

# Political aspects of planning the Basque coastal megalopolis

“Jean Gottmann’s concept of the megalopolis has proved to be very useful in conceptual-level planning for the Basque coastal megalopolis. This is especially clear if a modicum of functional theory is added to the concept, as we have done.”

## Lawrence D. Mann

*The author is Professor Emeritus of Planning and of Geography & Regional Development as well as of Public Policy and Administration, University of Arizona and formerly Chair of the Planning Program. Previously, he was professor and chairman in these fields at Harvard University and Rutgers University. He has been Visiting Professor at five Latin American universities, in a faculty career that dates back to 1961. Since 1999 he has spent several months each year conducting research on Basque planning, from a base in Biarritz, France.<sup>1</sup> His editorial experience includes ten years as Book Review Editor of the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Journal of the American Planning Association and Compiling Editor of Ekistics. He has been active in professional planning practice, both in the United States and internationally and is former national Chairman of the American Institute of Certified Planners. He was elected Fellow of the American Institute of Certified Planners in 2001 and has been a member of the World Society for Ekistics since 1975. Mann is an extensively published scholar in Planning and related fields, including ten monographs, several times that many articles and chapters, and an even greater number of book reviews in the professional literature. He holds a doctorate in Planning (Harvard) and did postgraduate work at London School of Economics & Political Science. He is fluent in French and Spanish.*

## Foreword

When Jean Gottmann identified the incipient “megalopolis” of the eastern coast of the United States, he restored needed scholarly neutrality to the concept of the large, complex, socio-culturally consistent, economically-integrated, and multi-jurisdictional urbanization phenomena.<sup>2</sup>

Long before formalizing his approach to the megalopolis in North America, of course, Gottmann had anticipated the idea

with regard to the European continent. He pointed out a number of large linear complexes of multiple metropolitan regions there (GOTTMANN, 1962b). His work has stimulated that of many others during the past four decades.

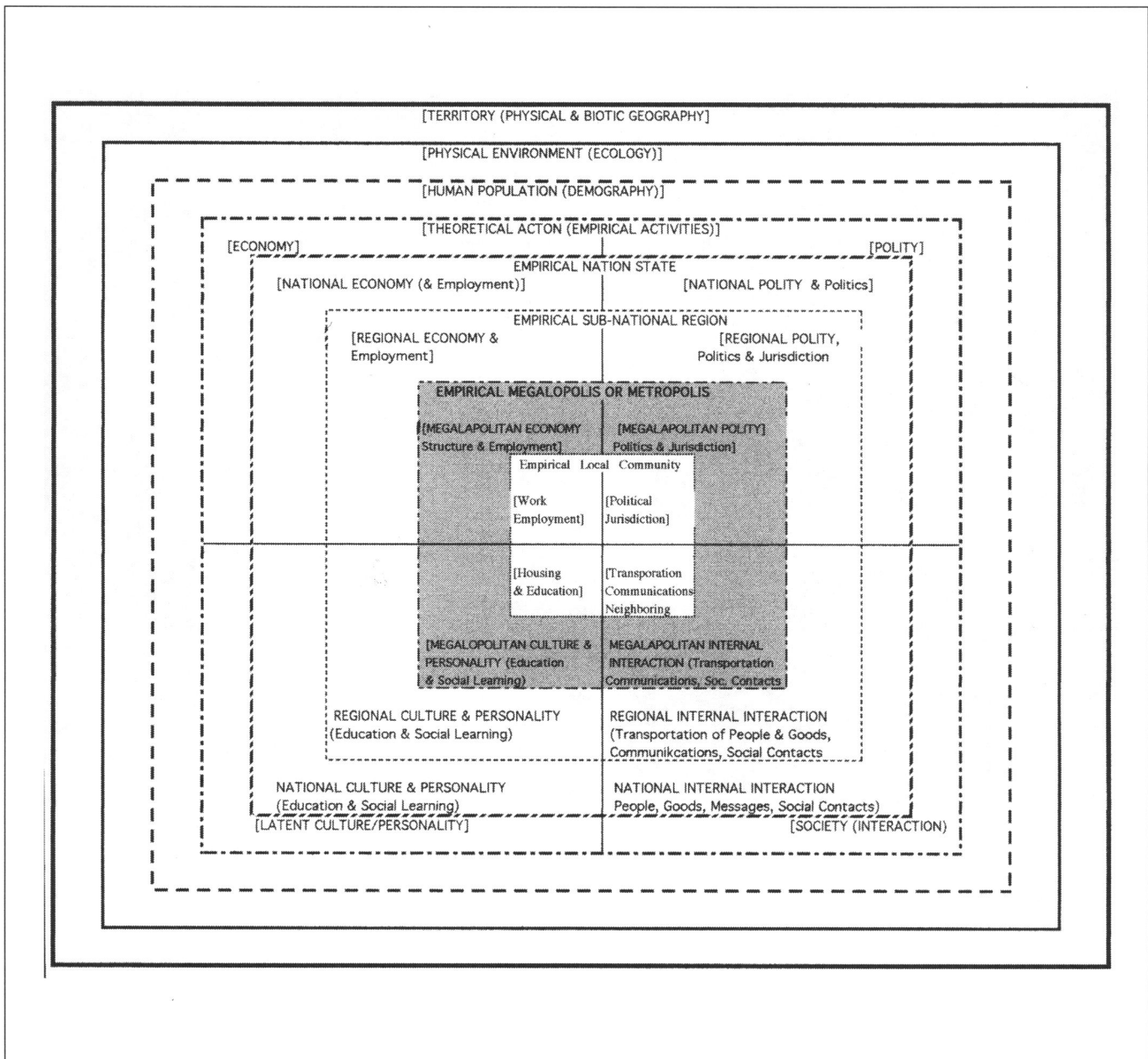
## The nature of the megalopolitan “community”

Gottmann’s “megalopolis” went far beyond the mere facts of physical and demographic size of the urbanization phenomena involved. He touched seriously on the economic and political facets, in a way that other writers of the period had not done. He was far less complete, however, on the important cultural facet. Even more critically, he limited discussion of interaction to rather obvious matters of transportation and communication.

Had Gottmann been so inclined, he might have made use of a rather complete social science theoretical framework, which was then in vogue, in dealing with the megalopolis. I refer here to the functionalist “general theory of action” that had been advanced by Talcott Parsons and others in the post-World War II decades. The advantage of this approach was its potential unity of the social and behavioral science formulations.<sup>3</sup> Its disadvantage – and undoubtedly a reason why Gottman ignored it – was its fundamental abstractness, its stubborn unwillingness to unambiguously “anchor” itself in empirical reality. That would make the approach largely worthless to Gottmann’s fundamentally empirical geography.<sup>4</sup>

The most important exception to this excessive abstractness is not well known, and I doubt that Gottmann ever encountered it. That was Parson’s own formulation of the theory of the empirical human community as an “ecological” entity with empirical counterparts of each of the four main theoretical components of the interdisciplinary social science framework.<sup>5</sup>

Thus “adaptation” (economy at the national level) was empirically manifest in gainful employment at the local community



**Fig. 1:** Structure of a potential megalopolitan community (theoretical and empirical).

level. Similarly, “goal attainment” (polity at the national level) is, empirically, jurisdictional decision making in the local community. Moreover, latent culture and personality become housing with emphasis on child-rearing and education, locally. Finally, “interaction” (“society” at a national level) are manifest in local transportation and communications – but also in sheer social relationships of residents.

By implication, any sub-national physical and demographic area would potentially have all of these four facets, and their subsets. Any region would be an aggregation of such communities, and also at some level itself a community. A metropolitan region would be intermediate: more specifically anchored in the different categories, like a local community, but also more general, more a national system.

The theoretical importance of this approach lies in the nature of the original abstract constructs, and especially in the interactions among them. They are fundamentally the basic prob-

lems that any located human grouping must solve. (Parsons calls them “functional prerequisites,” without which the grouping could not survive). Thus “work” and economy are responses to the need for some environmental modification. Similarly, jurisdiction and “polity” stem from some minimal need for group-wide decision making. And the various kinds of interaction respond to the basic need for the movement of information, goods, and people among the individuals and groupings of the whole. The dynamic of the system comes from the way that these four constructs – or rather their empirical counterparts at any level – interact with each other. Figure 1 tries to indicate this, with emphasis on a megalopolis, but its real importance is at the level of a metropolitan area.

This potential structure of a megalopolitan community is shown in the diagram (fig. 1), like the larger sub-national regions, because of its physical size and multiplicity of communities involved.

## Present spatial structure of the Basque region

Almost contemporary to Gottmann's initial analysis, Doxiadis and Papaioannou (1974) explicitly included this area as one of Europe's "axes of megalopolitan development" after 2010 (fig. 2). They say they studied it as one of the "axes" of urbanization in Europe: one extending northward from about Lisbon, Portugal, to Bordeaux, France – perhaps the Basque homeland at the time of Greek and Roman contacts – and, vaguely, thence to-

ward Paris (see their figure 121, page 303, as well as descriptive text on page 373).

Note that the actual area seems supportable today only from about Santander or Bilbao, Spain to just north of Bayonne, France. (The linear urbanization dynamic north Braga, Portugal and extreme northwest Spain is simply not in evidence. And the coastal area north of Bayonne has only a vacation-home relationship to Bayonne, and only for several kilometers. To claim that the Grand Landes pine forests are inevitably destined for urbanization during the next several decades, all the way to Bordeaux, would be reaching beyond credible trend.)

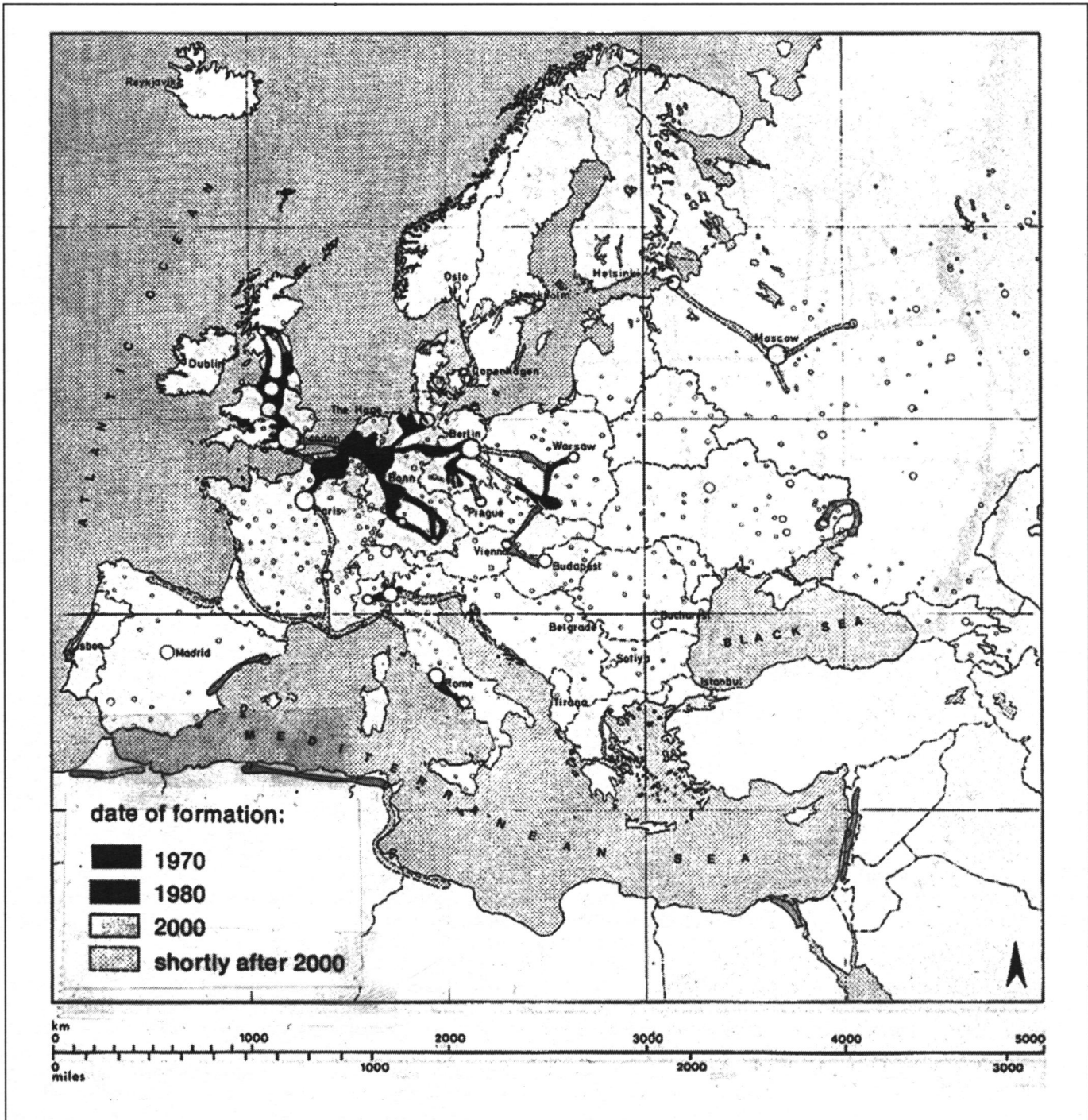


Fig. 2: The Basque homeland and the megalopolitan system in Europe, 2000. (Source: Doxiadis and Papaioannou, 1974).



**Fig. 3:** Euskadi, the Basque Homeland – General reference map. (Source: Philippe GIoaguen et al. (eds.), *Pays Basque (France, Espagne), Le Guide du Routard* (Paris, Hachette, 2002).

- Fundamental traditional structure:** The fundamental historic spatial structure is one of hamlets, villages and small towns serving livestock and family farming holdings, in a very rough topography, organized by small river valleys extending from the Pyrenees to the coast. That coast is organized into a number of fishing and trade-oriented ports, mostly quite small but in some cases growing to a serious urban scale due to the hinterland trade areas and size of fishing operations. The rivers are also useful in identifying the importance of fishing ports.

- Superstructures upon the traditional pattern – Mercantile commercial superstructures:** Upon this traditional spatial structure were built even larger cities in some of the ports, with the expansion of mercantile capitalist commercial activities, or at least agricultural service center functions. In the French Basque region, such a hierarchy of service centers is rather truncated and distorted, both by the topography and by distortion due to the size of some large ports. In Spain, there are two interior metropolitan centers of several hundred thousand residents each that do perform the functions described by Christaller for Southern Germany. These are Iruña (Pamplona) in Nafarroa (Navarra)<sup>6</sup> and Gasteiz (Victoria) in Araba (Alava).

- Superstructures upon the traditional pattern – Industrial superstructure:** In the very late 19th and early 20th centuries, major manufacturing activities developed in a few of these commercial centers (fig. 3). Baiona (Bayonne) and its industrial suburb, Bukale (Boucau), is the main concentration in France. There was some, but considerably less, industrialization in small interior cities such as Maule (Mauleon-Sainte Marie). In Spain, major manufacturing developed in Bilbo (Bilbao), to a more limited extent in the industrial suburbs of Donostia (San Sebastian), and on a still smaller scale in a number of other smaller interior cities.

- Superstructures upon the traditional pattern – Leisure superstructure:** Finally, upon the traditional structure and the mercantile, and industrial superstructures, leisure, tourist, and retirement activities have further urbanized some very attractive locations. This process started in the mid-19th century at Biarritz, France and a few decades later in Donostia (San Sebastian), Spain. Initially, this was largely a small scale aristocratic phenomenon; but waves of the wealthy soon followed. After World War II, the phenomenon has affected many more places, has reached lower into the socioeconomic structure, and has become international in scope. But it will be well to summarize the potential urban settlement structure for the





**Fig. 4:** The Basque polycentric system of capitals and network of medium-sized cities. (Source 1: Eusko Jauriaritza/Gobierno Vasco/Basque Government, Lurralde Antolamendu Etxebizitza et Ingurugiro Saila/Departamento de Ordenación del Territorio, Vivienda y Medio Ambiente, LAA/DOT, *Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoko Lurraldearen Autolamendurako Artezpideak/Directrices de Ordenación Territorial de la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco*. The Department, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2001 (In Euskadi and Spanish). (Source 2: Fundación Metropoli, ProyectoCitiesProiektua, and Eusko Jauriaritza/Gobierno Vasco/Basque Government, Lurralde Antolamendu Etxebizitza eta Ingurugiro Saila/Departamento de Ordenación del Territorio, Vivienda y Medio Ambiente, *EUSKAL HERRIA*. Euskal Jauriaritzren Argitalpen Zerbitzuz Nagusia/Central Publishing Services for the Basque Government, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2002).

Basque region as a whole.

That can easily be accomplished in the abstract. Think of an irregular pentagon, with the five metropolitan areas at the angles (fig. 4). The sides are thus described by the following external lines: BAB (Bayonne-Anglet-Biarritz) Metro/Donostia (San Sebastian); Baiona (Bayonne)/Iruña (Pamplona); Donostia (San Sebastian)/Bilbo (Bilbao); Iruña (Pamplona)/Gasteiz (Victoria), and Gasteiz (Victoria)/Bilbo (Bilbao). There are potential internal lines as follows: Bilbo (Bilbao)/Iruña (Pamplona); Donostia (San Sebastian)/Iruña (Pamplona); and Gasteiz (Victoria)/BAB. One apparent “internal” line would be BAB Metro/Bilbo (Bilbao), but this apparent line is really external to the pentagon. It is not even a land connection, being almost entirely over the Bay of Biscay. The metro areas or large cities at the five angles of the pentagon are, except for one, 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 200,000 residents – except for Bilbo (Bilbao), which has nearly three times that number, and the BAB metropolis. The five urban nodes are interconnected by

good highways and railways, including limited access turnpike autoroutes on the BAB-Bilbo (Bilbao) axis, and there are limited access highways between other nodes. BAB/Iruña (Pamplona) is the sole exception, and discussions are under way to choose an alignment for that limited access highway. All of these roads are subject to further straightening and improvements, as well as potential additions of light rail in the same corridors. 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.

### The “Eurocity Basque” initiative

In 1993, the then Baiona (Bayonne)/Angelu (Anglet)/Miarritze (Biarritz) Metro District (in France) and officials in Gipuskoa (Guipúscoa) province (in Spain) began brainstorming about the idea of a linear megalopolis that was forming along the coast between the two metropolitan areas. The discussions were from a background of cooperative work between the two ports, Baiona (Bayonne) and Donostia (San Sebastian), and

they were inspired by the outlook 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 identified branch of the identified "Eurocity" was the "Atlantic arc," from about Bordeaux to about Bilbo (Bilbao). The "Eurocity Basque" was to be just the border portion (the 50 km 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 – as opposed to Bordeaux-Bilbo (Bilbao), Baiona (Bayonne)-Bilbo (Bilbao) or merely what we called above the "border mini-metropolis" 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 appears to have been muted.)

The initiative was promoted to 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 multilingual website developed ([www.eurociudad.com](http://www.eurociudad.com)), and an international agency of sorts was established. Actually, they simply re-named the "Trans-Border Observatory" into "Trans-Border Agency for the Development of Eurocity," which was set up as a private entity. The key years of activity were between 1998 and 2000. Since then the initiative has obviously declined in intensity.

A fairly ambitious agenda of activities was produced for 2001, but most of that seems not to have been realized. No such agenda appeared for 2002, and only one "summer school" on the idea was held in mid-2002. A recent scholarly examination of the idea by Gabriel Sansinenea, a Spanish Basque geographer, has been published.<sup>7</sup> His account ends in mid-2001, when optimism was still high.

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" (SANSINENEA, 2001).

There is a rather naïve quality to both the "White Book's" discussion of government and Sansinenea's own conclusions. The major defects of the "Eurocity Basque" promotion were the following:

- The area selected is probably not the right one to fit with the logic of "Eurocity" discourse. It probably should have included the entire "Atlantic arc," or at least the portion from about Baiona (Bayonne) to Bilbo (Bilbao), and it should have been deeper into the regional territory, 100 km, thus including all of the metropolitan areas. The border mini-metropolis should have been singled out for special attention, rather than treating it as an adjunct of the Donostia (San Sebastian) metro area.
- The "international agency" should have been established, not as a private entity of a Spanish province and a French "metropolitan community" that together lack any jurisdiction at all over a key portion of the implied territory. Rather, some kind of an international treaty would be required. The French Gen-

eral Council of the Atlantic Pyrenees *Département* (or any possible future modification of it) could not be one of the parties to this agreement even if it wanted to, which it apparently does not. That is because that level of government, in France, is merely the local office of the national government. There is a proposal by the current French government to seriously decentralize to the regions, including the Aquitaine in this case. Should that happen, and if the region were authorized by the nation to do it, then that region could be a signatory to setting up an international agency. The situation in Spain is different. The Spanish government has already given all regional planning authority to the Basque Autonomous Community, as well as to other areas, including Navarra. What it has not done is to authorize such communities to enter into any international treaties, and it is unlikely to do so under the present Popular Party Government.

- Rather than elaborately spelling out a "strategy" for the Eurocity in the regional context, the "White Book" should have built these considerations into what the present planning agencies, or some modification of them, could do. While the strategic thinking is that the "White Book" may be valuable in future regional, megalopolitan and metropolitan planning, it has the disadvantage of being an outside offering that may well encounter resistance within the corresponding agencies.

- There should have been more attention to serious planning and less to promotional devices such as the website and the "White Book."

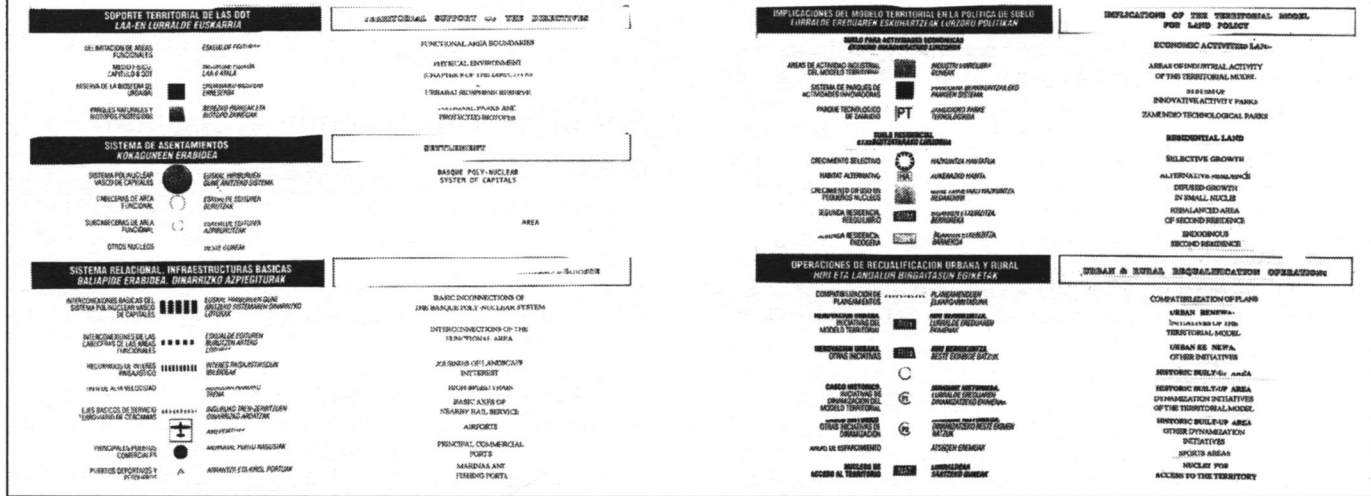
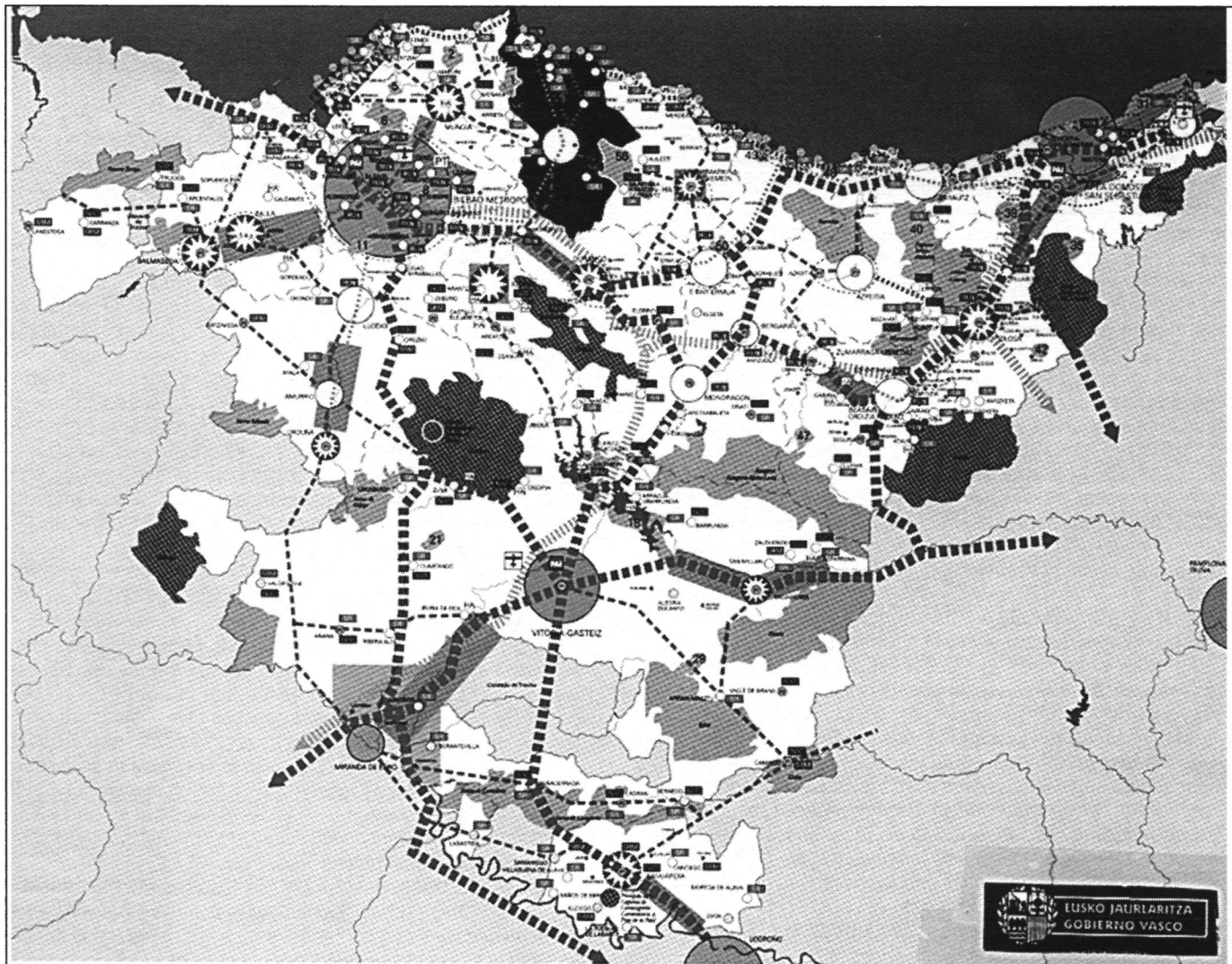
## Existing metro-megalopolitan planning in the Basque Country

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" (SANSINENEA, 2001). Regional spatial plans stand higher than urban planning, which is conceived of as limited to municipal areas in scope, while regional planning applies 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 (fig. 5) are to:

- 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.

On the French side of the Basque Region, there is one agency that potentially could plan for the entire three provinces. That is the Urban Planning Agency for the Atlantic Pyrenees *Département*.<sup>8</sup> This agency was created only a few years ago at the behest of the *Département* Council, and it has proved itself 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 multidisciplinary team of three architects, three geographers, one economist, a documentation specialist, a land surveyor/computer specialist and



**Fig. 5: Regional planning strategy, autonomous community of the Basque Country: "The Regional Model" with links to adjacent areas in Spain and France.** (Source 1: Eusko Jaurlaritza/Gobierno Vasco/Basque Government, Lurralde Antolamendu Etxebizitza et Ingurugiro Saila/Departamento de Ordenación del Territorio, Vivienda y Medio Ambiente, LAA/DOT, Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoko Lurraldearen Autolamendurako Artezipideak/Directrices de Ordenación Territorial de la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco. The Department, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2001 (In Euskadi and Spanish). (Source 2: Fundación Metropoli, Proyecto CitiesProiektua, and Eusko Jaurlaritza/Gobierno Vasco/Basque Government, Lurralde Antolamendu Etxebizitza eta Ingurugiro Saila/Departamento de Ordenación del Territorio, Vivienda y Medio Ambiente, EUSKAL HERRIA. Euskal Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzuz Nagusia/Central Publishing Services for the Basque Government, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2002).

two secretaries.

It is headed by an experienced French planner, of architectural training, who was formerly in a parallel Toulouse agency. The agency functions as a kind of public consulting firm, responding to requests from its own Departmental elected councilors 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 Department, and specific small town and village studies. The third area of the workload is planning per se, which includes "the territorial dynamic" (studies of the "urban spot" or, less negatively, urbanization footprints, 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 Department also includes the entire Béarn 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 Department. So probably no more than one third of the agency's workload can be expected to be concentrated on the Basque area.

But even those projects that do concentrate on this part of the Department 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 the French national government, simply allocated to this Department.)

Finally, this agency may be moved to another level to be consistent with the large-regional emphasis of the newly elected French government. It would not be surprising to see these research and planning functions transferred to Mont-de-Marsan or Bordeaux, to the regional government of the Aquitaine Region.

There are planning agencies in each of the larger municipalities, but none of them 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 Biona (Bayonne) and the provincial government of Gipuskoa (Guipúscoa), complete with an expensive and, initially, well-maintained website.

By last year and the present year, however, it has become clear that the initiative has lost much of its steam. Only one an-

nual project is now on the advertised agenda: an annual summer school to discuss the "Eurocity Basque" idea (see below). 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.

The third agency, in the Basque Autonomous Community, the key agency, is the Department of Regional Planning and the Environment (*Ordenación del Territorio y Medio Ambiente* in Spanish; *Larralde eta Ingurumena* in Euskera), a ministerial-level agency of the Basque government. It seems to be adequately budgeted and staffed, with plenty of architect-planners, geographers, hydrological engineers, environment specialists and support personnel. The way functions have been allocated to this agency, however, it is not appropriately staffed with economists and other social scientists for studies of efficient settlement structure. These disciplines are concentrated in other ministries, notably those of "Finance and Public Administration" and "Industry, Commerce and Tourism," for economists, "Housing and Social Affairs," for sociologists, and "Transport and Public Works," for civil engineers.

The Department of Regional Planning and Environment appears to have its workload divided approximately equally between regional planning and environmental studies and issuing permits. Regional planning consists of mapping and related services and participation in an international "Project Cities," plus major newer functions in the sectoral regional plan for riverbanks, and a geographic information system as a service to municipal planning. The riverbank studies and plans include several different aspects, ranging from hydrology to studies of riverfront urban places.

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 is to be regretted. However, the needed inputs from economics and the social sciences can easily be added later on by any number of inter-ministerial arrangements.

## 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-a-half years ago.<sup>9</sup> Here it is:

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.

Cohen foresaw that many contemporary rights and obligations will be supplanted by markets. One example will be permits to permanent residence in specific cities. The prices of these rights will probably be added to real estate prices or rents. Cities will compete with one another for market rewards for public goods offered. The rights to leave any city or region will have to be balanced against the rights to move to specific cities and nations. Social and individual values will determine the point to which markets will be permitted to intrude into relationships that were previously determined by culturally traditional methods. He sees women largely freed from child-bearing and child-rearing roles as the average woman comes to have two, one or no children in a longer lifetime. Women will intensify their demands for more significant roles. Implications are increased educational and employment opportunities. The aging of population will increase dramatically and among the aged, women will outnumber men 2:1. Whole new social arrangements will develop among the elderly.

In Cohen's projection, growth of the world's human population will end sometime in the 21st century, but some regions will continue to be net importers or exporters of people. Growing pressure for migration from poorer countries to richer ones will stress countries that are culturally xenophobic – as well as those traditionally receptive to international migration. The result will be many frictions until human beings learn more courtesy and tolerance. Interracial mixed marriages will produce a whole spectrum of skin coloration in many regions.

Cohen's forecast of the bio-physical environment is especially important for our purposes. He says the continental shelves of Asia and other landmasses will be developed to provide food, energy and perhaps residential space. The partly depleted stocks of most marine species will be carefully managed, to an extent far beyond the limited "farming" of seafood that exists today. Those woodlands and forests that survive the growth of population and economic exploitation of the 1920-2050 period will be preserved as educational and touristic curiosities. Many of these will also be meticulously managed for fibers, food, pharmaceuticals, and recreation.

The simple agricultural ecosystems of today will be replaced by others of great complexity. Biological controls and the optimizations of farmers will maximize production, while the pesticides and herbicides will be almost entirely eliminated. Inputs to agriculture required for food and energy will be derived from human, animal, and industrial wastes – replacing many of the fertilizers and organic combustibles of today. Undesirable effluents, such as eroding soil or agricultural drainage with pesticides and fertilizers will be eliminated or converted into productive inputs for industrial or urban uses. Also managed will be the atmosphere. Rights to add carbon dioxide, methane and other chemically significant trace gases and particulates will be negotiated in the open market, for services that natural ecosystems provide. Governments will recognize the potential of the atmosphere and of many other services that ecosystems provide, to produce taxes that will support other public services. Gases will be manipulated as part of the production of foods and management of wild flora and fauna. An example is genetically engineered bacteria that will manipulate production of agricultural methane. Flora and fauna will be revalued as it is realized that we do not know how to multiply old woodlands, coral reefs, and the diversity of living forms. The genetic resources of nature and aesthetic amenities will be more and more highly valued. Conservation movements will gain renewed force, in collaboration with commercial enterprises.

The intensive management of continents, oceans and the atmosphere will require massive improvements in the collection and analysis of data and, especially, in our concepts. A

century from now, we will live on a land totally interconnected electronically ("a wired earth"). Land, air and the sea will be continually monitored. Just as the meteorological stations, on the earth and in satellites, of today, we will monitor the atmosphere, the oceans and terra firma of the next century with networks of sensor stations at all heights and depths.

Mathematical models of the earth, the air, and the sea will try to predict major events, such as El Niño, hurricanes, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, plumes of hot water from cracks in ocean floors and principal ocean currents. The models will improve with increases (at least a million-fold) in computational power during the next century. The models will integrate not only the atmosphere and ocean surfaces but also human populations and populations of other biological forms (including domestic animals, trees, cereal products, and infectious diseases), economic reserves and flows (including all natural resources, information and flows of information – scientific, literary, artistic, folklore – and family, social, institutional, and political constraints and resources). Integral models will include factors outside human control such as solar flares, and will represent, without predicting, human decisions. Despite improvements in software, concepts and administration, the earth will still bring surprises. Geophysical surprises spring from being more conscious of what the planet does, of instabilities inherent in geophysical systems, as described by the mathematics of chaos theory, as well as from additional human impacts. Included in these "surprises" will be a continuing stream of human illnesses due to infection from newly-discovered viruses, as well as from the continuing increased densities at which the human population will reside.

As concerns economy, culture (and politics):

Economies will increase their integration. Cities are going to concentrate the talent and resources required for international commerce. Almost no product complex will be conceived, financed, designed as to engineering, produced, sold, used, and taken out of use within the boundaries of a single political unit. Businesses will learn to profit from the eternity of atoms, designing products for use, return and regeneration. Governments will find that an increasing percentage of the power to control the economic welfare of their citizens will reside outside their political boundaries. Economic integration will give profit to those who can recognize the comparative advantages of other societies. Information will become more and more valuable. Those who can create, analyze it, and manage data bases will be the winners. Information technology and economic integration will grow hand in hand. Culture will penetrate everything regarding the population, the environment, and the economy. The productive and reproductive roles of men and women, for example, will define which biological materials are seen as food and which not, and its form as demanded by consumers in the economy.

### Early suggested modification to the Cohen model

Soon after the publication of Cohen's vision, the present author produced a critique of it.<sup>10</sup> He pointed out some conceptual problems in Cohen's formulation (partly confirming, as Cohen had predicted, that some of the hardest problems of the future would be conceptual). Nothing is to be simple in this planning. One important implication of this refined conceptual analysis is more urbanization, into even larger metropolitan areas. Mann estimated that there would be, globally, even more and larger metropolitan areas, even though the population of the earth will be slightly declining. The hinterlands around each of them will be rough hierarchies of service-providing outlying cities, towns, and villages rather than the homogeneous low-density areas Cohen anticipated.

Finally, rather than the unrelieved rational globalization of Cohen's vision, Mann foresaw strong pockets of traditionally dominated metropolitan regions. He noted that Cohen's vision evokes the "God is dead" of Jean Paul Sartre in the late 1940s and the parallel "Ideology is dead" of American futurists of the 1950s – both of which we now know to have been vastly overstated. Evidence is to be found in the resurgence of fundamentalist ideologies and related regional ethnic political movements in various parts of the world. Some versions of the Basque nationalist ideology have to be included in this probable traditionalist backlash.

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 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 the 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. It could be conceivable that there might be some day joint planning by the Spanish and French nations for this region. But that is not within the realm of reality because of the increasingly strong political will of the Basques in both countries for meaningful independent national status and the rejection out of hand of this proposal by authorities and majorities in both of the dominant nation states. In Spain, the Franco era, for 40 years from the Civil War to the mid-1970s, and more recently the Aznar Popular Party regime have practiced overt or nearly overt suppression of Basque aspirations for independence. For some periods they have moved positively to attempt destruction of Basque culture. Only a brief interlude of the Socialist Government in the 1970s and 1980s offered a semblance of limited autonomy to the Basques. On the French side, the policy since the Revolution has been equally suppressive of any Basque aspirations for even limited autonomy, although this policy has been more subtle in its expression and conduct (see CASSAN, 1997; GOYHENETCHE, 1979). Since 1959, ETA (*Euskadi ta Askatsuna*, or Basque Homeland and Liberty), a terrorist organization, has responded by waves of multiple assassinations and violent property damage (see LOYER, 1997).

### ETA and Basque political parties and interests

Barbara Loyer (1997) has studied the resulting geopolitics in some depth, with strong emphasis on the Spanish *Pais Vasco*. Loyer's analysis of the party structures and, especially, the critical interplay with the terrorist organization, ETA, stands as definitional of the geopolitics of the region. She correctly anticipates the way that ETA would become the agenda setter in the early years of the 21st century. Her discussion of the relations between the Euskal Herriok (now Batasuna) party and ETA is still required reading for anyone considering the attacks on that party by the center-right Popular Party government and by the courts today. Since one version of this party is strongly active in France, Loyer's analysis is also necessary to understand the recent Basque vote in the French presidential and parliamentary elections. Her book stands as definitional of the

complex political problems of the Basque region.

The political units and parties Loyer identified are:

- Basque intellectuals;
- The Basque Church;
- Basque business, industrial and banking interests;
- ETA itself;
- The, variously named, political party closest to ETA. In her writing it was called Herri Batasuna; later it was Euskado Herriko; now it is just Batasuna; then complexly related to a spin-off party then called Euskadiko Ezkerra, which has since been re-absorbed into the main body;
- The Basque Nationalist Party, created by Arana in the late 19th century and now in power in the Basque Autonomous Community;
- The Eusko Alkartasuna Party, close ally of the Nationalist Party, whose differences from it are probably more apparent than real;
- The Spanish Socialist Party and its local Basque Socialist Party branch;
- The Spanish Right, in the form of the Popular Party;
- The localized parties, Alava Unity, the Navarra dominant right, etc;
- The various "victims" and "peace" organizations.

### Classification of parties and interests in Basque politics: Basque nationalism dimension

Although it seems never to have been done in print, Basque interests, including political parties, are subject to a rather straightforward classification according to several dimensions. The first of these is their position on Basque autonomy. On one extreme, on this dimension, are the two "Españolist" (a somewhat disparaging, but quite descriptive, Basque term) parties: the Popular Party and the Socialists. Though the Socialists were once favorable to some autonomy for the Basques, and still defend limited autonomy superficially, their recent position has seemed virtually indistinguishable from that of the Popular Party. However, beneath the surface, there are strong voices in the Popular Party who would prefer to revoke all Basque autonomy – or else make it meaningless by putting a non-Basque right-wing government in political control of the Basque Region. At the other extreme on the nationalism dimension are ETA and Batasuna, whose positions are virtually indistinguishable: Total nationhood for the Basque Homeland, including Navarra and the French areas, now, at any cost, regardless of cost in human life, including their own. The Basque Nationalist Party and Eusko Alkartasuna are almost at the same extreme on this dimension, especially since mid-July, 2000, except that they are more rationally *possibilist*, willing to proceed opportunistically over future years and decades. (They also differ on the violence issue; see below.) All other parties and interests in Basque politics are somewhere between these extremes.

### Violence dimension

ETA, of course, stands at one extreme, on this dimension. They are quite prepared to precipitate as much violence as they can to terrorize the Spanish nation, neighboring regional societies such as the Catalans, Arragons, and Gallegos, the French (so far mainly police), and ethnic Basques themselves (especially police, and businessmen, some innocent bystanders, and clearly bordering on acts of violence against members of the Basque Nationalist Party). At the other extreme are members of "victims" organizations, and members of the Socialist Party, especially the vulnerable local elected officials. However, Basque business interests, the Basque Nationalist Party, is also strongly oriented against violence, as

is the Eusko Alkartasuna Party. Again, all other parties and interests fall somewhere in the middle, though Basque society in general is heavily anti-violence.

### Radical Marxism issue

Quite apart from where they stand on the other dimensions, the parties and interests vary on where they stand on radical Marxism. ETA and Batasuna stand near one extreme on this dimension, though not always consistently so. The United Left is inclined this way as well, but their willingness to work with the Basque Nationalist Party shows that this is at least partly rhetorical. The Socialists of course are sort of non-radical Marxists, favoring massive public ownership and social programs favored by other European “new” socialists. But they are not at all radical in fact. The Basque Nationalist Party has had, historically, elements of radical Marxism, but these seem to have largely disappeared in the play of electoral politics. Still, they favor public ownership and social programs not noticeably different from those of the Socialists – except that the Basque clergy is more influential in the Basque Nationalist Party. The Popular Party, on the other hand, is fiercely anti-Marxist and pro-private enterprise, though not with any very articulate economic logic at the political level. (There are some right-wing free enterprise ideologues in the Popular Party, but they are influential only at the margin.) There is some slight hint of social programs related to the strong Catholic orientation in Spanish and Basque cultures, but these are marginal within the Popular Party – the Catholic influence being closer to *Opus Dei* than to the social orientation of recent popes. Finally, Basque businessmen, as with businessmen everywhere, are at the extreme against radical Marxism.

### Domestic well-being agenda dimension

The final dimension has to do with how well developed are the ideas about what should be done in the Basque Country, if independence were ever attained – or indeed if it never were to be. ETA stands at one extreme on this dimension, for it has practically no visible agenda at all on these matters. Some of its critics claim there is a hidden “ethnic cleansing” agenda, whereby all non Basque-speakers would be gradually forced to leave the territory. I find no evidence to support this hypothesis. More likely, to me, is that ETA is so concerned with life-and-death matters that mere well-being of the population pales into insignificance. At the other extreme are the Basque Nationalist Party and Eusko Alkartasuna, who have proved their commitment to a strong domestic well-being agenda, despite being confronted by the most distracting kind of politics from all sides. The Socialists have a strong domestic well-being agenda, on paper, but it presupposes the disappearance or fundamental weakening of Basque nationalism. That is not really in the cards, for the Basques have been struggling against domination by non-Basques for 4,000 years; and they are more firmly nationalistic today than ever before. So the Socialist domestic well-being, as concerns the Basque Country, must be seen as merely rhetorical. The Popular Party seem to hold no articulate domestic well-being agenda other than: “Be good Spaniards and let the market work to make you happy.” All other positions are intermediate.

## The “bottom line” on political impediments to Basque planning

How could there be any viable political climate for Basque metropolitan or megalopolitan planning, given the ETA violence and associated maneuvering of the “*Españolista*” parties and other forces just described? One would be tempted to say

that such politics are simply not possible in the foreseeable future, and many writers have effectively come to this conclusion. However, 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 is the main impediment to good planning of metropolitan areas and their polycentric incipient megalopolis. But accomplishments in the past three years do offer the basis concrete hope that such planning can be done.<sup>11</sup>

## Conclusions

Jean Gottmann’s concept of the megalopolis has proved to be very useful in conceptual-level planning for the Basque coastal megalopolis. This is especially clear if a modicum of functional theory is added to the concept, as we have done. The result is that emphasis on the entire-community planning needs to be at the metropolitan level, intermediate to municipal and most contemporary European regional spatial planning. At the metropolitan level, there needs to be attention to the bio-physical environment, the demography and then to the “system” of economy, polity, culture, and interaction. The megalopolis must be seen as a linear clustering of metropolitan areas. Megalopolitan planning needs to concentrate on the interactions among these metropolitan areas, in accordance with the tastes and well-being of the several metro entities – and to planning the interstices between them.

The existing spatial structure of the Basque Country lends itself to this kind of megalopolitan planning. We identify five metropolitan areas of importance, the existing and potential linkages among them, and the appropriate treatment of the interstices for 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.

The particularly violence-anchored and hostile form of political activity that characterizes the Basque Country must be seen as the 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 can still be advanced.

## Notes

1. This paper grows out of my work during the past several years on the question of Basque planning. I have presented several papers on the subject at Ekistics meetings: (1) “Euskal Herriok Ekistica,” June 2000 (Čelákovice, Czech Republic); (2a) “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, 2002]; (2b) “Basque Planning and the Future of Human Settlements in Europe’s Western Pyrenees Region,” May 2002 [a derived short-paper]; (2c) “Completing the Transition of Ekistics to the ‘Applied Science of Human Settlements,’” May 2002 [a derived short-paper, with revisions]; and (2d) “Summary Conclusions and Synthesis for the Future of the Basque Homeland and Other Regions,” May 2002 [a derived short-

paper, with revisions]. Some portions of Items 2a-2d have been published in *Ekistics*, July-December 2002.

2. The original conception was that of Patrick Geddes' "conurbation," which included some positive but many negative consequences of towns growing together, including that of the metropolitan region. The focal phenomena were physical, but social, economic and even political aspects were at least recognized. The treatment of these same phenomena was as unambiguously negative in the various writings of Lewis Mumford, from *The Culture of Cities* (1936) to *The City in History* (1959). Gottmann restored a measure of even-handedness and added new depth to the economic, political and communications dimensions of these phenomena.
3. See the listing of items under "Theory of Action Framework" in the references that follow.
4. My own early efforts to empirically anchor Parsons' theory is contained in my (1954) "Patterns of Status Perception: An Empirical Test of Theory-Based Hypotheses," Undergraduate honors thesis, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University. I met with only limited success. The "theory of action" approach, along with other functionalist theories, has of course since fallen out of fashion. I put it forward here merely to provide a kind of checklist for looking at the structure of the megalopolis – without accepting the functionalist assumptions. This is considered by more recent philosophers of science as the only legitimate use of systems theories in the social sciences (see Berlinski, 1975).
5. See Parsons (1959) and, to a more limited extent at the national level, Parsons and Smelser (1959) and Parsons et al. (1956).
6. A note on place name usage in this paper: I have tried to put the Basque (Euskara) name first, followed in parentheses by the French or Spanish name. This usage is extended to provinces and to rivers. For interim source, I have used Eusko Jaurlaritzako 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](http://www.geocities.com/CollegePark/5062/topo2). It is identified as having been compiled by *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*, a Basque daily newspaper and approved by Euskalitzindia, the Basque Language Academy.
7. See Sansinenia Ichaso (2001).
8. This agency is currently being studied, and interviews are not yet complete. What may appear to be conclusions stated here are still hypotheses. Complete evaluation of this agency will be provided in a revision to the present paper, or a subsequent one.
9. Joel A. Cohen, "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.
10. Lawrence D. Mann (1998), "Planificación del Futuro Urbano de las Américas," in his *Conferencias sobre Planificación Comparativa en las Américas*. Tucson, Arizona, and Panama City, Panama, Programa Arizona-Panama. This document is available in Spanish from the author or through the Program office, College of Architecture, Planning and Landscape Architecture, University of Arizona.
11. While I do not cite each of the multitude of newspaper references supporting this narrative, the original references do exist and are available on request. The reader can get many of them on the web, at [www.elpais.es](http://www.elpais.es), under "temas," and then "La Ofensiva Terrorista" or "ETA". Supplementary information is at [www.elcorreo.electronico.es](http://www.elcorreo.electronico.es) and [www.eldiariovasco.es](http://www.eldiariovasco.es), plus [eldiariodenavarra.es](http://eldiariodenavarra.es). For the French Basque area, see [www.sudoest.fr](http://www.sudoest.fr) and [www.semainebasque.fr](http://www.semainebasque.fr). All are, however, in the Spanish or French languages, respectively.

## References

### 1. General, Ekistics Approach

DOXIADIS, C.A. and J.G. PAPAIOANNOU (1974), *Ecumenopolis, The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens, Athens Center of Ekistics).

### 2. Jean Gottmann

GOTTMANN, Jean (1957), "Megalopolis, or the urbanization of the Eastern Seaboard," *Economic Geography*, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 189-200.

— (1960), "L'urbanisation dans le monde contemporain et ses con-

séquences politiques," *Politique Etrangère*, no. 6, pp. 557-571.

- (1961), *Megalopolis, The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States* (New York, Twentieth Century Fund).
- (1962a), *Economics, Esthetics and Ethics in Modern Urbanization* (New York, Twentieth Century Fund).
- (1962b), *Geography of Europe* (New York, Holt, Reinhart and Winston).
- (1963), "Urbanisation en Amérique du Nord et en Europe occidentale: Notes comparatives," *Information sur les Sciences Sociales*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 33-52.
- (1964a), "De la ville d'aujourd'hui à la ville de demain: La transition vers la cité nouvelle," *Perspective*, no. 11, *L'Urbanisation* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France), pp. 171-180.
- (1964b), "Mankind is reshaping its habitat," in C.E. Elias, James Gillies and Svend Riemer, *Metropolis: Values in Conflict* (Belmont, CA, Wadsworth), pp. 3-8.
- (1966), "Morphologie et modes de vie des villes de demain," *Commerce et Urbanisme: Rapports Introductifs* (Brussels, Fédération Belge pour l'urbanisme et l'habitation), Part 4, chapter 1.
- (1968), "The growing city as a social and political process," *Transactions of the Bartlett Society* (London, The Society), pp. 11-46.
- (1969), "The growing city as a political process," *Southeastern Geographer*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 4-16.
- (1971a), "Forme, funzioni e composizioni della città contemporanea," in *Enciclopedia de la Scienza e della Tecnica, Annuario della EST 71* (Milan, Mondadori), pp. 457-468.
- (1971b), "Pour une géographie des centres transactionnels," *Bulletin de l'Association Géographes Français*, nos. 385-386, pp. 41-49.
- (1971c), "Urbanization: Planning human environment in Europe," in *Citizen and City in the Year 2000*, European Cultural Foundation (Deventer, Netherlands, Kluwer), pp. 82-84.
- (1972), "L'utilisation de l'espace européen," in *L'Europe en l'an 2000*, Fondation Européen de la Culture (Paris, Fayard), pp. 139-167.
- (1974), "Dynamics of large cities and planning policies," *Symposium on Urban Development* (Rio de Janeiro, B.N.H.), pp. 125-128.
- (1975), "The evolution of the concept of territory," *Social Science Information*, 14, no. 314, pp. 29-47.
- (1976a), "Megalopolitan systems around the world," *Ekistics*, vol. 41, no. 243 (February), pp. 109-113.
- (1976b), "Les poussées mégalopolitaines dans le monde," *Revue 2000*, no. 35, pp. 3-6.
- (1977), "Megalopolis and Antipolis: The telephone and the structure of the city," in Ithiel de Sola Poole (ed.), *The Social Impact of the Telephone* (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press), pp. 303-317.
- (1978), "Urbanization and employment: Towards a general theory," *Town Planning Review*, vol. 49, no. 3, pp. 393-401.
- (1979), "Office work and the evolution of cities," *Ekistics*, vol. 46, no. 274 (January-February), pp. 33-36.
- (1981), "Managing megalopolis in Europe," *Geographical Journal*, vol. 147, no. 1, pp. 85-87.
- (1982), "The metamorphosis of the modern metropolis," *Ekistics*, vol. 49, no. 292 (January-February), pp. 7-11.
- (1983a), *The Coming of the Transactional City*, Monograph no. 2 (College Park, MD, University of Maryland, Institute for Urban Studies).
- (1983b), "Conclusion sur l'informatique et la ville," *Cahiers du CREPIF*, no. 2 (September), pp. 226-227.
- (1986), "Transatlantic orbits: The interplay in the evolution of cities," in M.P. Conzen (ed.), *World Patterns in Modern Urban Change*, Research monograph no. 217-218 (Chicago, University of Chicago, Department of Geography), pp. 457-472.
- (1987a), *Megalopolis Revisited: Twenty-Five Years Later*, Monograph no. 6 (College Park, MD, University of Maryland, Institute for Urban Studies).
- and Robert A. HARPER (eds.), (1987b), *Since Megalopolis: The Urban Writings of Jean Gottmann* (Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press).

### 3. Theory of Action Framework

BERLINSKI, Daniel (1975), *On Systems* (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press).

CASTELLS, Manuel (1995), *The Informational City: Information Technologies, Economic Restructuring, and Urban-Regional*



Prices (Madrid, Alianza).

- EASTON, David (1960), *The Political System* (Chicago, Free Press).  
KROEBER, Alfred (1946), "Culture," in Parsons and Shils (ed.), *op. cit.*  
PARSONS, Talcott (1950), *The Social System* (Chicago, Free Press).  
—— (1959), "The principal structures of community," in Carl J. Friedrich (ed.), *Community: Nomos II* (Chicago, American Philosophical Society).  
—— and Edward SHILS (eds.) (1946), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Chicago, Free Press).  
—— et al. (eds.) (1956), *Working Papers in the General Theory of Action* (Chicago, Free Press).  
—— and Neil SMELSER (1956), *Economy and Society* (London, Kegan Paul).

## 4. Basque Microcosm

### i. General

- ALLIÉRA, Jacques (1999), *Les Basques*, 6th ed. (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France).  
GLOAGUEN, Philippe et al. (eds.) (2002), *Pays Basque (France, Espagne), Le Guide du Routard* (Paris, Hachette).  
LE ROY LADURIE, Emmanuel (2001), "Pays Basque" in *Historie de France de Régions: La Périphérie Française, des Origines à Nos Jours* (Paris, Seuil) (l'Univers Historique), pp. 108-137.  
LURBERRIAGA, A. (1985), *Comment peut-on Être Basque?* (Baiona/Bayonne, Elkar).  
OYHAMBURU, Philippe (1980), *L'Irréductible Phénomène Basque* (Paris, Entente).

### ii. Environment and Geography

- AAVV (1999), *Geografía de Euskal Herria* (Ostoa, Lasarte-Oria).  
CERIO MINON, I. Dias de (2000), *Legislación Sobre Ordenación del Territorio en Euskalherria* (Donostia/San Sebastian).  
COMUNIDAD AUTONOMIA VASCA (1994), *Plan Territorial Sectorial de Suelo para Actividades Económicas* (Vitoria/Gasteiz, El Gobierno).  
—— (1997), *Directrices de Ordenación del Territorio de la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca* (Vitoria/Gasteiz, El Gobierno).  
EUSKO JUARLARITZAKO HEZKUNTZA SAILAK ONETSIA (1994), *Euskal Herriko Atlas: Geografía, ekonomia, historia, artea* (Donostia/San Sebastian, Erein).  
GOMEZ PIÑERO, P.J. (1995), "Análisis Geográfico, Ordenación del Territorio y Medio Ambiente," *Lurralde: Investigación y Espacio*, no. 18 (Donostia/San Sebastian, Instituto Geográfico Vasco/Euskal Geografi Elkargoa (INGEBA)).  
GOYHENECHÉ, Eugène (1979), *Notre Terre Basque*, 2nd ed. (Pau, Société Nouvelle d'Éditions Régionales et de Diffusion).  
LABORDE, Pierre (1994), *Le Pays Basque: Économie et Société en Mutation* (Baiona/Bayonne, Elkar).  
LOYER, Barbara (1997), *Géopolitique du Pays Basque* (Paris, L'Harmattan).  
PEREZ DE LABORDE, Alberto (2001), *País Vasco; Arte, Ciudades, Costumbres, y Pueblo* (Donostia/San Sebastian, Txieroa).  
SANSINENIA ICHASO, Gabriel (2001), "La Eurociudad Bayona-San Sebastian," *Lurralde: Investigación y Espacio*, no. 24 (Donostia/San Sebastian, Instituto Geográfico Vasco/Euskal Geografi Elkargoa (INGEBA)).

### iii. Culture and Language

#### (a) Culture

- ATXAGA, Bernardo (1999), *Pays Basque et Culture: Le Réveil du Hérisson* (translated from the Euskara by André Gabastou (Pau, Caim).  
BIDART, Pierre (2002), *La Singularité Basque: Généalogie et Usages* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France).  
ETCHEVERRY-AINHART, Peio, Alexander HUREL, et al. (2001), *Dictionnaire Thématique de Culture et Civilisation Basques* (Urruña/Urugne, Pimientos).  
EUSKO IKASKUNTZA/SOCIEDAD DE ESTUDIOS VASCOS (1997), *Mendaleko Bizimoduak = Comunidades de Montaña = Sociétés de Montagne / en Zainak* (no. 14), *Cuadernos de Antropología-Etnografía* (Donostia/San Sebastian, the Society).  
VALLE, Teresa del (1994), *Korrika: Basque Ritual for Ethnic Identity* (translated by Linda White), (Reno, University of Nevada Press).

#### (b) Language

- HILDALGO EIZAGIRRE, Victor (1995), *Ohar Estatistiko Garrantzitsuak Euskararen Hitz Ordenaren Inguru* (Donostia/San Sebastian, Euskara, S.V.O. (Fontes Linguae Vasconum)).  
HUALDE, José Ignacio, Joseba A. LAKARRA and Robert L. TRASK (eds.) (1995), *Toward a History of the Basque Language* (Amsterdam, Benjamins).  
HUBSCHMID, Johannes (1960), *Mediterrane Substrate mit Besonderer Berücksichtigung des Baskischen und der Westöstlichen Sprachbeziehungen* (Bern, Francke Verlag).  
INTXAUSTI, Joseba (1992), *Euskara: La Langue des Basques Euskara, euskaldunon hizkuntza* (Donostia/San Sebastian, Elkar for Eusko Jurlaritz/Gobierno Vasco).  
MICHELINA, Luis (1988), *Sobre la Historia de la Lengua Vasca* (Joseba A. Lakarra, ed.), (Donostia/San Sebastian: ASJU 10, Seminario de Filología Vasca de Urujio).  
MORVAN, Michel (1996), *Les origines linguistiques du Basque* (Bordeaux, Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux) (Centre d'Études Linguistiques et Littéraires Basques).  
PEILLEN, Txomin (1995), *Parlons Euskara: La Langue des Basques* (Paris, L'Harmattan).  
—— (1998), *Conception du Monde et Culture Basque* (Paris, L'Harmattan).  
SALTARELLI, Mario (1988), *Basque* (London, Croom Helm).  
TORREALDAI, Joan Mari (1998), *El Libro Negro del Euskera* (Donostia/San Sebastian, Ttartalo).  
VENNEMANN, Theo (ed.) (2002), *Europa Vasconica-Europa Semetica* (Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter).

### iv. Politics and Policy

- BIDART, Pierre et al. (1994), *Le Pays Basque et l'Europe* (Baigorri/Saint-Etienne-de-Baigorry, Ixpegi).  
BUYON, Patrick (1995), *Une Terre d'Europe: Les Pyrénées-Atlantiques et Nous Maintenant* (Miarritze/Biarritz, J & D Editions).  
CASSAN, Patrick (1997), *Le Pouvoir Française et la Question Basque, 1981-1993* (Paris, L'Harmattan).  
CONVERSI, Danielle (2000), *The Basques, the Catalans, and Spain: Alternative Routes to National Mobilisation* (London, C. Hurst; Reno, University of Nevada Press).  
*Ekaizta: Euskal Astekan Politikoa.* (Baiona/Bayonne, The Review) [weekly].  
*El Correo Electronico* (daily newspaper) (Bilbo/Bilbao), (October 1999 to present).  
*El Diario de Navarra, Version Electronica* [daily newspaper, in Spanish], (Iruña/Pamplona), (October 1999 to present).  
*El Diario Vasco Electronico* [daily newspaper] Donostia/San Sebastian), (October, 1999 to present).  
*El País Electronico.* [daily newspaper] (Madrid), (October 1999 to present).  
*Enbata: Hebdomadaire Politique Basque* (Baiona/Bayonne, The Review), [weekly].  
*Gara, Version Electronica* [daily newspaper, in Spanish and Euskara], (Donostia/San Sebastian), (October 1999 to present).  
GARMENDIA, I.M. and A. ELORDI (1982), *La Resistencia Vasca* (Donostia/San Sebastian).  
HERAUD, G. (1974), *L'Europe des Ethnies* (Paris, Presses d'Europe).  
ITHURRALDE, Marianick (2002), *Le Pays Basque, La Catalogne et L'Europe: Stratégies Politiques des Autonomies Basque et Catalan* (Paris, L'Harmattan).  
LOYER, Barbara (1997), *Géopolitique du Pays Basque* (Paris, L'Harmattan).  
RUDEL, Christian (1985), *Ekuskadi: Une Nation pour les Basques* (Paris, Encre).  
*Semaine Basque* [weekly newspaper]. (Baiona/Bayonne) (October, 1999 to present).  
*Sud Ouest Electronique* [daily newspaper] (Bordeaux and Baiona/Bayonne), (October, 1999 to present).  
ZULAIKA, Joseba (1988), *Basque Violence: Metaphor and Sacrament* (Reno, University of Nevada Press).

### v. Economy and Employment

- DE CALLEJA BASTERRECHEA, Antxon Pz. (1984), *Informe Diagnóstico sobre la Economía Vasca* (Bilbo/Bilbao, Iparragirre).  
LABORDE, Pierre (1994), *Le Pays Basque: Économie et Société en Mutation* (Baiona/Bayonne, Elkar).