

CONTENTS

Foreword.....	11
JOHN HUME	
Preface: Ibarretxe and Saramago Walked Together.....	13
PILAR DEL RÍO	
Introduction: Three Pesetas.....	17
KOLDO ORDOZGOITI JUANENEA	

1

Forging the Lehendakari

<i>Nire Agindua Ondo Betetzea, Zin Dagit</i>	21
<i>Sutan Jartzean Probatzen Da Nolakoa Den Eltzea</i>	23
The Photograph on the Steps.....	26
Projects with a Human Face.....	29
Strategic Investment in the Real Economy.....	31
A Market with No Values Is a Flea Market.....	32
Self-Government Means More Wealth.....	34
The Pro-European Spirit of the Basque Nation.....	35
The Statute: A Chronicle of Incompliance.....	36
That's Not Our Statute!.....	39
The "Moral" of Aznar.....	40
An Agreement Dictated on a Train and Another Document Written in the Early Hours.....	41
Even If It Takes All Night!.....	43
Single and Great: The Centralist, Centralizing Vision.....	44
"Spanish Constitutional Patriotism".....	45
If There's Water, Then Yes!.....	47
The PP and the PSOE Break Up Negotiations.....	49
Today the Ajuria Enea Agreement Would Be Subversive.....	53
The Public Forgives Mistakes, but Not Incoherence.....	56
The Invention of the Twenty-First Century: People.....	58

I Will Master Basque!.....	59
The PSE/EE Leaves Government.....	63
Governments Demand a Great Deal of Work.....	63
The Shame of Guadalajara	65
I Supported Lizarra.....	66
The EAJ-PNV and EA's Failed Negotiations with ETA.....	68
The Ceasefire Begins: "Now Is the Time to Be Responsible".....	69

2

Peace Is Worth a Risk

So Exciting for a Humble Basque—and Such a Responsibility!.....	73
Elections during a Ceasefire, Politics Mired in Arguments.....	76
The Future Has Begun and We Ourselves Are the Key.....	78
It's Time to Keep Our Doors Open.....	80
The "Record for Memory," or How Aznar Negotiated with ETA.....	82
The First Time Batasuna Agreed to the Mitchell Principles.....	85
A Broken Ceasefire.....	89
Peace Is Worth Taking Risks, Even Worth Making Mistakes.....	91
Ibarretxe at the Club Siglo XXI: The Road to Restoring Peace and Normal Political Relations.....	92
Aznar: "Peace Means Ousting the EAJ-PNV".....	97
We Will Not Hide!.....	100
The Central Channel of Basque Society: The Kursaal Declaration.....	105
The Coalition between the EAJ-PNV and EA.....	107
The Freedom Agreement: The PP/PSOE Electoral Platform.....	109
Whether It's a Boy or a Girl: A Phone Call at 2:30 a.m.....	111

3

A Political Statute for the Basque Country

Defeats Must Be Administered Patiently, Victories Intelligently.....	113
Commitments to Build the Future.....	115
A Three-Party Government: A Cross Section Representing the Center Ground... ..	119
The "Convergence" between Mayor Oreja and Otegi.....	120
The Downing Street Declaration Rejected by Aznar	121
The Effects of the Law on Parties.....	123
A Complete Parliament: The Forum for Dialogue Par Excellence.....	124
Democratic Dialogue.....	125
Toward a New Political Agreement.....	126
Basques of Both Genders	129

<i>Zortzigarren Alaba</i>	130
The Tour de France	130
The Closure of <i>Euskaldunon Egunkaria</i> : A Monumental Injustice	132
March 11, 2004: The Massacre and the Lie	134
The Light at the End of the Tunnel	137
Democratic, Legal, and Current Modern	139
The First Time, but Not the Last	142
Dialogue Cannot Require People to Abandon Their Own Ideas First	143
Singing the Falangist National Anthem with Santiago Carrillo	144
The “Sweepers,” President Maragall and the Basque Way	145
President Maragall and the Basque Way	146
Rulings Clarify the Way: Political Initiative Now More Than Ever	146
Not Just a Change: Zapatero Has Metamorphosed	148
“What Do You Mean, ‘Approved’?!”	149
The Basque Country Is Not a Subordinate Part of Spain	150
I Have Come to This Chamber to Defend the Basque People’s Right to Decide Their Own Future	151
We Have to Be Able to Decide to Live Together	161
They Won’t Talk to the Basque Parliament, but They Do Negotiate with ETA ...	165
Political Initiative Creates Disquiet among ETA and the Spanish Institutions	167

4

Democratic Consultation

The Legal/Illegal Trick	169
The Shameful Revenge on Atutxa	170
Peace, Normalization, and Social Progress	172
The Downing Street Agreements Rejected by Rodríguez Zapatero	173
Rodríguez Zapatero’s Refusal	176
ETA’s Latest Ceasefire	177
The Loiola Negotiations	180
The Loiola Agreement	183
We Cannot Let the Hope for Peace Be Dashed	187
Delaying the Ceasefire Announcement:	
The Last Agreement between the Spanish Government and ETA?	190
“Perhaps We Went Too Far!”—And They Had	191
Lehendakari Ibarretxe on Trial for Holding Talks	193
Let’s Put Society First!	197
Working toward a Political Agreement	197

Consulting the Public.....	198
The Most Productive Parliamentary Term.....	201
A Different World Is Possible, but Not with Count Dracula Managing the Blood Bank	202
Si Vis Pacem, Para Pacem.....	204
The Election Campaign with Our Heads Held High.....	204
The Aznar Plan Lives at Ajuria Enea Palace.....	206
What Must the Basque Country's National Parties Be Clear About?	206
The Polls Speak: Victory for Ibarretxe	207
My Candidacy Is Endorsed by Social Legitimacy	211
A Plan to Build and Make Progress.....	215
This Country Still Thinks and Votes Pro- <i>Abertzale</i>	226
Katea Ez Da Eten	229
Epilogue: The Right to Decide: The Key to the Solution.....	231
JUAN JOSÉ IBARRETXE MARKUARTU	
Endnotes.....	239
List of Political Parties.....	247
Index of Names	249