recessions. (...) Finland provides a sharp contrast with the Silicon Valley model, driven in its entirety by market mechanisms, the individual entrepreneurial spirit and the culture of risk, with considerable social costs, severe social inequality and a foundation which is deteriorating in terms of the human capital produced locally and the economic infrastructure. (...) The Finnish State has used incentives and strategic planning to complement market mechanisms instead of replacing them. It has also used participatory mechanisms and acted in the style of a legitimate democratic state, in contrast with the experience in development-oriented Asian countries, characterized by social authoritarianism and a hierarchical relationship with regard to companies.”

³⁴ STIGLITZ, J.E., *El malestar en la globalización [Globalization and Its Discontents]*, Madrid, Santillana Ediciones Generales, 2002, p. 309, points out that: “The globalization of the economy has benefited countries that took advantage of it by seeking new markets for their exports [...] Even so, the countries that have benefited the most have been those that took charge of their own destiny and recognized the role government can play in development rather than relying on the notion of a self-regulated market that would fix its own problems.”

In the Basque Case, it is the recovery of self-government, with the enactment by referendum of the Gernika Statute of Autonomy, that allowed the first Basque Government of the early eighties, headed by Lehendakari Garaikoetxea, to reach the strategic national decision to commit to a productive economy instead of a speculative one. This decision was reached by the Basque Country's democratic institutions, but not without difficulty, inspired by the productive tradition of the Basque People. One must not forget that it was our society's hard work and tenacity (cultural factors) and those of our leaders (political resoluteness in line with the first factor) which then made it possible to achieve a commitment made by the entire industrial fabric, by the "real economy," and today we can see the evidence of what a good decision that was. A commitment to the real economy which was harshly criticized by social agents, politicians and the media back in the day, fascinated at that juncture by neoliberal theories which, based on the so-called "oil crisis" of the seventies, had become fashionable throughout Western society. In Spain and in Europe, they were the delight of neo-conservatives who were finally seeing the "dangerous" storm clouds caused by the drift caused by Keynes' dictates³⁵, which had rolled out the red carpet for the "social State," and now they saw their big opportunity. Without a doubt, the spirit of this neo-conservative opportunity could be summarized in the words of the Spanish Minister of Industry at that time: "The best industrial policy is one that doesn't exist."³⁶ Fortunately the Basque Country did not follow suit.

Building peace, taking self-government further, with its character as a People, moving forward to achieve sustainable human development: these have been the goals of Basque society and Basque democratic institutions at this end and beginning of a century. And these efforts, as well as the achievements made, have not gone unnoticed, not only by other countries, governments and different prestigious institutions, who can find a role model experience in the "Basque Case,"³⁷ but also by Universities in different parts of the world.

In this sense, it must be pointed out that we are performing an analysis of the "Basque Case" within the thematic framework of twenty-first century pluri-national societies. The Basque Case is an experience in building sustainable human development within a Basque society open to the world. A modern Country that does not forget its roots. A Country which, despite having suffered the inhumane violence of ETA, holds one of the top ranks in the world in terms of the United Nations Human Development Report 2018, as can be seen in the following chart.

³⁵ See KEYNES, J.M., *General Theory of Employment Interest and Money*, 1936 (in English); FIORITO, A. and MURGA, G., *Keynes y sus interpretaciones II [Keynes and His Interpretations]*, Madrid, Ediciones cooperativas, 2006 (in Spanish), in which one can find John Maynard Keynes' fundamental thesis that can be summarized by saying that governments cannot trust all market forces.

³⁶ SOLCHAGA, C., Minister of Industry in the first government headed by Felipe González (December 1982-July 1985). Foreshadowing statement which predicted, by several years, what we could view as the "formal" description of the neoliberal dogma by John Williamson in 1990, commonly known as the Washington Consensus.

³⁷ LOPEZ-RODRIGUEZ, J., FAIÑA, J.A. and MONTES SILLA, P., "Case Study Basque Country" "*The Basque Country: Strategy for Economic Development*", published by Jean Monnet Group on Competition and Regional Development, Harvard, 2009.

Human development index by indicator according to country. 2018
EU 28 + Basque Autonomous Community

	Human development index	Life expectancy at birth in years	Expected years of schooling	Mean years of schooling	Gross national income per capita at PPP in US\$ in 2011
	2017	2017	2017	2017	2017
1 Noruega	0,953	82,3	17,9	12,6	68.012
2 Suiza	0,944	83,5	16,2	13,4	57.625
3 Australia	0,939	83,1	22,9	12,9	43.560
4 Irlanda	0,938	81,6	19,6	12,5	53.754
5 Alemania	0,936	81,2	17,0	14,1	46.136
6 Islandia	0,935	82,9	19,3	12,4	45.810
7 Hong Kong, China (RAE)	0,933	84,1	16,3	12,0	58.420
7 Suecia	0,933	82,6	17,6	12,4	47.766
9 Singapur	0,932	83,2	16,2	11,5	82.503
10 Países Bajos	0,931	82,0	18,0	12,2	47.900
11 Dinamarca	0,929	80,9	19,1	12,6	47.918
12 Canadá	0,926	82,5	16,4	13,3	43.433
13 Estados Unidos	0,924	79,5	16,5	13,4	54.941
C.A. de Euskadi	0,922	83,5	18,8	11,0	46.248
14 Reino Unido	0,922	81,7	17,4	12,9	39.116
15 Finlandia	0,920	81,5	17,6	12,4	41.002
16 Nueva Zelanda	0,917	82,0	18,9	12,5	33.970
17 Bélgica	0,916	81,3	19,8	11,8	42.156
17 Liechtenstein	0,916	80,4	14,7	12,5	97.336
19 Japón	0,909	83,9	15,2	12,8	38.986
20 Austria	0,908	81,8	16,1	12,1	45.415

Source: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).
Human development report 2018 and Eustat (November 12. 2018), Social indicators. HDI

The Basque People –one of the most ancient peoples in Europe–, despite difficulties inside and out, have been able to remain at the cutting edge of progress in Europe, a form of progress understood in a particular way. Progress at the service of its people and community³⁸, or in other words the people as a whole. These aspects are reflected on the following four charts, which show the GDP per capita in the EU and income distribution.

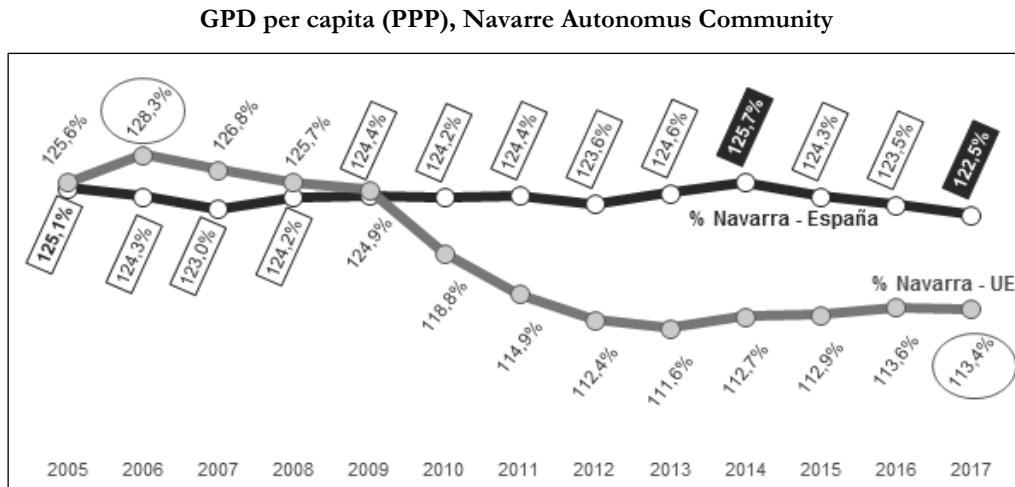
**GDP per capita (PPP) by country and year (EU=100), Basque Autonomous Community
Europe top 10 ranking**

1999*			2008			2017		
1 Luxembourg	237,3	1	Luxembourg	262	1	Luxembourg	253	
2 Austria	131,2	2	Netherlands	139	2	Ireland	184	
3 Netherlands	130,8	3	Ireland	134	3	Netherlands	128	
4 Denmark	130,8	4	Basque A.C.	130	4	Austria	128	
5 Ireland	125,9	5	Sweden	127	5	Denmark	125	
6 Sweden	125,3	6	Denmark	125	6	Germany	123	
7 Belgium	123,0	7	Austria	125	7	Sweden	122	
8 Germany	122,1	8	Finland	121	8	Basque A.C.	121	
9 Basque A. C.	118,2	9	Germany	117	9	Belgium	117	
10 United Kingdom	117,8	10	Belgium	115	10	Finland	109	
...	
14 Spain	96,3	15	Spain	101	15	Spain	92	

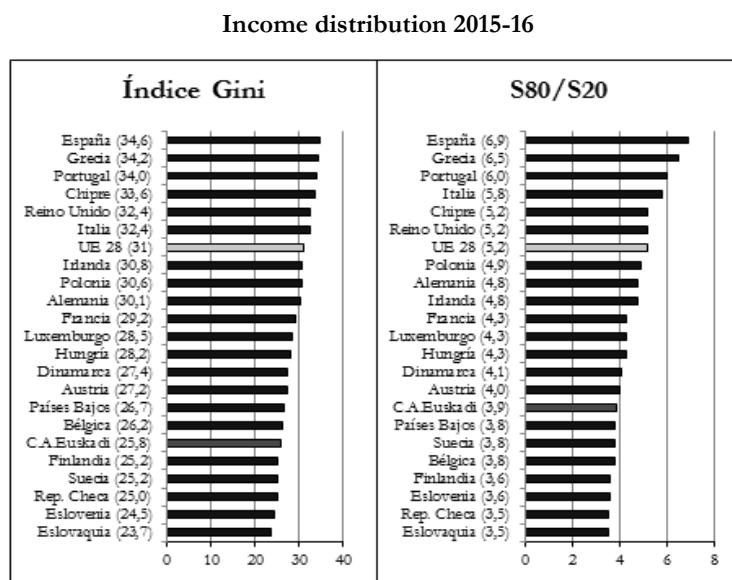
Source: Eurostat (August 2, 2018), Eustat (February 20, 2019), and own elaboration.

*1999, Directorate of Economy and Planning, Department of Direction and Public Administration of the Basque Government.

³⁸This is the idea of the AUZOLAN: to clarify this Basque term, we could mention that AUZO means neighborhood, physical unit and, above all, a social community unit of people. LAN means work. So, AUZOLAN means work shared amongst all, for the good of the neighborhood and to the benefit of the entire community. It is the basis for communal work done at country estates, and in small Basque villages, towns and communities. It has been considered the foundation of the original way in which work is understood by Basque cooperatives.



Source: INE, Eurostat, na (stat) – (March 21.2019), Government of Navarre.



Source: Basque Government, Department of Employment and Social Policies,
Survey of poverty and social inequalities, Eurostat (March 15.2017).

Comparative indicators of poverty, precariousness and inequality 2011 – 2016

	GINI			S80 / S20		
	2011	2013/14	2015/16	2011	2013/14	2015/16
Spain	34,0	33,7	34,6	6,8	6,3	6,9
EU	30,8	30,5	31,0	5,1	5,0	5,2
Basque Autonomous Community	25,3	27,1	25,8	3,7	4,2	3,9

Source: Basque Government. Department of Employment and Social Policies. Survey of poverty and social inequalities, Eurostat (March 15.2017), and own elaboration.

The Basque People, as well as being an age-old population, is a modern people that has historically claimed its national identity separate from the Spanish State. Ignoring this historic, democratic claim, Franco's dictatorship sadly led to the birth of ETA, which is now fortunately about to disappear, in accordance with our hopes and expectations. ETA's inhumane violence has caused pain and suffering for more than 50 years, leading to a unanimous outcry for Peace in the Basque Country, a Peace defined not only in terms of a lack of violence, but also a Peace built upon justice and freedom³⁹. Because of this, the future of the Basque People must be constructed upon a foundation of the Ethical Principle⁴⁰, building Political Normalization⁴¹, or in other words, making democracy effective through the true Democratic Principle.

Thought surrounding the Basque Case therefore lies not in emotion or in mere intuition, but ultimately on the importance held by responsible work and intellectual and scientific rigor in seeking solutions to the major problems which must be faced in the twenty-first century. Because the problems of poverty, health, water, energy, climate change, intolerance, terrorism, fundamentalisms, equality, identity... none will be solved with less science, but instead with more science and more education⁴².

Today science, setting aside the risks created by its instrumentalization and manipulation⁴³, is a human adventure, an intellectual adventure, an essential part of humanism and the modern culture that has changed our perception of the world and ourselves in recent years. Modern science, beyond the abuses committed in its name –just as eloquent on this is the testimony by a man of science, Jacob Bronowski, due to the depth of his thought on what took place in Auschwitz–⁴⁴, is mankind's most important intellectual work. And the importance of scientific, technical and social research lies not only in economics, but also in its contribution to educating people, to creating a climate of constant searching, innovation, creativity, demandingness and rigor in dealing with problems, which affects all of the other activities in a society as if by osmosis or “domino effect”.

In this sense, it would be impossible to understand the process of political, social and economic transformation of Basque society since the 1980's without taking into account the country's major efforts throughout these years to promote human capital and increase the number of people who complete secondary schooling and university studies (shown on the three charts below).

³⁹ Introduction by TRUYOL Y SERRA, A., in KANT, I., *Sobre la paz perpetua [On Perpetual Peace]*, Madrid, published by Tecnos, 1998, pp. 15 and 16.

⁴⁰ KANT, I., *Fundamentos de la metafísica de las costumbres [Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals]*, Barcelona, published by Ariel, 1999, p. 199 when it states that “In the realm of ends everything has either a price or dignity. What has a price is such that something else can also be put in its place as its equivalent; by contrast, that which is elevated above all price, and admits of no equivalent, has a dignity.” The dignity concept is therefore an absolute concept that includes the Ethical Principle.

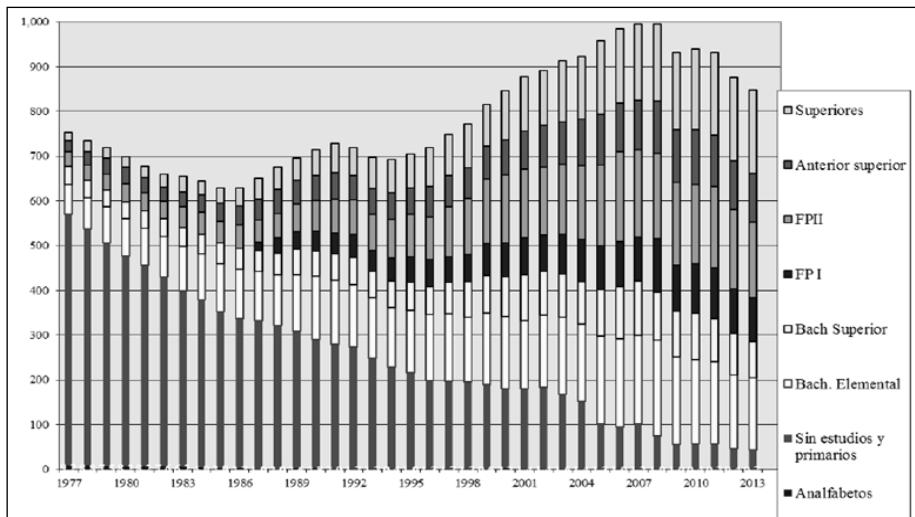
⁴¹ The attempt is made to implement political autonomy as a result of the existence of individual autonomy. In this sense, CASTORIADIS, C., “De la autonomía en política. El individuo privatizado” (“On Autonomy in Politics: The privatized individual”), *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Spanish edition, February 1998, p. 27, states that: “There is, therefore, political autonomy, and that political autonomy assumes it knows that men create their own institutions. This requires that the attempt be made to put forth those institutions, with full knowledge of the facts, with clarity, after collective deliberation. This is what I call collective autonomy, whose inseparable companion is individual autonomy.”

⁴² ETXENIKE, P.M., “Appearance in the Spanish Senate to perform an evaluation of the State's and European Union's scientific policy,” Diary of Sessions, June 18, 2007, states that “the wealth of nations will depend more and more on the wealth of notions.”

⁴³ In this respect, the words of HOBSBAWM, E. J., *Entrevista sobre el siglo XXI [The New Century: In Conversation with Antonio Polito]*, Barcelona, ed. Crítica, 2004, p. 170, are sufficiently illustrative when he answers the question: “Aren't you ever afraid of the power of science? The possibility of cloning a person, or the possibility of crossing animal and plant genes in a tomato; or the possibility of killing in a war fought in front of a computer screen?”, by responding: “Of course, I am horrified by it. Not only because of the amount of power it gives, but also because the wizard's apprentices often do not know how to use it. If there was some guarantee that the people who are managing progress know what to do with it, how to use it to the benefit of all other people, or when not to use it ever, I would be less afraid, but no such guarantee exists. Huge natural forces which are not always well-known are manipulated, and there are no rules or institutions to tell us what we should or should not do. The only rule that exists under free-market conditions, maximizing economic growth and profits, is almost certain to produce negative effects.”

⁴⁴ BRONOWSKI, J., *The Ascent of Man*, Boston, published by Little, Brown and Co., 1973, p.374, states the following: “It is said that science will dehumanize people and turn them into numbers. That is false, tragically false. This is a concentration camp and crematorium at Auschwitz. This is where people were turned into numbers. Into this pond were flushed the ashes of some four million people. And that was not done by gas. It was done by arrogance. It was done by dogma. It was done by ignorance. (...). We have to cure ourselves of the itch for absolute knowledge and power.”

Work Force Qualification:
Great momentum in human capital
 Occupied work force education level in the Basque economy, 1977-2013



Source: Fundación Bancaria, Ivie (Valencian Institute for Economic Research),

Human Capital in Spain and the distribution thereof, January 2014.

Population (ages 20-24) that have completed at least secondary schooling

Country	1999	2008	2012	2017
Basque Autonomous Community	79,0	81,7	82,1	83,3
Spain	65,2	83,5	84,1	87,8
EU 28	:	78,7	80,3	83,3

Source: Eurostat (July 11. 2018), Eustat (July 31. 2018)(Población en Relación con la Actividad (PRA)
 Population in Relation to Activity and own elaboration.

Population rate with tertiary studies (age group 30-34 years). Total.

Tertiary studies (30-34 years). Total.					
Country	1998	2003	2008	2013	2017
EU 28	:	25,0	31,2	37,1	39,9
Germany	:	25,1	27,7	32,9	34,0
Austria	9,7	:	21,9	27,1	40,8
Belgium	32,3	37,7	42,9	42,7	45,9
Bulgaria	:	23,6	27,1	29,4	32,8
Cyprus	:	39,9	47,1	47,8	55,8
Croatia	:	16,9	18,5	25,6	28,7
Denmark	28,3	38,2	39,2	43,4	48,8
Slovakia	10,6	11,5	15,8	26,9	34,2
Slovenia	15,8	23,6	30,9	40,1	46,4
Spain	28,3	35,1	41,3	42,3	41,2
Estonia	32,5	28,0	34,4	42,5	48,4
Finland	36,3	41,7	45,7	45,1	44,6
France	25,0	34,8	41,0	44,0	44,3
Greece	25,8	23,0	25,7	34,9	43,7

Hungary	14,1	16,3	22,8	32,3	32,1
Ireland	:	35,1	47,1	52,7	53,6
Italy	9,9	13,9	19,2	22,5	26,9
Latvia	18,3	18,3	26,3	40,7	43,8
Lithuania	48,0	25,2	39,9	51,3	58,0
Luxembourg	:	17,3	39,8	52,5	52,7
Malta	:	13,7	21,0	26,0	30,0
Netherlands	22,7	31,7	40,2	43,2	47,9
Poland	11,3	17,2	29,7	40,0	45,7
Portugal	9,4	14,7	21,6	30,0	33,5
United Kingdom	:	31,5	39,5	47,4	48,3
Czech Republic	11,8	12,6	15,4	26,7	34,2
Romania	8,4	8,9	16,0	22,9	26,3
Sweden	30,5	31,0	42,0	48,3	51,3
Basque C.	28,3	32,1	38,7	44,2	46,1

Source: Eurostat (June 8. 2018), Eustat (June 21. 2018) and own elaboration.

The truth is that there is broad consensus at the present time, at least in public discourse, about the importance of science and technology, of social and technological innovation, in achieving our development. And I am convinced that the advancement promoted through scientific and social knowledge is what explains how we endure as the human species. It is what will ensure our survival into the future.

The importance of analyzing the Basque Case lies in becoming aware that a problem exists and therefore attempting to rediscover attitudes, customs and behaviors, and the values of science, which are useful and, we believe, necessary during these times. The first of these is optimism, faith, the conviction that problems have a solution. The second is thinking in the long term, thinking that we are all links in a chain, which is why each contribution we make is important⁴⁵. And the third is complexity and cooperation, avoiding the simplification of problems⁴⁶. Today more than ever, we need to move towards solving the problems of the people of any Community with new styles of governance. The Basque Case teaches us that it is necessary to deal with solving the economic, political and social problems, and even violence, with legal/political initiatives that heed the facts and complexity of reality, and not just one-dimensional simplifications driven by ideology or temporary interests in the moment.

From this point of view, reflection on the Basque Case takes on even greater interest, because in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, important changes have taken place when dealing with the construction of the principles of ethics, democracy and sustainable human development. The inseparable development of these three principles, as a whole which has been instilled throughout all of the initiatives implemented since the recovery of self-governance through the Gernika Statute, is what has also turned the “Basque Case” into an integrated model of social, political and economic action. It is in this all-encompassing character, which has combined rationalism, conviction and the ability to be self-governed, that its main strength lies. Unlike what is championed by the neoliberal socio-political-economic dominating our times, it can therefore offer something of its own, something different from its surrounding environment, through social, political and economic endeavors, reclaiming the place of individuals, the People and competitiveness with solidarity.

As a result of all this, the Basque Case has proven (with empirical evidence) that self-government, or in other words the ability to achieve its own political and social organization, is synonymous with welfare. This is

⁴⁵ In this sense, for the purpose of illustration, it is of use to read what MONDOLFO, R., *Problemas y métodos de investigación en la Historia de la Filosofía* [Problems and Methods of Research in the History of Philosophy], Buenos Aires, ed. Eudeba, 1969, p. 71 says, referring to the philosophers' understanding and interpretation of the History of Philosophy, “We must always bear in mind this two-part demand, of recognizing a dependence in them, on the one hand, and independence, on the other. The dependence is represented by its relations with the previous thought, and independence, by its new thought, which is insinuated in the very adherence to the authority of a preceding system.”

⁴⁶ As pointed out by MORIN, E., *El Método. La naturaleza de la naturaleza* [The Method: The nature of nature], Madrid, ed. Cátedra, 1981, p. 434, “The first positive foundation of the method lies in the first universal affirmation of complexity. The problem thereafter lies in transforming the discovery of complexity into a method of complexity.”

verified on the following chart, which analyzes developments in the Basque autonomous region as of the beginning of self-government in 1980 and up to 2008.

Changes in the Basque Autonomous Community

Since autonomy began and until year 2008

Indicators	Start Autonomy 1980	Entry into Europe 1986	1998	2008
1. GDP per capita (euros, current prices, base year 2005)	3,132	6,132	17,108	31,712
2. Convergence in income with Europe (EU=100)	89	90	108.9	134.0
3. Labour market				
Active population	803,100	805,000	928,300	1,063,900
Employment	702,400	607,200	771,400	995,400
Unemployment				
Number of people	100,700	197,800	156,900	68,600
Rate	12.54	24.57	16.9	6.4
4. Investment in R&D by GDP	0.07	0.5	1.11	1.96
5. Quality certificates	---	468 (1996)	2,142 (2000)	4,915 (2007)
6. Access to the Internet	---	---	2.5% (1997)	55.6%

Source: Eurostat, Eustat and own production

Last of all, it is of interest to point out that the core around which the Basque Case revolves is the individual, understood in its Kantian definition as developing in a specific socio-cultural space and viewed as an end in and of itself. This is why self-government must be oriented first and foremost towards achieving the full progress of the country's men and women, or in other words, that of the Basque People. The following chart seems to indicate the effort made and the path to be followed in the future. It shows the changes throughout the twenty-first century in social spending in the EU, in addition to unmasking the neoliberal argument that the Social State is harmful to economic behavior in Europe: if this were so, Germany should have less of a Social State than Greece yet. Curiously, the countries with the least Social State are those which have had to be rescued: Greece, Portugal and Spain.

Social protection spending per capita (€). Ranking top 10 EU

2004			2008			2016		
1	Luxemburg	11.840	1	Luxemburg	12.871	1	Luxemburg	14.469
2	Sweden	8.295	2	Netherlands	9.738	2	Austria	11.065
3	Austria	8.039	3	Sweden	8.964	3	Germany	10.952
4	Netherlands	7.945	4	Austria	8.229	4	Denmark	10.891
5	Denmark	7.905	5	Denmark	8.875	5	Netherlands	10.867
6	France	7.576	6	France	8.502	6	France	10.777
7	Germany	7.455	7	Germany	8.229	7	Sweden	10.260
8	United Kingdom	7.153	8	Belgium	8.037	8	Finland	10.259
9	Belgium	7.148	9	United Kingdom	7.836	9	Belgium	10.046
10	Finland	6.304	10	Finland	7.614	10	Basque A.C.	8.682
	EU 28	:		EU 28	6.754		EU 28	8.232
	Basque A.C.	5.419		Basque A.C.	6.746		Spain	6.349
	Spain	4.476		Spain	5.485		Portugal	5564
	Greece	3961		Greece	5515		Greece	5214
	Portugal	3835		Portugal	4588			

Source: Eurostat (January 24. 2019), Eustat (Press release February 14. 2019) and own elaboration.

This is why, at the same time as developing the concept of new European governance, the new Basque governance requires strategic reflection on how the powers which the Basque citizenry bestows upon its institutions are exercised. If European governance is an attempt to rescue the European project, so as to

make it more democratic, then Basque governance similarly involves a rebirth of the Basque self-governance framework, in terms of more political, social and economic power.

In conclusion: analyzing the Basque Case results in showing us that defending and deepening Basque self-rule, to defend the Basque political, cultural and economic identity, has been behind –as an inseparable attribute– the development of a model of competitiveness with solidarity, born from within the Basque Country while differentiating it from those around it.

The Basque Case has become possible, because there has been a Country concept that has given meaning to economic, political and social self-governance. Without a Country concept, shared public-private-societal leadership is impossible. It is not possible to develop a differentiated model of one's own, a shared country strategy with social initiative and clear public involvement, capable of generating ethical progress for people. Without a vision –the notion of a Country– the “People” perishes.

In this way, the notion of country, self-governance and shared leadership build “the Country project” from a place of proximity, from somewhere close, with a proper understanding of the problems to be solved.

The future of “The Basque Case”: Learning to be

The first step is to speak clearly about problems. It would seem as if we do not know who we are or where we come from, and therefore we do not have a place of our own. The Basque Country is not on the Global Agenda today, all inside of a Global Village which is as cruel to “those who are not present” as it is with “those who have no character.” Because, though it may seem contradictory, there is only one way to earn a place in Global Society, and that is to contribute “a differentiated project of one's own”. Unfortunately, it is not a “project of our own” but rather “dependence” which is the concept inhabiting minds in a large part of the Basque people today.

Stated in other terms, either the Basque Country bases its project –beyond the model of the legal/political relationship which it follows in its relations with Spain– on delving further into its identity and culture as a people, or it will become politically more and more dependent and socio-economically underdeveloped. We must look at the world without forgetting our roots, because we must compete with roots, we must innovate with roots, because in the twenty-first century those who do not know where they come from simply do not know where they are headed.

Having said this, the pertinent question is now: Is a different future possible for the Basque Country? And the answer is a resounding “Yes.” Yes, if we trust that this future exists; yes, if we trust that we can do it; yes, if we trust more in ourselves. In this sense, based on the idea that in economic, political and social life “there are no recipes to follow,” but rather experiences of success from which we can learn (learn to learn), but which must necessarily be adapted to each culture (learning to be) so as not to fail, in order to be successful, with all of the humility and affection of someone who just wants the best for those he considers his brothers. I dare suggest six thoughts which I consider foundations for building Sustainable Human Development in the future for the Basque Country:

1. Vision & Leadership & Strategy & Commitment: “A country open to the world, but without forgetting its roots.”

We need to have a Shared Country Vision, because “When there is no vision, the people perish,” in the well-put words of President Roosevelt; Shared Leadership, because a strategic alliance is made necessary between public institutions and civil society, instead of each “doing its own thing”; a Shared Strategy, because a great strategy is not the same as many strategies spread out, and Shared Commitments, which allow us to reach decisions and make them endure over time –overcoming the natural negative inertia which has settled on the Island and undoing everything done by those who came before me–: these are the foundations of a new consciousness for developing a national innovation strategy that gives us a place in global society.

2. Education & Innovation: “Pact on education: fighting ignorance in order to commit to hope”.

A Pact on Schools, because “school teaches us to see.” Because, without Schools there is no system of innovation to transform the educational system and empower the University’s role as an agent of regional development. The idea is to bet not on ignorance, but instead on knowledge, knowing, as Professor Pedro Miguel Etxenike states, that “a good education is very expensive, but it is far more expensive not to be willing to take on that cost.”

Economic analysis has concluded that the knowledge instilled in workers more and more often explains a greater proportion of productive capacity (compared with traditional factors

such as inputs or management techniques), which is how the modern definition of “human capital” was conceived:

“Knowledge which individuals acquire during their lifetime and use for the production of goods, services or ideas under market or non-market conditions.”⁴⁷

We must therefore pay special attention to “increasing and improving human capital,” from both a qualitative and quantitative point of view, because preparing people is important, but it is almost important to adapt to the productive fabric’s current and future needs.

Ultimately, it must be pointed out that the primary competitiveness factor in the new economic and social model for the Basque Country in the twenty-first century will be people and their knowledge. This is also why the public powers hold enormous responsibility to prevent new forms of inequality and ensure that those who “have little” do not become those who “know little,” as well.

Also playing a crucial role within this undertaking is the entire educational system, which must be capable of responding to the new requirements and move ahead towards a training and education model that promotes the knowledge and skills required by this new environment. Not only does people’s knowledge count, but it is also important to convey new values: an entrepreneurial, creative spirit, risk-taking, non-conformism, solidarity and the attitudes required by the new innovation-based society. This means understanding more than knowing, shifting from an education of skills to an education of sensitivities, because without an education of sensitivities, all skills become meaningless.

Quality and innovation must be the reference points of an educational policy which has to take on the task of promoting Innovation projects at centers involving new priority lines of innovation: a school for all (meeting the educational needs of the student body at an inclusive school, cultural and social diversity, quality and gender); a better school (processes of leadership and management, co-existence and educational community, education programs for co-existence, peace and Human Rights, quality in learning and a program of success for all, male and female); a school in the society of the twenty-first century (new curriculum and key skills, information and communication technologies, social framework, integrated treatment of languages, scientific education and sustainable development).

Training and learning systems must be adapted to a scenario in which the ways to access knowledge will many, and the type of people interested will expand. Educators and trainers will increasingly become like guidance counselors, mediators or educational guides. Their role will become more one of supporting clients so that they can do their own learning. In addition to motivating and developing a critical mentality, active learning must include the ability to learn about the different ways to acquire knowledge. Because, ultimately, a country’s level of education depends upon training, motivation and ongoing learning amongst its educators.

Last of all, training centers will not only be in demand based on their degree of organization and specialization, but also in accordance with their capacity for forming part of broader networks through which they can provide guidance to people about the way in which their needs may be satisfied. Therefore, training centers must have strong roots in the local environment and broad connections with their surroundings, while also maintaining, and therefore facilitating, ties with other communities that they form part of. The local relationship will contribute trust, whereas participation in broader networks will be essential in guiding individuals’ and groups’ activities and knowledge.

Basque Civil Society, Representatives of the Educational Sector, the Basque Government and Political Parties must build a new and concrete “Educational Pact” that raises the educational plan to the level of a “strategic project for the country,” thereby preventing constant political changes and legislation therein, while ensuring that it is developed in a balanced, harmonious manner in the long and medium term. At the same time, this places debate over the project and its implementation above party politics and electoral warfare. All of this will be done with the many fine professionals who currently look on helplessly from inside the Basque school systems itself. It must never be forgotten that the “secret” of a good school are its teachers, properly educated, well-paid and socially valued.

⁴⁷ ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (OECD), “Measuring What People Know. Human Capital Accounting for the Knowledge Economy,” 1996.

This pact must include specific regulatory and budgetary commitments in the medium and long term, as well as indicators that make it possible to track the full set of signatories, who therefore all become guarantors of the pact's fulfillment before the citizenry. Only in this way will it become possible to promote policies and initiatives which permanently allow for: committing to teacher training the social relevance; promoting schools' autonomy; strengthening the figure of the School Director; developing a Professional Training Plan with foresight on the relations between education and employment; organizing Basque's university system while preventing any legal system (public or private) from creating obstacles against the development of strategic planning for the country's universities, and seriously committing to internal and external quality evaluation and verification throughout all of Basque's educational system.

This is undoubtedly a task for all: the State, educational institutions, the business world and society. However, without a statewide pact, education will undergo constant crises.

3. “Real Economy,” a productive economy: “active industrial policies to create opportunities for life.”

A Pact for the Productive Economy (as a step subsequent to the educational pact), which allows for recovery of the industrial and productive fabric, companies' commitment to the Country and to policies for innovation, and the creation of jobs which provide life opportunities to Basque youths, thereby preventing the inhumane bloodletting of seeing how the best educated youths must leave the Country in order to pursue their life projects. This is the step to come after the educational pact, because “school” comes first. Without school, there is no business, no real economy. Today's educational system is tomorrow's real economy.

4. A Social State, solidarity: “Ethical progress: individualism overshadows the collective objectives of a people.”

Why build a society with just 50% of its people, when it can be done with 100%, with all men and women working together? Are soulless projects possible? Can there be a project in which many make contributions but just a few receive almost all the benefits? It is impossible to carry out a project if the people do not take part in it, if they feel no relationship with it. As Koldo Saratxaga and Jabi Salcedo state so accurately, people must feel like they are its “owners”⁴⁸. People, all people, are the heart of any political, economic and social project⁴⁹.

This is one of the most obvious failures of the unique neoliberal economic-political thought we have suffered in recent years, above all since the oil crisis of the 1970's, the result of which was the State's loss of weight compared with the Market, so well-reflected in a statement attributed to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that “what does it matter if things do not go well for people, as long as the economy is good.”

Because of this, to counter the sacralization of macroeconomic policies, essential though they fail to explain the strategic differences in the world and do so increasingly less, the Basque Country must make a clear, steadfast commitment to macroeconomic policies attached to the land, at the level of people's faces and eyes. Ultimately, it must commit to a project of its own that is different, with distinctive undertakings, in a world in which physical dimensions –Who is big, and who is small?–, or so-called units of economic efficiency, form part of a debate from the past. The idea is not to promote policies for charity which, as

⁴⁸ SARATXAGA, K. and SALCEDO, J., *El éxito fue la confianza. Una historia real ocurrida en el País Vasco en plena crisis del 2008 [Success Was Confidence: A real story that took place in the Basque Country in the middle of the 2008 crisis]*, Bilbao, published by K2K emocionado, 2010, p. 72, state: “Just as one cannot reach friendship through the orders and commands of a bullying sergeant, people do not take on commitments to a project just because the current boss tells them to, or because the Strategic Plan, Mission, Vision and Values state that our commitment to the people in the project are total and absolute. That commitment is only possible within a non-hierarchical, non-militarized structure based on freedom, trust in individuals, in responsibility itself; definitively, it must be a structure which allows people to become participants and stakeholders in the project on which they are working.”

⁴⁹ STIGLITZ, J.E., *El malestar en la globalización [Globalization and Its Discontents]*, Madrid, Santillana Ediciones Generales, 2002, p. 313, states: “What is needed are policies for sustainable, equitable, and democratic growth. This is the reason for development. Development is not about helping a few people get rich or creating a handful of pointless protected industries that only benefit the country's elite; it is not about bringing in Prada and Benetton, Ralph Lauren or Louis Vuitton, for the urban rich and leaving the rural poor in their misery. [...] Development is about transforming societies, improving the lives of the poor, enabling everyone to have a chance at success and access to health care and education.”

claims Robert B. Reich, seldom truly help the poorest⁵⁰, but rather to guarantee rights to people, which is the only way to fight against inequalities and in favor of equality.

The Country project may therefore be constructed from a place of proximity, from a close position with an understanding of the problems that need to be solved⁵¹. There must be a conviction that it is well-educated –with attention paid to the education system– and well cared for –with attention to the health care system and the construction of a space for social health care– people who will ensure that plans for families, companies or the country reach a proper end. It is they, with their critical ability for discernment, who push away social, political, economic and democratic corruption and truly perform the task of “informal social control”.

We must therefore acknowledge that there is no economic project without a life project. We must recognize that “a market without values is not a market, it is a failure.” We must not resign ourselves to accepting that everything lies in the hands of macroeconomic policies, but rather see that there is a space for microeconomic policies, to develop a Basque project all its own.

5. Self-governance and a New Governance Model: “Confidence & Self-esteem.”

New Governance consists of a new way of understanding not only the efforts and organization of all bodies of the Public Administration, but also their interaction with civil society, taking the individual into consideration as the ultimate point of reference for the government and a co-participant in that government⁵².

We have to rethink *democracy* itself as a political and social model, which means rebuilding a new world order⁵³. Because of this, the European Commission’s concept of governance is presented as a re-examination of how the EU uses the powers bestowed upon it by the citizenry. This turns the people –instead of the Member States– into the EU’s source of sovereignty, and at the same time into the overseer of how the powers bestowed are exercised.

The governance model⁵⁴ proposed by the White Book on European Governance⁵⁵ is a

⁵⁰ REICH, R. B., *El trabajo de las naciones. Hacia el capitalismo del siglo XXI* [The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st-Century Capitalism], Madrid, published by Javier Vergara, 1993, p. 276 points out: “No nation congratulates itself more enthusiastically on its charitable acts than America; none engages in a greater number of charity balls, bake sales, benefit auctions and border-to-border hand holdings for good causes. Much of this is sincerely motivated and admirable. But close examination reveals that many of these acts of benevolence do not help the needy. The one-third to one-half of donations given by Americans in the top income-tax bracket are particularly suspicious. Studies have revealed that their largess does not flow mainly to social services for the poor –to better schools, health clinics or recreational centers. Instead, most voluntary contributions of wealthy Americans go to the places and institutions that entertain, inspire, cure or educate wealthy Americans –art museums, opera houses, theaters, orchestras, ballet companies, private hospitals and elite universities.”

⁵¹ GUIBERNAU, M., *Los nacionalismos* [Nationalisms], Barcelona, published by Ariel, 1996, pp. 150 and 151, affirms that: “The renewed emphasis acquired by national identity has sprouted from the need for both a collective and individual identity. (...). It is crucial to point out that the nationalisms which are currently showing strength and renewed energy are mainly those coming out of stateless nations. Identity politics includes a progressive element, and the nationalist movements which represent it are situated alongside pacifist, environmental or feminist movements insofar as they defend those who are different, the weak.”

⁵² Public-private civil interactions are mainly expressed through the concept of governance, and the very definition of the word which is established by the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language in its Dictionary of the Language, defining it as “the art or way of governing which sets the objective of achieving long-lasting economic, social and institutional development by promoting a healthy balance between the State, civil society and economic market.”

⁵³ JAUREGUI, G., *La democracia en el siglo XXI: un nuevo mundo, unos nuevos valores* [Democracy in the Twenty-first Century: A new world, new values], Oñati, IVAP, 2004, pp. 124 and 125, points out the following regarding this topic: “An order based on a complex legal system which allows for the co-existence of diverse legal orders not necessarily sustained by hierarchical relations of supra- or sub-ordination, but rather criteria of sharing, coordination and subsidiarity. World democracy requires a constraint or limitation on the sovereignty of states, but, unlike what often occurs at the present time, that limitation may not and must not be exercised by other states. (...) it is necessary for transnational organizations to be able to exercise their authority and be capable of limiting the power of states. Just the opposite is happening at this time, when certain international institutions, such as the UN, have, through the force of inertia, become a docile instrument in the hands of the most powerful states.”

⁵⁴ White Book on European Governance, Communiqué by the European Commission to the European Parliament, Council, Economic and Social Committee and Committee of Regions, published in DOCE COM (2001) 428 final, stating: “The concept of European governance means the rules, processes and behaviors which influence the exercise of powers at the European level, above all in terms of openness, participation, responsibility, effectiveness and coherence.”

European Commission strategy created because it has verified a gradual and inexorable distancing of the European people from the work of European institutions and a crisis of trust among the people in the European integration process. This model of governance entails, in the words of Juan-Cruz Alli, that “in advanced societies, the State and society are two systems interwoven through complex networks and bonds (...) that require cooperation, collaboration and coordination”⁵⁶. It is necessary to distinguish them from the neoliberal governance model –*corporate governance*– developed by the Chicago School, whose main goal is to reduce the transactional costs of public activity, replacing the public interest with an interest in economic efficiency, thereby establishing a sort of “*Governance without Government*”⁵⁷, to use the terminology created by Wolfgang Reinicke.

The institutions’ interest in the new governance model must be reflected in the idea that the “right to good governance and good government,” to “participation by civil society” in public affairs and to “accountability,” must be the guidelines orienting the exercise of self-governance in Euskadi, along with the guiding values of the social and economic framework.

Using as a foundation the troubling and growing divide between institutions and the people they serve, Basque self-governance must build up the concept of governance as a political way to exercise the powers bestowed upon it by the people for enjoyment by the people themselves. Today, sincerely, unless the people’s trust in public and private institutions is recovered, there will be no social, economic or political project for the Basque Country or any other people in the world.

6. Measuring, Evaluating: “not only is there no improvement in that which is not measured... that which is not measured is not even on the agenda.”

The Basque Country is a country that does not seem to like measurements and evaluations too much. As if this were not enough, today it is not only commonly acknowledged that “what is not measured does not improve,” but also, in accordance with the modern thought of Professor Joseph Stiglitz, “what is not measured is not even on the agenda.” We have to stop being afraid of evaluation (quantitative and qualitative), because it is the only way to demonstrate the “utility” of things. And feeling useful is one of the most pleasant feelings that exists in this life.

This will force us down a long path –the opposite would not be credible-, filled with a change in attitudes, leadership, projects and commitments. Instilling an intellectual tension in everyday public and private decision-making, accepting change as an opportunity instead of an inevitable evil, because knowledge and science mean optimism, and that is the reason why the human species still exists today. Its main contribution is to tell us that every problem has a solution, not a simple solution, because science means complexity –I am not criticized by he who simplifies me, José Luis Borges would say–, but a solution after all. A sensible optimism that says yes, that it is possible. If we want to, we can.

Conclusion: Looking at the world without forgetting our roots

When you have little idea what direction to take, it is good to stop for a moment and look where you came from. In fact, if you do not know where you come from, you will have a hard time knowing where you are headed. The economic liberalism of the early twentieth century was transformed into an intense form of neoliberalism. The Chicago School dressed it up in intellectual clothing. In the final decades of the last century, neoliberals carried out a planetary offense for neoliberalism. Their motto: the market must be imposed. Everything that gets in its way shall be pushed aside. The result has been the displacement of individuals and peoples outside of the social mainstream.

⁵⁵ The origin of the White Book on European Governance lies in one of the Strategic Objectives set by the European Commission for the period of 2000-2005 (COM (2000) 154 final), which consists of “promoting new European forms of governance.” Through which the attempt would be made to “increase the people’s participation in European affairs, improving the running and transparency of institutions, in particular by reforming the European Commission, thereby serving as an example for all other institutions; adapting institutions to the needs for expansion; create new forms of cooperation between the different levels of power in Europe and, last of all, make an active, specific European contribution to the development of a world government.”

⁵⁶ ALLI, J. C., *Derecho administrativo y globalización* [Administrative Law and Globalization], Madrid, Civitas ed., 2004, p. 343.

⁵⁷ See REINICKE, W. H., *Global Public Policy. Governing without Government?*, Washington, published by Brookings Institution Press, 1998.

Everything for individuals and peoples, but without individuals and people: this seems to be the slogan of “ideological globalization.” This is being demonstrated more and more bitterly by the data which we have available. The reports and statements by United Nations experts which denounce that “a child dies somewhere in the world every five seconds due to preventable causes”⁵⁸ should be a cause for shame to us all. At the same time, studies like those by accredited American linguist Merritt Ruhlen⁵⁹, which alert as to the fact that hardly 500 of the over 5,000 languages spoken today will remain in existence by the end of this century –while also adding, by the way that one of them will be the Basque language–, provide a very clear explanation of the strategy of destruction of cultures and peoples upon which “this globalization” is being constructed.

It can therefore be said that this “village is global,” but it is not “pretty.” It is an “ugly village,” because it abandons its sons and daughters to their own fate. It is becoming increasingly unequal and leaves its members socially unprotected, in a flourish of heartlessness.

The data confirm a terrible tendency. In a report from 2014, the NGO Oxfam Intermón found that “economic inequality is rapidly growing in most countries. The world’s wealth has been divided in two: nearly half is in the hands of the richest 1% of the population, and the other half is shared by the remaining 99%”, adding, “and governments overwhelmingly serve economic elites to the detriment of everyday citizens”⁶⁰. In those same dates, the International Labor Organization (ILO) published the statement that “73% of the world’s population has no social protection policy”⁶¹. Then in 2015, the OECD report *Everyone Together: Why reducing inequality benefits us*⁶² was presented in Paris. At its presentation, the Secretary General of the OECD, Angel Gurría, affirmed: “We have reached a turning point. The inequality in OECD countries has reached the highest level since statistics were first taken,” then adding, “The evidence indicates that high inequality is negative for growth. The reason why political action exists is both economic and social. By failing to work on solving inequality, governments affect their countries’ social fabric and harm their long-term economic growth.” This claim is confirmed by Credit Suisse in its report from October 2018 on global wealth, when it states that 0.8% of the world’s population owns 44.8% of the planet’s wealth⁶³. And the last report published by Oxfam Intermon, in january 2019, affirms: “The fortune of the billionaires increased by 12% in the last year, that is, 2,500 million dollars a day, while the wealth of the poorest half of the world population, which amounts to 3,800 million people, was reduced by 11%”⁶⁴. It is no surprise that the discontent and social movements of “indignation” are increasingly large, with their protests to “win the street” on five continents.

The fight against inequality, in favor of individuals and peoples, is the revolution of the twenty-first century, the revolution for “human dignity.” It is not a crisis, but rather an “I don’t love you anymore,” as a demonstrator’s sign recently stated. In fact, institutions like the World Economic Forum recognize that “inequality is affecting social stability within countries and is causing a threat to security on a worldwide scale”⁶⁵. Today, even the International Monetary Fund (IMF) –the institution that said “what does it matter if things go badly for people, as long as the economy goes well” – acknowledges “that reducing inequality helps achieve faster, more enduring growth”⁶⁶.

It is not surprising that Pope Francis proclaimed that, “A globalization which enriches is like a polyhedron. Everyone is united, but everyone preserves their own particularity, wealth and identity,” and he added that, “Globalization improperly understood –as at the present– is like a sphere: all points are equal, all equally

⁵⁸ CARDONA, J., United Nations Expert, October 2014.

⁵⁹ RUHLEN, M., Department of Anthropological Sciences, Stanford University, Origen de las lenguas [Origin of Languages], interview with Merritt Ruhlen, May 2009.

⁶⁰ OXFAM INTERMÓN, *Gobernar para las élites, Secuestro democrático y desigualdad económica* [Governing for the Elites: Democracy’s sequestration and economic inequality], 2014.

⁶¹ ILO, *World Report on Social Protection, 2014-2015*, June 2014.

⁶² OECD, *In It Together: Why Less Inequality Benefits All*, Paris, May 2015.

⁶³ CREDIT SUISSE, *Global Wealth Report 2018*, Research Institute, Zurich, October 2018.

⁶⁴ OXFAM INTERMÓN, *Bienestar público o beneficio privado* [Public good or private wealth?], January 2019.

⁶⁵ WORLD ECONOMIC FUND, *Prospects of the World Agenda 2014*, November 2013.

⁶⁶ INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, *Redistribution, Inequality, and Growth* (Jonathan D. Ostry, Andrew Berg, Charalambos G. Tsangarides), March 4, 2014.

distant from the center”⁶⁷. I agree. This is the radical dilemma of our times: whether to be a sphere or a polyhedron. I have no doubt whatsoever: a polyhedron.

In a Global Society, we need Local Responses more than ever, and they must be each place’s own differentiated responses. Roots, our culture, our way of learning, of educating ourselves, of dealing with problems, of being serious about solving them, of not compromising the future of generations to come, the fight for equality between women and men, for sustainability, for solidarity: this forms the differential factor that makes us stand out in a world in which capital, raw materials, technology and new inventions and devices are spreading at a speed that never ceases to amaze us. We must look at the world without forgetting our roots.

This purely and simply means that Euskadi as a Country, with the same level of *independence-dependence* that other member countries of the European Union have, would not only be majorly viable, but also very recommendable, in my opinion. We know what we are, but not what we could be, Shakespeare reflected. So, the main problem for the Basque Country in its relationship with Spain is not as they intend to show us in the media’s debate over an *independence* which has not yet come, but rather a debate of greater substance over a *required dependence* which we are familiar with and suffer in fields such as monetary, fiscal, judicial and educational policies, as well as health care, employment, social security, etc. More than ever, we need a project of our own that is different but shows solidarity with Spain, France, Europe... but a project of our own which stands out, as committed and distinguished as in any other in European Union Country.

Ultimately, defending the people’s identity is essential to moving forward on the objective of “Sustainable Human Development” for the people itself. And the experience of the “Basque Case” is a humble example that what some people describe as a “utopia” of sustainable human development is a “utopia that can be achieved.” The idea is “Yes We Can”: that we can look the market in the eyes without having to stop looking into people’s eyes. Contrary to an attitude of resignation towards claims that neoliberalism is “just the way things naturally are” or that it amounts to a “scientific way of looking at reality,” the “Basque Case” constitutes an effective experience which lends evidence to the partial nature of such arguments.

It is also an invitation to realize the Basque dream in the future, a reason for hope. However, to do so, we must first figure out what is happening to us and give the country a clear diagnosis. Euskadi must shift from being “preoccupied” to getting “occupied” with its own future. It is true that there are enormous problems which will take time and energy to solve, but I also strongly believe that there are well-founded reasons for hope. We must make a wake-up call, though, to rise from our state of lethargy, from the collective dream state which seems to afflict us at the present time.

Dreaming about a different future for the Basque Country therefore means that we must have much greater trust in our own strengths. It is true that without self-criticism nothing can be built, but without self-esteem either. You have to believe in yourself to get something done. If you do not believe you are capable of something, it cannot be achieved.

Ultimately the people and schools are our hope. It is true that we have to do a lot of things to have a good school system, but we can have one, if we want to.

And the people: what extraordinary people! Here in this country, there are many men and women, amongst whom I count myself, who want to change their schools, economy, life and country. They believe the Basque Country is worthwhile if we take it seriously, if we have more self-confidence in ourselves. If we learn to be.

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