

Planning the emergent Basque megalopolis as a natural multi-metropolitan complex

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Introduction

The paper¹ is introduced, first by some basic ideas of planning applied to Basque prehistory, history and present, dealing with, secondarily, the question of whether or not Basque planning is substantially unique. The third part of the introduction deals with the nature of "natural cities," leading to the idea of an urban natural-artificial trade-off matrix.

The main body of the paper deals, first, with the existing Basque spatial structure, consisting of seven metropolitan areas growing together, toward a megalopolis that could well have specified negative outcomes. Second, it examines recent and current efforts to control or guide such development. After reviewing the limited efforts of the "Eurocity Basque" and those at the intermediate level in France and the Spanish Navarra province, the paper turns to the impressive work of the Department of Territorial Planning and Environment of the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain. Separately, "Plan Ibarretxe," a metaplan for future Basque national and international negotiation and planning is described. Its recent passage by the Basque Parliament and impact on a subsequent Basque parliamentary election are evaluated – as well as the prospects for it being submitted to a non-binding Basque area referendum in the successful territorial planning there. But it is concluded that "Plan Ibarretxe" and other promising developments hold out some hope for a desirable outcome from such efforts as the development of a planned natural, multi-metropolitan complex for the region.

Basic Ideas of planning, applied to the Basque context

Environmental planning, in the broadest sense, may be seen as that human activity of **thinking about doing**, in which **modification of some major part of the physical environment** to accomplish some purpose is **part of the thinking**, and also **the subject of an important part of the resulting intended action**. This phenomenon has probably existed from the time of the appearance of true humans (Cro-Magnons, in Europe) on earth, at first evidently concentrated on environmental modification to entrap big game.²

The Basque people of the Basque Country, or *Euskadi*,³ of Southwest Europe are the descendants of the original Cro-Magnons, if we are to accept the logic of current international linguistic scholarship.⁴ Their planning began when true-human environmental planning began, more than 40,000 years ago. Their strategic planning no doubt soon became applied to warfare, though the archaeological evidence is scant. Their spatial or territorial planning is evident in the arrangement of the painted caves more than 30,000 years ago.⁵ Later, sedentary herdsman and farming developed early in Basque culture, with strong environmental planning implications, and it is evident in Basque planning today.⁶ By the time of the Roman Conquest in 56 BC, the military strategic planning, of several kinds, of the Basques was clearly in evidence. Julius Caesar's account of the Battle of Sos makes that quite clear. Strategy, however, remains clearly central to contemporary Basque culture. It is most visible in games such as the famous Basque card game, *mus* and in sports such as *Pelote Basque [Euskal Pilotaren Gogoia]* (called *hai-alai* in the Americas).⁷ To see that environment is central to much of contemporary Basque thought: one has only to consider the *etxe*, the house – one of the glories of Basque culture – and its extension up or urban settlements and up to regional or national territories.⁸

"Irreducible Basque Phenomenon" applied to planning?

Basque environmental planning today should not be expected to be substantially unique. After all, more than two millennia of acculturation – from the Gauls, the Romans, the Catalans, the Bearnese, and the Castillians – have taken place. The most direct borrowing has been in the past four hundred years, from the French and from the Castilian Spanish. This borrowing is clear in that there is no general concept of planning in *Euskera*, other than the loan word from other European languages. The word for territorial or regional planning is

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antolamendu, connoting “arrangement” just as it does in the French *aménagement* or the Spanish *ordenamiento*. If there is uniqueness in Basque planning, it will be found below the surface. Philippe Oyamburu, in his widely read book of that title, has argued that such fundamental differences do indeed exist, and that they have to do with a stubbornness, a near obsessive economic calculus, an adventuresome optimism, and a pragmatism. Later research may or may not verify the saliency of some of these traits among contemporary Basque planners.⁹

More recently, one of the leading Basque social scientists has advanced the viewpoint that Basque uniqueness is relative, not absolute.¹⁰ Pierre Bidart has reviewed the writing about “the specificity” of the Basque people, starting with the German writers of the 18th century. He then examines the 19th century posits of priest-anthropologist J.M. Barandiaran, and the French writer, Jon Mirande, among others. Finally, Bidart examines the scientific approaches of the 19th and 20th centuries to the Basque question. Bidart’s is a post-modern formulation – a discourse upon other discourses – and, by its nature, arrives at few specific conclusions. Rather, Bidart achieves something of a post-modern compendium of discourses about “Basqueness,” virtually all of which he finds too wanting to justify any positive conclusions: Thus the conclusion about the relativity of Basque uniqueness.

Neither Oyemburu nor Bidart has a ready explanation of the supposed universality of these traits of the residual Basque culture today, but there may be one. That would be the Basque language, the only cultural trait that has remained relatively intact over the centuries. Euskara does have a number of features that make it quite unique in Europe, and indeed worldwide. It is a reflexive language and some of its verbs are quite mathematical in their logic. However, no serious argument has been advanced so far to the effect that planners who think in Euskara, arrive at substantially different proposals, thorough different mental processes, than do the native speakers of other languages. Future research may yet yield evidence of the effect of Basque semantics on planning thought and action, however. (Bidart seems to reject this possibility, but, consistently, he is ambivalent.) The one hypothesis I do have about the possible singular uniqueness of Basque planners is that they have a strong tendency to think concretely about specific places – to the point that they frequently refuse to discuss a place unless they know that the person they are talking to has actually been there. I am not familiar with such a strong tendency toward empirical specificity in any other of the numerous nations where I have had occasion to discuss planning.

The nature of “natural cities”

The “natural cities” literature emphasizes water and some biological species of some macroscopic flora and some vertebrate fauna. Arguably, the first full-fledged theory of the “natural” city came from Frederick Law Olmsted in 1869, when he recognized that the city was essentially *artificial* in nature but that the infusion of major natural elements would be to the great benefit of its residents.¹¹ Olmsted made it clear that he understood that the human city was essentially an artefact of the built environment in pursuit of economic, political and social objectives. But he argued strongly that none of these objectives would be much harmed, and *some of them* would *sometimes* be advantaged, by the systematic infusion of elements more characteristic of rural, even sylvan environments. Implicit in his writing, in my view, was the germ of a “trade-off” function, whereby there is a gain in social and economic goals by adding “nature” to cities – at least up to some “saddle-point” at which the advantages become negligible and after which

there would be a decline in social and economic functioning with each new addition of more “nature.”¹² I shall refer to this idea below.

Olmsted’s formulation was followed decades later by movements in favor of more urban parks and “garden cities,” movements that fed the creation of both landscape architecture and urban planning. By the late 1950s, Olmsted’s implicit socio-economic/natural trade-off idea had been largely abandoned by landscape architects. The revised formulation most overtly appeared in the assertion that one could increase urban parks and other “natural” features *infinitely and always* have the land costs (or even the land costs plus the improvement costs of the recreational open space) paid for by increased taxes due to increases in land values around the new “natural” facility.¹³ After 1965, Ian McHarg’s version of ecology arose as the main quasi-scientific rationale for maximizing water and selected biological species in cities.¹⁴ McHarg’s work, seemingly “scientificized” that implicit slogan of the urban landscape architects, to the effect that one could infinitely increase the amount of “natural” open space in any city with a corresponding increase in land values and, thus implicitly, human benefit. And this fallacy is probably at the heart of much error in the “natural city” literature today.

Spatial structure of the Basque region

In some of my earlier discussions of this subject, I have used a historical method to show how the Basque region’s spatial structure has evolved. But, for present purposes, it is probably better to note that the spatial structure is now clearly dominated by a number of metropolitan areas, as many as seven if the boundaries are relaxed to include closely related metro areas.¹⁵ At one or more lower levels are the second order cities and towns, mostly market centers but some with substantial manufacturing as well. And then there are the small town and village centers that link agricultural and extraction areas with the urban system. So the true megalopolitan area of expansion is centered in the metropolitan areas, which are growing toward each other, and two orders of smaller cities and villages

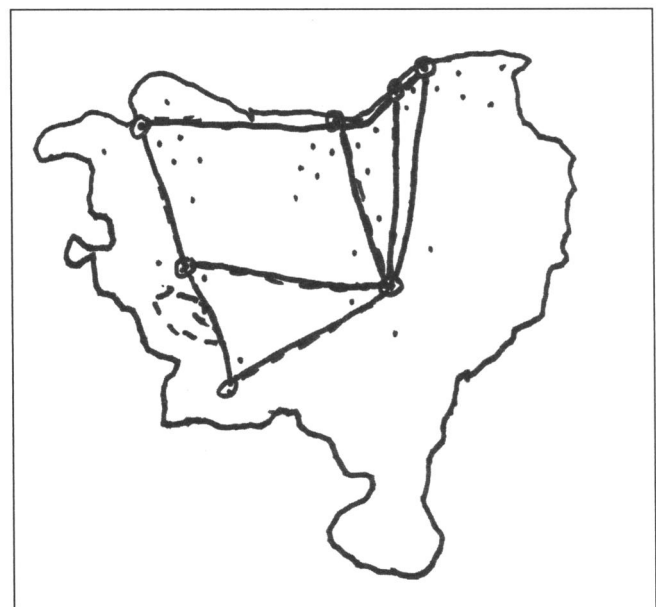


Fig. 1: Abstract of spatial structure, Basque-speaking region.

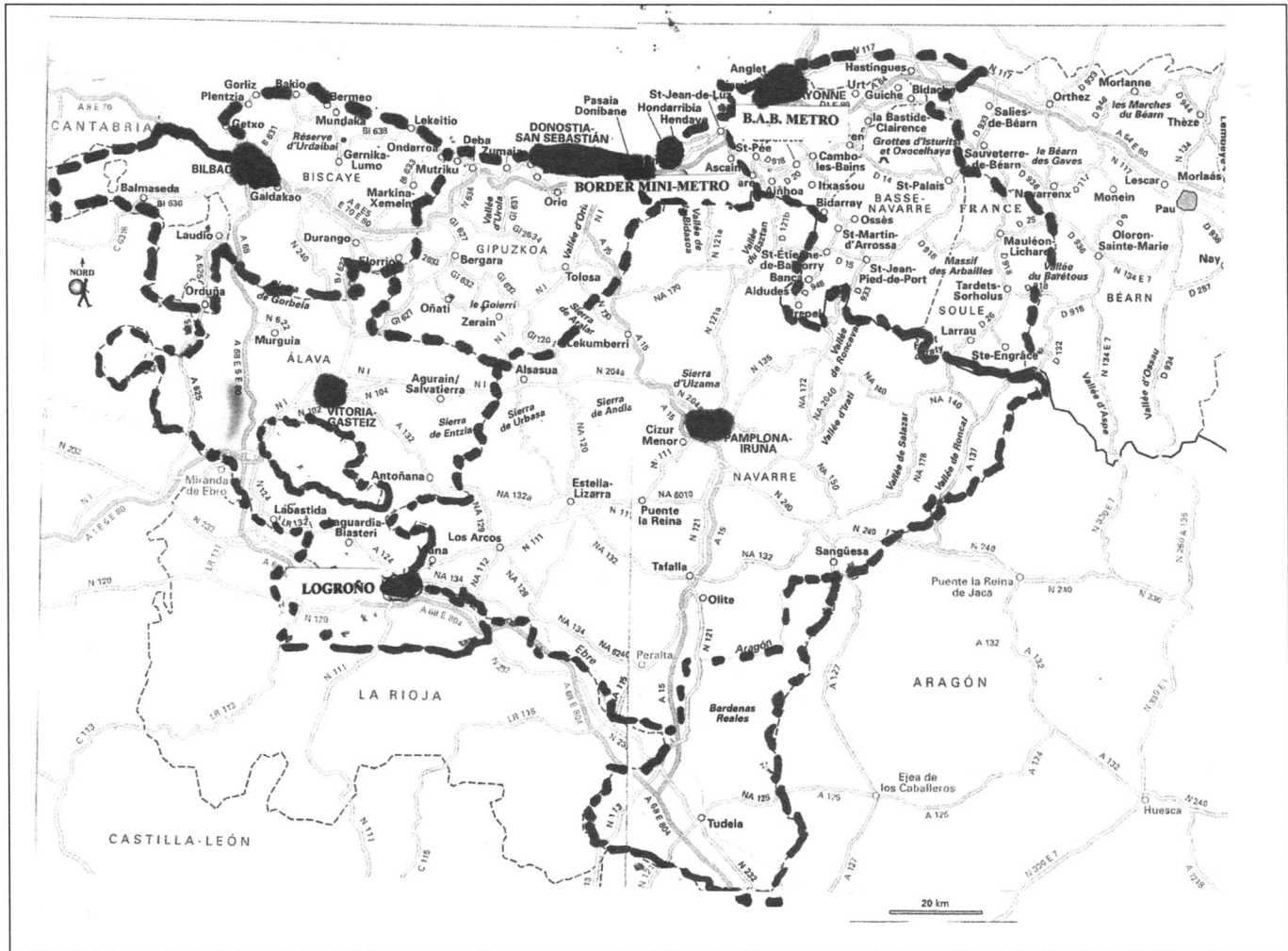


Fig. 2: Seven-metro implicit Basque spatial structure.

of the Basque-speaking region itself. These metropolitan areas are as follows (fig. 1), clockwise from the North:

- The B.A.B. Metro Area of France (Baiona/Bayonne, Argel/ Anglet, Miarritze/Biarritz complex);
- Iruña/Pampalona Metro Area of Nafarroa/Navarra, Spain;
- Logroño Metro Area, of Rioja, Spain;
- Gasteiz/Vitoria Metro Area of Araba/Alava, Spain;
- Bilbo/Bilbao Metro Area of Biskaia/Biscaya, Spain;
- Donostia (San Sebastian) Metro Area of Gipuzkoa/ Gipúscua; and,
- Irun-Fontarrabie-Hendaia (Irun-Hondarrabia-Hendaye) border mini-metropolis.

Contemporary Basque spatial structure

Basque spatial structure¹⁶ can easily be summarized in the abstract. Think of an irregular heptagon, with the seven main metropolitan areas, above, at the angles. The sides are thus imaginary external connecting lines between the above-listed metro areas. Internal lines to this heptagon may also be shown. The metro areas or large cities at the angles of the heptagon are, except for Gasteiz-Vitoria, surrounded by more or less well articulated rings of suburbs and related to more or less well-developed hierarchical hinterlands of smaller cities, towns and villages. Each of these large center cities has about two hundred thousand residents – except for Bilbo (Bilbao), which has nearly three times that number. Hendaye-

Irun and Logroño each have about half that number. The seven metro nodes are interconnected by good highways and railways, including limited access turnpike-autoroutes on the BAB-Bilbo(Bilbao) axes and the Donostia(San Sebastian) axis to Gasteiz-Vitoria. There are plenty of agricultural and other open spaces in the interstices between the external and internal axes. The region is well-endowed with wilderness areas and agricultural and grazing lands (fig. 2).

“Trend” spatial structure

The future spatial structure of Basque Country, if left to market and other spontaneous forces, is hardly a mystery. Since Gottmann’s posit of the Northeast U.S. megalopolis, virtually scores of such metropolitan-areas-growing-together have been identified, documented, and analyzed. There is no reason to suppose the spontaneous-trend Basque megalopolis would be substantially different. The economic forces for waves of tourist and retiree locations is well established on both sides of the Pyrenees, and the accompanying destruction of the natural environment is already too clear to be ignored. Current French and Spanish governmental measures to restrain and direct such growth do not promise much hope that the spontaneous trend would be substantially altered. The critical test case of current planning measures is probably the strip some 50 km deep along the Atlantic coast – from the B.A.B. industrial suburbs of Boucau and Tarnos in the North to

the beach and resort area just West and South of Donostia (San Sebastian). That area has already almost entirely yielded, or is in the process of yielding, to the megalopolitan form or urbanization. The tools for effective growth control are simply not in place, or even in view. In time, we must forecast, several metropolitan areas would indeed grow together, with huge, suburban "edge" urbanizations of indifferent quality taking the place of many currently attractive natural areas, which are also the refuge of traditional cultures.

Promotional efforts to modify the trend:

The "Eurocity Basque" initiative

In 1993, the then Metro District of Biona (Bayonne)/Anglet (Anglet)/Biarritz (Biarritz) (in France) and officials in the Donostia (San Sebastian) centered Gipuzkoa (Gipúscoa) province, (in Spain) began brainstorming about the idea of the areas. The discussions were from a background of cooperative work between the two ports, Baionna (Bayonne) and Donostia (San Sebastian), and they were inspired by the outlook of linear megalopolis that was forming along the coast of the European Community.

The specific impetus was the quasi-academic discussion of the "Eurocity" phenomenon of cities across the now relaxed, international borders. One branch of the identified "Eurocity" was the "Atlantic arc," from about Bordeaux to about Bilbao (Bilbao). The "Eurocity Basque" was to be just the border portion from Baiona (Bayonne) to Donostia (San Sebastian) about 50 km deep, of this larger urban, multi-nodal structure. The logic behind selection of just this area was never made entirely clear. However, the initiative did receive some encouragement from authorities in both France and Spain in the early years. Most impressive was the naming of this idea as a "pilot project" by the French Inter-Ministerial Delegation for Regional Planning (D.A.T.A.R.). There was also an expression of support from the General Council of the Atlantic Pyrenees *département*. (No parallel encouragement was offered by the Spanish central Government, however, and support from the Basque government also appears to have been muted.)

The initiative was promoted to the area's municipalities in a number of forums and workshops. There followed several years of staff work, with personnel provided by the local and (in Spain) provincial governments. A "white book" was produced, a multi-lingual web site developed (www.eurociudad.com), and an international agency of sorts was established. The key years of activity were between 1998 and 2000. A fairly ambitious agenda of activities was produced for each of the years through 2004.

A recent scholarly examination of the idea, by Gabriel Sansinenea, a Spanish Basque geographer, has been published.¹⁷ His account of activities ends in mid-2001. However, Sansinenea made it clear why no sustained regional and metropolitan planning could be expected from this venture. He says:

"...this trans-border project does not lack creativity or good intentions; but, for now, it involves only a document lacking in judicial value, that has to be implemented. And what is more important, it has to become socially integrated. For that we count on the European context, which is supporting the idea in many respects. But this will never be enough unless we can count on social understanding in both the public and private sectors."¹⁸

There is a rather naïve quality to both the "White Book's" discussion of government and even to Sansinenea's own conclusions. The major defects of the "Eurocity Basque" promotion were that the selected area was probably not the right one to fit the logic of the "Eurocity" discourse; there would have had to be established an international public or ("mixed economy")

agency. The "White Book" should have built these considerations into what the present planning agencies, or some modification of them, could do; and there should have been less attention to promotional devices and more to serious strategy.

Existing metro-megalopolitan planning in the Basque country

Planning in both Spain and France has rather smoothly evolved toward the common approaches to urban and regional planning that have been advanced by the European Community. In that approach, it is assumed that all countries will have national economic, social, environmentally protective and culturally protective plans. They will also have regional plans that are, as Sansinenea puts it, "the spatial expression of economic, social and ecological policy."¹⁹ Regional spatial plans stand higher than urban planning, conceived of as limited to municipal in scope; regional planning is seen to be applied to metropolitan and larger areas – up to the nation, or even Europe as a whole. The content of regional spatial planning is "basic for a coordination of existing public administrations, trying to obtain balanced development of regions, of their income, their urban design, etc."

The objectives of such regional spatial planning in the European context are:

- Develop a balanced, polycentric urban system that strengthens association with rural areas;
- Reinforce the polycentric development of the territory with integrated systems of transportation and communication, assuring accessibility;
- Develop and conserve the cultural and natural heritage of the territory.

Contemporary governmental efforts

• United Planning Agency for the Atlantic Pyrenees

Département: On the French side of the Basque Region, there is one agency that potentially *could* plan for the entire three traditional Basque provinces. That is the Urban Planning Agency for the Atlantic Pyrenees *Département*.²⁰ This agency was created only a few years ago at the behest of *Département* Council, and it has proved to be an invaluable source of economic, demographic, and mapping studies as well as local plans. (It has done major work for the BAB metropolitan area.) This is despite its chronically understaffed situation. It currently has a multi-disciplinary team of three architects, three geographers, one economist, a documentation specialist, a land surveyor/computer specialist and two secretaries.

The agency functions as a kind of public consulting firm, responding to requests from its own *Departmental* elected councillors and to local government elected officials to do whatever research for planning or planning that may be desired. The current workload includes maintaining a "Territorial Dynamics Observatory" consisting of atlases, a rental observatory, a diagnostic study of businesses, socio-economic analyses of residential migration, and of specific localities. A second area of work is called "the territorial fabric" including studies such as an approach to public schools for the *Département*, and specific small town and village studies. The third area of the workload is Planning per se, which include "the territorial dynamic" (studies of the "urban footprint," transportation times, population densities, and community facilities.) Included in this category too are the studies of the Adour/South Landes urban forms and activity zones, residential mobility, and local urban plans and related studies. A fourth area of the agency's workload is called "decision-aids and mastery of works." These are interpretative exercises to sharpen the results of quantitative studies into findings that elected officials can use in deciding what

to do.

Included are materials on the interior Pays Basque, sports practices in schools, transportation infrastructure (for the BAB metropolitan area), and some local exercises. Finally, the workload includes several miscellaneous local projects. It is an impressive agenda for an agency of this size and maturity. It would be premature to suggest that a planning agency of this character and orientation would be appropriate to future joint regional planning with planners from the Basque Autonomous Community. More than half of the workload of the Atlantic Pyrenees agency is dedicated to projects outside the Pays Basque, for the *Département* also includes the entire Bearn cultural region, with its larger and more dynamic Pau metropolitan area. Moreover, its mission has been stretched to deal with all of the areas of the Adour River basin – that is, all of the southern Landes *Département*. So probably less than one third of the agency's workload can be expected to be concentrated on the Basque area. Moreover, even those projects that do concentrate on this part of the *Département* seem to be quite insensitive to Basque culture, including language. There seems to have been no effort to assure that Basque-speakers are included among the key agency personnel, and apparently only French language place names are used in their work – even in Basque-speaking communities they have studied. (This may well be a legal requirement since the agency is really a unit of French national government, simply allocated to this *Département*). Finally, it seemed for a time that this agency might be moved to another level to be consistent with the large-regional emphasis of the then newly elected French government of Pierre Rafferin. That priority changed, but in the future it is clear that a change in French national policy could at any time have these research and planning functions transferred to Mont-de-Marsan or Bordeaux, to the regional government of the Aquitaine Region.

Research on this agency is not yet complete. It is already clear, however, that the attitude of most planning agencies in France pretends that the Basques do not exist. Beyond that, it is essentially planning following the guidelines set down by the French national government, with relatively minor additions and changes specifically for this *département*. Unless or until that fundamental attitude changes, coordination of regional planning with other parts of the Basque-speaking region can be expected to be minimal.

There are planning agencies in each of the larger municipalities, but none of them, of course, is capable of leading area-wide planning of the kind that is likely to be required. This has become clear with the "Eurocity Basque" project that was launched with great fanfare about five years ago as a joint venture of the City of Biaona (Bayonne) and the provincial government of Gipuzkoa (Gipúscoa), complete with and expensive and, initially, well-maintained web-site.

● **The B.A.B. Metro Planning Agency:** The second agency to be discussed is the BAB metropolitan planning agency, staffed by professionals provided by the three constituent cities. This agency did not have enough personnel to carry out the key transportation planning study, and had to turn to the *Departmental* agency for that important task. In time, the BAB planning agency should be able to do all of its own work. However, it does not deal with a wide enough scope to be able to work effectively with the agency or agencies from across the Pyrenees for megalopolitan planning.²¹

● **Planning agency for the Spanish Nafarroa (Navarra) province/autonomous community:** Research on this agency, parallel to that of the French agency for the Pyrénées Atlantiques, for the entire province (now Foral Autonomous Community) of Nafarroa (Navarra), is not yet complete. It is already clear, however, that the attitude of all public agencies in

Nafarroa/Navarra assumes that the Basques do not exist. Beyond that, it is essentially following the guidelines set down by the Spanish national government, with relatively minor additions and changes specifically for this province/autonomous community. Unless or until that fundamental attitude were to change, coordination of regional planning with other parts of the Basque-speaking region would quite unthinkable.²²

● **Territorial planning in the Basque Autonomous Community²³:** The Basque Autonomous Community, in Spain, was created as a result of the Socialist government's decision to have a new Constitution for the democracy that appeared after Franco's demise. That Constitution (1978) provided limited autonomy for the Basque region (as well as for Catalonia, Galicia, as well as for several other provinces.)²⁴ The entity created to receive that limited autonomy was the Basque Autonomous Community. It was given as territory the provinces of Biscaya (Biscaya), Gipuzkoa (Gipúscoa), and Araba (Alava), but it excluded Nafarroa (Navarra/Navarre), the historic center in much of Basque history. And, as a Spanish creation, it of course excluded the historic three Basque provinces in France. Despite its territorial limitations, the creation of the Autonomous Basque Community marked the first time that anything resembling autonomous decision making by Basques for even part of their homeland existed in more than 2,000 years.

Powers given to the Basque Autonomous Party were apparently numerous but in reality quite limited – especially whenever a hostile Spanish central government (such as the recent Popular Party one) was in power. A Basque Parliament was created, but it was restricted by the power of the Spanish Parliament and by the Spanish national courts. A localized judiciary was created, but clearly subject to the Spanish national judiciary. A Basque executive branch was created, centering on a Basque president (*Lehendakari*), and there was a vice president. Executive functions, some ten or eleven in number, were concentrated in an array of ministerial-level departments. However, which parts of what functions were retained by the Spanish central government was not always very clear and often had to be negotiated or decided upon by Spanish higher courts. Even the budget was allowed to become often the subject of bitter annual negotiations.

One of the executive clusters of functions was named "territorial planning, housing, and the environment." (In recent years, "housing and social affairs" has been moved to a separate department, but the agencies overlap in practice). The Basque name for the first part of the remaining department is *Lurralde Antzokialdi*, which translates directly into Spanish as *Ordenamiento del Territorio* (from the French, *aménagement du territoire*), and is best expressed in English as "territorial planning" with a connotation of "arrangement" in all languages.²⁵ The second half of the cluster of functions is straightforward: *Ingurugiro (medio ambiente), Environment*. This part of the department is defined rather comprehensively and compares rather well with the scope of such national agencies internationally. It covers biodiversity and ecology, water and the coastline, land, air and noise, environmental impact analysis, contaminated sites, waste disposal, and the Basque register of emissions and pollution sources. It has its own thematic cartography division. There is a special section for the Uraibai Biosphere Reserve (a huge area on the coastline between Bilbo (Bilbao) and Donostia (San Sebastian)), as well as its own proactive public environmental management company ("Ihobe"). The fusion of "territorial planning" with "environment" into a single executive agency suggests that the Basque Autonomous Community has the beginnings of an appropriate way of dealing with both the socio-economic and the natural, in planning the Basque inter-urban natural complex.

Territorial planning consists of mapping and related ser-

vices, participation in an international "Project Cities," major newer functions in the sectoral regional plan for riverbanks, and a geographic information system as a service to both regional and municipal planning. The riverbank studies and plans include several different aspects, ranging from hydrology to studies of riverfront urban places. The way the Basques have developed their territorial planning activity during the past 15 years proves even more interesting. A specific law for "territorial planning" was developed in 1990. By late 1996, a detailed report was debated in the Basque Parliament, and from it the "Directives of Territorial Planning" (a massive compendium of several hundred pages, profusely illustrated) was published first in 1997.²⁶ Briefly, the Directives start with a heavy emphasis on the natural environment, its inventory and protection; and then the document turns to "arranging" the region's spatial structure toward the achievement of economic and socio-cultural objectives. A key summary output is the "Regional Model" of the future Basque spatial structure, which promises to become a powerful decision-tool in future years. The work of the department since then has been a deepening of the basic principles and extending the logic into "sectoral territorial plans" (i.e. industrial ruins, land locations for promoting housing, protection of the banks of rivers and streams, and economic activities), and "partial territorial plans," including criteria for planning provincial and municipal planning. This latter has recently led to an inventory of municipal planning for the region, as well as the initiation of an entirely new Basque local planning and urban design law. (But see note 28, below).

Related to its main thrust of developing the "Territorial Planning Directives," with its summary "Territorial Model" has been its multi-year collaboration with the *Fundación Metropoli* in sharpening its focus on the proactive urban development aspects of its effort. (The *Fundación* is a kind of international think-tank for modern urban development in mixed economies). The report of the *Fundación*, *Euskal Hiria: Proyecktu*,²⁷ was published by the Basque government, though its more proactive recommendations for local economic and social promotion go beyond the scope of the department as defined by law. These policies have never been debated or passed by the Basque Parliament. Nonetheless, the sharpened view of the proposed Basque Polycentric System of Cities does have the advantage of having posed with specificity the implicit spatial structure for the region. Even more importantly, it provides something of a strategy of how to get there, of achieving modernization both for the system as a whole and for individual metropolitan areas, secondary urban centers, and smaller rural-urban foci. These ideas are advanced for future possible decisions, by Basque decision makers, throughout the larger, extended, region.

The "Territorial Model" has as its dominant element the Basque poly-nuclear system of cities, towns and villages, led by the several metropolitan areas of Bilbo (Bilbao), Donostia (San Sebastian), and Gasteiz (Vitoria) [Vitoria-Gasteiz]. The border mini-metropolis of Irun, Hontaribia (Fontarabia), Hendaia (Hendaye) needs to be added. Then, outside the Spanish Basque Autonomous Community territory, the historically and functional key Iruña (Pamplona/Pamplune) metropolis in Nafarroa/Navarra, the external but functionally-linked Longroño complex, and the B.A.B. metropolis in France must be added. The next level of centers of important market and industrial centers needs to be elaborated more systematically. And the hardest tasks ahead will be that of doing justice to the quasi-urban bridges to agricultural, grazing and natural areas – the small towns and villages so central to Basque culture. Overall, this "Model," if the smaller centers are successfully fleshed out, has the potential of achieving a heavily *natural* multi-metropolitan and multi-centric complex, perhaps unmatched anywhere else on the globe. In brief, the Basque Autonomous Community has made a good start at the kind of megalopolitan planning

that will be required in decades and centuries ahead. It is particularly important that the environmental aspects be well-founded. The neglect of the efficiency facets of settlement structure also needs to be rectified. However, the needed inputs from economics and the social sciences can easily be added later on by any number of inter-ministerial arrangements.

"Plan Ibarretxe": A strategic framework for future planning?

The Achilles' heel of the entire "territorial planning" initiative of the Basque Autonomous Community is that it lacks appropriate jurisdiction for the task at hand. The fundamental problem that the effort addressed, again, is the need to promote, for the entire Basque regional territory, modern economic and social development while avoiding the self-defeating horrors of megalopolitan development – resulting in the permanent degradation of a rich and beautiful, but fragile, natural environment. The problem with the planning effort resides partly in the more-apparent-than-real quality of the Community's autonomy in Spain. However, in addition, the Basque Autonomous Community has jurisdiction, or even hope of meaningful influence, over only a portion of the regional territory. Nafarroa (Navarra/Navarre), the Longroño complex, and the three French provinces were, up to 2001, quite outside any meaningful planning by the Basque Autonomous Community. Indeed, there was official hostility to things Basque (except folklorish tourism), in all of these jurisdictions. The only available vision to deal with such seemingly intransigent problems to date was the vague intention, frequently stated since 1990, for the territorial planning to be a "pioneering effort" that would somehow inspire parallel efforts in the other jurisdictions. History does not display many instances of such vague hopes being automatically realized.

Into this problematic situation there appeared, without much warning, a remarkable potential strategy for Basque national development and inter-jurisdictional dialogue among Basques. This was the highly controversial "Plan Ibarretxe," named after the then and present Basque President (*Lehendakari*), Juan Jose Ibarretxe. This plan-for-planning, or meta-plan, was announced about the time of his presidential inauguration in mid-2001, was passed by the Basque Parliament, and later became elaborated into a full-fledged proposal. "Plan Ibarretxe" has been the subject of heated debate for the past four years and was proposed as a non-binding "consultation" referendum to the entire Basque electorate. A key part of the proposal is for a new political statute for the Basque homeland, stipulating that the Basques have a right to decide their own future, and posing a new model of relationship to Spain – based on the principle of "free association." The new statute would replace that of 24 years ago, with the aim of improving "living together" with Spain, broadening self-government, and improving the well-being of all Basques. The "Plan" has three premises:

- That the Basque people are a European people, with their own history;
- That the Basque people have a right to decide their own future, in conformity with the right of self-government of peoples, as proclaimed by the Basque Parliament and internationally recognized;
- That, in exercising the right to decide their own future, the citizens of the Community of *Euskadi* [the Basque homeland], of Nafarroa (Navarra/Navarre) and the Basque provinces of France, respectively, have the right to be consulted in referendum, and their will should be respected.²⁸

It is on these three premises that the Basque people would ask for a new political statute of free association with the Spanish state. That would clearly change the game of autonomy, with the implicit possibility of a future referendum for total separa-

tion from Spain. The third premise would allow for future joint decision making between the Basque Autonomous Community and Basques residing outside the territories. Both are seen as threatening by supporters of the status quo.

The evident end of ETA violence, announced on March 22, 2006, and confirmed many times by events since, will require a more intensive analysis at a later date to fully assess the impact of Plan Ibarretxe – or whatever the consensus document for Basque overall strategy may come to be called. But the probable future impact of such a document on future Basque meta-planning of such a strategic document is already clearly foreseeable.

Clearly enough, the “Plan Ibarretxe” would require an amendment to Spain’s 1978 Constitution, and strong forces in various parts of Spain are arrayed against any such fundamental change. On the other hand, should the “Plan” gain approval by the Basque electorate, the result would very probably be some kind of compromise and the granting of greater and clearer autonomy. However, whatever the outcome, “Plan Ibarretxe” will probably stand as one strong latent expression of “what the Basque people want” for decades to come. As such, it may well provide the basis for negotiations between Basque leaders in Spain and those in France, Nafarroa (Navarra/Navarre) and the Longroño area of the Rioja.

Required Basque megalopolitan planning

What kind of planning will be required to make the Basque settlement structure keep pace with the likely pattern of urban development most likely to evolve in coming centuries? Let us take as a point of departure the “model” of the demographer Joel A. Cohen, which he put forth about four-and-one-half years ago:

“A century from now, humanity will live in a global garden, well or badly cared-for. The majority of people will live in cities, surrounded by extensive thinly-populated zones, for nature, agriculture and silviculture. Globally, between 100 and 1,000 cities of between 5 and 25 million people each, will serve the desires of their residents, for food, water, energy, collection of wastes, political autonomy and natural and cultural amenities. Some cities will serve populations that desire to live only with other people who are ethnically and culturally similar to themselves. Other cities will serve populations attracted by ethnic and cultural diversity. Various cities will earn changing reputations by being favorable for youth, raising children, working, or retirement. The efficiency and quality of services provided by cities will depend on the quality of their administrations, on the behavioral abilities, and the courtesy of their populations.”²⁹

All this, as a minimum, must be reflected in Basque megalopolitan planning if it is to accomplish what it needs to in our complexly urbanizing world. There will be political constraints on how much of such planning can be adopted, as well as how much of what is planned can be implemented by specifiable government agencies and private firms.

Politics as an obstacle to Basque megalopolitan planning

All regional planning, including megalopolitan planning, is politically problematical – if only because a multiplicity of governments are involved and the implementing agencies are not the same as those doing the planning. It is always important to involve governments at a high enough level for, otherwise, plans may be made and no government is in a position to implement those plans. In the case of the Basque region the politics are necessarily more difficult.³⁰

The successive governments led by the Basque Nationalist Party since 1999 have shown that it is in fact possible to build a strong domestic agenda, including meaningful regional economic and environmental planning in what has to be seen as one of the most hostile environments for reasonable decision making in recent human history. Moreover, they have made advances in housing and social policy as well. The fact remains that the hostile politics of the Basque Country are probably the main impediment to good planning of metropolitan areas and their poly-centric incipient megalopolis.³¹ But accomplishments in the past three years do offer the basic concrete hope that such planning can be done.

If it can be done, the center of action-oriented planning for the entire Basque-speaking region should be on calculation of the natural-artificial trade-off forecast for each urban and environmental project. We have attributed the original insight of such a forecast above to Olmsted. The methodology for completing it largely exists in the goals-achievement matrix of the Morris Hill and in the closely related methods of distributional cost-benefit analysis of Nathaniel Litchfield and others.³² Some valuation questions remain, and these would have to be resolved by the Basque planners.

Conclusions

The existing spatial structure of the Basque Country lends itself to this kind of megalopolitan planning. We identify metropolitan areas of importance, existing and potential additional linkages among them, and the appropriate treatment of the interstices for natural environmental protection and agricultural productivity. It is in these interstices that the key strengthening of the settlement of smaller places needs to be planned – a key part of megalopolitan planning as we have come to understand it. There exist in the Basque Country, in both the Spanish and the French parts, agencies that are promising both for metropolitan and for megalopolitan planning. These agencies are not yet, however, properly oriented to the most likely pattern of urbanization to emerge in this and successive centuries. The kinds of planning that will be required are clearly suggested for the Basque homeland, as part of a complexly urbanizing world. The particularly, violence-anchored and hostile, form of political activity that characterizes the Basque Country must be seen as a most important obstacle to good metropolitan and megalopolitan planning. However, the remarkable efforts of the current Basque government hold promise that, even in this extreme political climate, good metropolitan and megalopolitan planning may still be advanced.

We shall be privileged in years ahead to see how the territorial planning of the Basque Autonomous Community, with whatever results from “Plan Ibarretxe,” may result in actual development of the Basque multi-level complex of metropolitan areas and smaller centers. It will be especially interesting to see how accurately the “Territorial Model” may be realized, and especially how much nature can be preserved in the interstices of the several metropolitan and smaller centers. Or will it all fail, leaving the Basques with one huge, inefficient, ugly, messy, megalopolis?

Notes and references

1. This paper grows out of research into the past, present and future of planning among the Basques, both in Spain and France, that I have been doing since 1999. It is expected to lead to a book on the subject in 2007, but a series of papers on it have already appeared in the *Ekistics* literature since 2000. See list of references below. Parts of this paper, in a more extended version, were presented at the University of Toronto/World Society for Ekistics symposium on “Natural Cities,” June 25, 2004. It is available from the author at ldmann1113@aol.com. This paper should

- be seen as one of two emphases developed from that larger work. It puts stress on how strategic, not necessarily spatial or environmental planning, relates to the phenomena of globalism, on the one hand, and those of localism, on the other. The second emphasis is, under the title, "Planning the Emergent Basque Megalopolis as a Natural Multi-Metropolitan Complex," to be published in *Ekistics* in a special issue on the Toronto conference in 2006. The entire effort, starting with the Toronto effort, grew out of my work during the past several years on the question of Basque planning, developed in the Ekistics framework. The Toronto paper, in turn, grew as a companion piece and a partial updating of my paper, Mann, L.D. (2004), "Political Aspects of Planning the Basque Coastal Megalopolis," in the special issue of *Ekistics* devoted to the work of Jean Gottmann. Earlier, I presented several papers on the subject at Ekistics meetings: (1) Mann, L.D. (2001), "Euskal Herriok Ekistica," June, 2001 (Celákovice, Czech Republic), (2a) Mann, L.D. (2001-3a), "Basque Planning and the Future of Human Settlements in Europe's Western Pyrenees Region: Updating the Euskal Herriok Ekistika Project" October, 2001, (Berlin, Germany) [Revised April, 2003], (2b) Mann, L.D. (2002-3b), "Basque Planning and the Future of Human Settlements in Europe's Western Pyrenees Region" May, 2002 [a derived short-paper]; (2c) Mann, L.D. (2002-3c), "Completing the Transition of Ekistics to the 'Applied Science of Human Settlements'," May, 2002 [a derived short-paper, with revisions]; and (2d) Mann, L.D. (2002-3), "Summary Conclusions and Synthesis for the Future of the Basque Homeland and Other Regions."
2. This broad concept "planning behavior" comes from the work of a number of American and European scholars, starting early in the second half of the 20th century. Included are Martin Meyerson and Edward Banfield, who conceptualized planning behavior as formulating alternative prospective courses of action that were expected to lead to goal or ends sought, were thought to be feasible, and that some specific individual or organization intended to do. Such behavior, which required some concept of a "public interest," was seen as an alternative to reliance on spontaneous processes, whether they be psychological, cultural, sociological, political or economic. Moreover, planning that was attempted according to rational processes was posited to be more effective and efficient than simply traditional or intuitive "feeling"-based procedures. (See their "Conceptual Scheme" in their (1955) *Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest*, Glencoe, IL, The Free Press). An even broader, but less specific, behavioral concept of "planning" was that of Y. Dror, who defined the behavior as "action-oriented thought" which could be categorized according to an array of specific dimensions. (See his "Dimensions of Planning," *Public Policy*, 1959). The most completely behavioral of the concepts of "planning" was that of Herbert Simon, who, in his various writings about human administrative behavior since about the end of World War II, eschewed any formal models of attempted rationality and, rather, relied on ways of planning that involved search for satisfactory solutions to problems, starting from full understanding of any problem and a careful knowledge of what current pre-problem action is like. More recent writing on the concept of planning behavior remains consistent with all or part of these initial concepts. See the work of the German Scholar, Andreas Faludi and the behavioral writings in Mandelbaum & Burchell collection for more recent works on planning so viewed.
 3. Writing about the Basques, if it is to adequately convey the full scholarly knowledge of the subject, requires some agility in moving among the several main languages in which the literature is written. In which language should the name of a place or an idea first be given? My usage is to give the word first in Basque Euskara and then in Spanish, French, German or English, depending upon the context. Thus the name of the homeland place, *Euskadi*, may be more familiar to some readers as "Pais Vasco," *Pays Basque*, *Baskenland*, or "the Basque Country" (or, less frequently, "Basque-land"). I have tried to put the Basque (Euskara) name first, followed in parentheses or a forward slash, with no separating space, the French or Spanish or German name. This usage is extended to provinces and to rivers. For interim source, I have used -Eusko Juarlaritzako Hezkuntza Sailak onetsia (1994). My ultimate authority on Basque place names, however, has been "The Whole Basque Place-Name List," available on the internet at www.geocities.com/CollegePark/5062/topo2. It is identified as having been compiled by *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*, a Basque daily newspaper and approved by Euskaltzindia, the Basque Language Academy.
 4. For perhaps the best general survey, though older works, see Alliers, J. (1999), *Les Basques* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France) (*Que Sais-je series*), 6th ed and Oyamburu, P. (1980), *L'Irréductible Phénomène Basque* (Paris, Etente). However, for an even broader and more complete review of anything relating to Basque history, see Gonenechea (1998-2003), *op.cit.*
 5. See Bronowski, J. (1972), *The Ascent of Man* (Boston & Toronto, Little Brown & Co.) for a general appreciation of the centrality of foresight applied to hunting in the interpretation of European cave paintings. For a more specific understanding of the dynamics of such anticipation, from perhaps the most important recent discovery, see Clottes, J. et al. (2001), *La Grotte Chauvet: L'Art des Origines. Op.Cit.* The documentation of the cave painters as very early Basques is provided in M. Goyhenetche, *Histoire Générale du Pays Basque*, Vol. I, Ch.1, *Op.Cit.* and in several other recent European sources. For an earlier attempt to systematize such difference in style in cave painting as well as other prehistoric art, see Leroi-Gourhan, A. (1967), *Treasures of Prehistoric Art* (New York, Harry N. Abrams) Translated from the French. Paris: Editions d'Art Lucien Mazenod.
 6. For a remarkable discussion of strategy in *mus*, see *Le Guide de Rotard: Pays Basque (France, Espagne), 2004-05*, pp. 38-39. Excerpt: "*Mus* is almost a religion ... It is a game of diabolical subtlety... The most merciless game is of two teams of two players... It is well understood that any of the four players can bluff. ... Each phase is worth a [token], but anyone can raise. ... In the game of four players, signals, very much encoded, are authorized (eye winks, sticking out the tongue, lip gesture). You have to give your partner a signal without being seen by an adversary, but one can desire to be seen to announce a play, which make it possible to simulate the rest. It is formally forbidden to give false signals, though it is completely authorized, and even recommended to speak and lie by word. A good table of *mus*, then, is comprised of four liars. A player who passes cannot demand to see the cards of a winner; so he is always able to doubt that he really lost. The impassive public admires the knowledge of the adversary and of the play of the best players." For a thorough discussion of strategy in Pelote Basque, as well as in related Basque sports, historic and present, see Jakes Casaubon and Pierre Sabalo, *Euskal Pilotaren Gogoia eta Arzain Jokoak/Mémoire de la Pelote Basque et des Jeux de Bergers*. Baiona/Bayonne: Exé Haritza. 2002.
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. On the subject of the centrality of the traditional Basque house to the entire culture, see Jean-Claude Lasserre, Michel Duvert, et al. (1980), *Etxea, ou la Maison Basque*. St-Jean-de-Luz (France): Lauburu. (Cahiers de la Culture Basque).
 9. Oyemburu, P. (1980), *L'Irréductible Phénomène Basque, op.cit.*; and Bidart, P. (2001), *La Singularité Basque: Généalogie et Usage* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France).
 10. *Ibid.*
 11. For the most recent, though still incomplete, analysis of Olmsted's ideas on the human city, see Rybczynski, R. (2000), *A Clearing in the Distance: Frederick Law Olmsted and America in the 19th Century* (NY, Scribner).
 12. *Ibid.*
 13. The belief was general among the faculty of Landscape Architecture at the Harvard Graduate School of Design in the 1950s, and I have often encountered it among those of that profession during the past fifty years, and still do today.
 14. See his *Design with Nature* and generally his writings on the subject.
 15. My discussion of Basque spatial structure parallels that of P. Laborde (1994), *Le Pays Basque: Economie et Société en Mutation*. Donostia/San Sebastian and Baiona/Bayonne, Elkar. Laborde's is a pre-2000 discussion of the French Basque Country only. I have tried to extend it to the larger Spanish Basque Country, and to Nafarroa/Navarre province.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. See Gabriel Sansinena Ichaso (2001), "La Eurociudad Bayona – San Sebastian, *LURRALDE: Investigación y Espacio*. #24. Donostia (San Sebastian): Instituto Geográfico Vasco/Euskal Geografi Elkargoa (INGEBA)
 18. Sansinena, *Ibid.*

19. Sansinena, *Ibid.*
20. Readers who are unfamiliar with the national and local structure of government in France will need to know that the *département* is a localized unit of national government, rather than a local government *per se*. It is thus an agency of the national government for areas about the size of a county in Britain, the United States, or other countries. (The *commune* or *municipalité* is the, generally weaker, truly local level of government). The *départements* created by the centralizing Jacobins after the French Revolution, and then given force under Napoleon I, to destroy any vestiges of provincial regionalism by making the respective territories of the *départements* either much smaller or much larger than the culture-centered provinces. (The monarchy since the time of Henri IV had, for nearly 200 years, been trying to suppress regional provincialism with only very limited and uneven results). The Jacobins and Napoleon were intent on doing a more effective job. Thus it is no accident that the Atlantic Pyrenees *Département* contains virtually all of the traditional Basque-speaking provinces, plus the whole of the Occitan-speaking Bearn into a single district of the national government. The purpose was to prevent either the Basques or the Bearnese from having an effective unit of government that could concentrate on articulating any residual cultural agenda that might remain.
21. Research on this agency continues, and conclusions about it are subject to modification in later versions of this paper and more generally by the writer's future publications on the subject.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. Some of the other traditional regions (including Nafarroa (Navarra/Navarre) and Galicia later did opt for autonomous status under the provisions of the 1978 Spanish Constitution. However, only the Basques and the Catalans have demonstrated really serious nationalistic intentions, backed by a nationalistic party (or parties) in power, of ever achieving national independence.
25. A more questionable translation would be "regional planning," for as I explain elsewhere, there is really no concept of "region" in the term. However, even Basque government officials continue to translate this term as "regional" rather than "territorial" planning. For my original insight (some decades ago) into the problems of translating *aménagement de territoire*, see my "French Regional Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* (April, 1964). Housing in Basque Autonomous Community is the focus of much social policy. Late in the last government, a new Housing and Planning Law was presented. There was no fundamental objection to it by any of the political parties, although the Popular Party objected to so much emphasis on low cost housing. But, because of Plan Ibarretxe, there was a desire on the part of all opposition parties to demonstrate that the PNV coalition could not get its way on any broad area of policy. Thus the Housing and Planning law was prevented from going to a final vote. It is one of the matters that needs to be brought up by the new (2005) government, though it has yet to be introduced. The votes of the new EHAK (Basque Communist) senators may turn out to be crucial this time.
26. *Euskal Autonomia Ergedegoko Lurraldean Antolamendrak/Directrices de Ordenación Territorial de la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco* [Directives of Territorial Planning of the Basque Autonomous Community]. *Eusko Jaudaritzaren Argitalpen Zeritzu Nagusia (Servicio Central de Publicaciones)* [Basque Central Publications Service] for EuskoJaudaritz Lurralde Antolamendu Etxebizitzia Salia (Gobierno Vasco, Departamento de Ordenación del Territorio, Vivienda, y Medio Ambiente) [Basque Government, Department of Territorial Planning, Housing, and Environment], Gasteiz (Vitoria)[Vitoria-Gasteiz, Spain, 2001 (2nd ed.), 335 p. (illustrated), in Euskara and Spanish.
27. *Fundación Metropoli, Euskal Hiria: Proiectua/Ciudades Vascas: Proyecto*; [Basque Cities: Project. Bilingual editions: Euskera-Spanish, Euskera-English, etc.]. *EuskoJaudaritzaren Argitalpen Zeritzu Nagusia (Servicio Central de Publicaciones)* [Basque Central Publications Service] for EuskoJaudaritz Lurralde Antolamendu Etxebizitzia Salia (Gobierno Vasco, Departamento de Ordenación del Territorio, Vivienda, y Medio Ambiente) [Basque Government, Department of Territorial Planning, Housing, and Environment], Gasteiz (Vitoria) [Vitoria-Gasteiz, Spain, 2002. 245 pp. (illustrated).
28. President Ibarretxe, in his first two posits does not go much further than to provide a modern re-statement of the principal ideas that lead to the creation of the 19th century Basque nationalism movement. However, the new element in the first point is that of "association" of the Basque community with the Spanish state; in the second point, the legitimizing criterion of having the Plan passed by the Basque Senate. The third point, with its idea of negotiations between the Basque Autonomous Community with Basque minorities in Navarra and France (as well as, potentially, Basque communities in other nations) could provide the basis for various kinds of joint or multiple decision making. Since the elections (in early August, 2004), Jon Imaz, President of the Basque Nationalist Party, has issued a long statement, giving essentially the same principles as those of the Party, without mentioning the Plan Ibarretxe. The one possible change may be in advocating "shared sovereignty" in place of the right to end a "free association" with the Spanish state. The difference may be more apparent than real; for "shared sovereignty" was one of the implicit alternatives if the Basques ever did end their "free association" with the Spanish state. In any case, "shared sovereignty" is currently the focus of political debate, moving attention away from Ibarretxe and his Plan – at least nominally and at least temporarily.
29. The political situation has changed fundamentally since the Popular Party lost to the Socialists in mid-2003. The latter have proved open to negotiation with the autonomous communities, including the Basques. The Basque Nationalist Party and its two allies called new Basque elections in May, 2005. The gamble was that the coalition would gain a large enough majority to push the Socialist Spanish government to include major parts of the Ibarretxe Plan into a new statute for the Basque Autonomous Community. That did not happen. The votes that the moderate nationalist Coalition had counted upon to join it as a consequence of Spain's outlawing the ETA-oriented Batasuna Party rather went to a new Party, the Basque Communist Party (EHAK, for those words in *Euskara*) who got nine seats in the Senate (compared to the seven that Batasuna had in the last parliament). These EHAK people were all virtually unknown candidates, with no traceable links to ETA or to Batasuna, but who have shown since that their sympathies nevertheless lie in that radical-nationalist orientation. (They are under constant attack by the Popular Party for being mere surrogates for the outlawed Batasuna Party, and ultimately for ETA. The Socialists refuse to prosecute them under the "Law of Parties," citing insufficient evidence.) The PNV-EA combination lost four seats, while the Socialists gained four, and the Popular Party lost four. The 2005 legislature thus has 39 Basque-nationalists, 3 members of the former Spanish Communist party, who tend to vote with the Basque-nationalists, and just 33 Spanish-nationalist members. But only 29 of the Basque-nationalist are moderates, the other 9 being the left-radicals of EHAK. (On the Spanish-nationalist side, the Socialist party should be considered moderate, and will advance somewhat greater Basque autonomy; but they will probably never vote with the Basque-nationalists on any key issue that seriously threatens Spanish constitutionalism. The right-wing Popular Party must be viewed as frankly anti-Basque and anti-autonomy.) The nationalist cause lost two votes, but the hostility of the increased EHAK group to the PNV will make it even harder for coherent Basque-Nationalist policy to be put forward. The shift in parliamentary strength enabled the Socialists, supported by the Popular Party, to advance a Spanish-nationalist candidate for president/*lehendakari* who came seemingly very close to defeating Ibarretxe's attempt to be re-elected. Twice there was a tie between the Basque-nationalists and the Spanish-nationalist for the presidency. EHAK members withheld their support for Ibarretxe until the very last minute, when just two of them gave him just enough votes to repeat as leader. (Obviously, EHAK could have given all nine of their votes had the Spanish-nationalist challenge been any stronger.) The narrowness of the differences in stated policy of the two different Basque-nationalist approaches do not make it any easier for the moderates and the left wing radicals to work together. EHAK promises to behave exactly the way that the Batasuna had done in the prior government: giving the Basque Nationalist Party just enough support to keep some other party from governing, but no more than that. The path ahead for the Plan Ibarretxe and for moderate nationalist policy will be challenged at every point, both by the more radical nationalists of EHAK and the Españolists of the Socialist and Popular parties.

The violence of ETA seems to be temporarily restrained, though incidents of major property damage continue sporadically, and the street violence of teenager ETA-recruits (*kale borroka*) is an increasing problem. Perhaps the radical-left will be content to mute the violence that they have used as a way of agenda-control in recent times, doing that instead by the 9-vote bloc in the parliament. But it would be naive to suppose that the violent aspect of Basque nationalism is at an end, for incidents of non-mortal violence continue to be almost a daily occurrence.

Much of my research on the political context of Basque planning has been done through a daily monitoring of Spanish Basque and some French Basque newspapers, largely through the internet. While I do not cite each of the multitude of newspaper references supporting my detailed narrative on Basque politics in the original version of my papers, the original references do exist and are available on request and at cost. The reader can get many of them on the web, at www.elpais.es, under "temas," and then "La Ofensiva Terrorista" or "ETA". Supplementary information is at www.elcorreo.electronico.es and www.eldiariovasco.es, plus eldiariodenavarra.es. For the French Basque area, see www.sudoest.fr and www.semainedebasque.fr. All are, however, in the Spanish, French

or *Euskara* languages, respectively.

For a more complete examination of Cohen's views, and my own proposed modifications to them, see my "Political Aspects of Planning the Basque Coastal Megalopolis", *op.cit.*

30. J.A. Cohen, (1998), "A Global Garden in the 21st Century," in Phi Beta Kappa, *Key Reporter*, Spring, 1998. (Based on a talk by Cohen to the syndics of Columbia University in March, 1997 at Biosphere 2, Oracle, Arizona, USA. Lawrence D. Mann (1998), "Planificación del Futuro Urbano de las Américas," in his *Conferencias sobre Planificación Comparativa en las Américas*. Tucson, Arizona, USA and Panama City, Panama: Programa Arizona-Panama. This document is available in Spanish from the author.

For a more complete, though now outdated, analysis of the unique politics of the Basque region, see my "Political Aspects of Planning the Basque Coastal Megalopolis," *op.cit.*

31. See note 28, above.
32. See M. Hill (1967), "The Goals-Achievement Matrix in Urban and Regional Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*; N. Litchfield et al. (1970), *Evaluation in the Planning Process* (London, Kegan Paul).