

Euskal Herria independentziaranzko bidean (22)

Ikus ondoko lanak:

2014: Independentziaranzko bidean¹,

Euskal Herria independentziaranzko bidean (20)²

eta Euskal Herria independentziaranzko bidean (21)³

1. Katalunia independentziaranzko bidean (segida-1)

(Ikus Katalunia independentziaranzko bidean⁴.)

Hona hemen Kataluniatik datozkigun zenbait berri:

- i) Arthur Mas eta independentziaren aldeko prozesua⁵
- ii) Yves Gounin-en *Les dynamiques d'éclatements d'États dans l'Union européenne: casse-tête juridique, défi politique*⁶:

“Pour les indépendantistes, il est par conséquent essentiel de convaincre leurs supporters que le nouvel État resterait membre de l'Union en cas de succès au référendum...”

“Les indépendantistes catalans ont, par exemple, fait fond sur une étude réalisée pour la Fondation Josep Irla sur les «Élargissements intérieurs» de l'UE, qui concluait à l'automatisme de l'adhésion des nouvelles entités étatiques.”

- iii) Lehen urrats legala⁷:

“A so-called Declaration of Sovereignty was passed with 85 votes in favor, 41 against and 2 abstentions.

However, that vote was largely irrelevant from a legal point of view.”

“This Thursday the Parliament of Catalonia will hold a vote on whether to ask the Spanish Congress to “devolve” the competence of holding referendums to Catalonia. This is the way Scots got permission from London to hold their own indy referendum next September.

¹ Ikus <http://www.unibertsitatea.net/blogak/heterodoxia/2014/01/01/2014-independentziaranzko-bidean/>.

² Ikus <http://www.unibertsitatea.net/otarra/gizarte-zientziak/ekonomia/euskal-herria-independentziaranzko-bidean-20>.

³ Ikus <http://www.unibertsitatea.net/otarra/gizarte-zientziak/ekonomia/euskal-herria-independentziaranzko-bidean-21>.

⁴ Ikus <http://www.unibertsitatea.net/blogak/heterodoxia/2013/12/24/katalunia-independentziaranzko-bidean/>.

⁵ Ikus <http://bcn24news.com/president-mas-let-us-vote/>. <http://bcn24news.com/dear-chancellor-merkel-please-let-us-vote/>. http://premsa.gencat.cat/pres_fsvp/docs/2014/01/02/13/15/522b1b57-a090-4995-ba2b-6a63e596868b.pdf. http://premsa.gencat.cat/pres_fsvp/docs/2014/01/02/13/16/0edbcace-0a6e-4fd7-b9de-51ea79c82cb3.pdf.

⁶ Ikus http://www.naiz.info/media/asset_publics/resources/000/051/467/original/20140108_yvesgounin.pdf.

⁷ Ikus <http://bcn24news.com/independence-what-will-happen-this-thursday-and-why-does-it-matter/>.

This vote is of the utmost importance because it is the first legal step of what has been called “the process”.

- iv) Zer dela eta independentziaren aldeko Kataluniarrek Eskoziari inbidia dioten⁸ eta Artur Mas-i egindako elkarrizketa

2. Katalunia independentziaranzko bidean (segida-2)

Hona hemen Kataluniari buruzko zenbait berri interesgarri:

- v) Ekonomialari katalanak independentziaren alde⁹
- vi) Kataluniako botoek Europar Batasuna (EB) alde dezakete¹⁰

Zehazki,

- a) *Catalan Academics Push Independence* delakoan irakur daitekeenez,

a-1) *“... the six academics argue that Spain’s system of sharing tax revenues among the 17 regions shortchanges Catalonia by about €16 billion (\$22 billion) annually. That amounts to more than €2,000 per inhabitant, or around 8% of Catalonia’s output, based on public tax and investment data, the academics say.”*

a-2) The scholars ... call themselves the Wilson Initiative, after U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, a champion of national self-determination.

a-3) Xavier Sala-i-Martin: *the moment for independence is now.*

Bitartean, EBko burokratek antzeko liturgia errepikatzen dute, alegia,

“Top EU officials have stated repeatedly that any part of any member state that becomes independent would be automatically outside the EU. If it wanted to join, its application would have to be ratified by the rest.”

Sala-i-Martin ekonomialariaren ustez,

“...the EU would be hard-pressed to follow through on such tough talk since the many large European companies with operations in Catalonia would resist the loss of free-trade benefits. Many Spanish exporters also need to pass through Catalonia to get their goods to Northern Europe...”

- b) *How the Voters of Catalonia May Change Europe* izeneko artikuluak hauxe dio:

Alde batetik Eskoziaren kasua dago¹¹. Bestetik, Kataluniarena¹².

⁸ Ikus <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-25717161>.

⁹ Ikus <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB40001424052702304632204579336673963940580>.

¹⁰ Ikus <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/how-the-voters-of-catalonia-may-change-europe>.

¹¹ Ingelesez: *“Scotland will hold its vote with the consent of the United Kingdom. The two governments are negotiating over how to manage the political and economic uncertainty and strain resulting from the referendum itself, and the possibility of an independent Scotland.”*

Bi autoreen iritziz,

b-1) *"It will be Europe, in the end, that decides whether Catalonia will be an independent state."*

b-2) *"For Europe, this domestic legal debate is largely irrelevant. If Catalonians choose independence, they will seek international recognition as an independent state based on the will of the people, not on provisions of the Spanish constitution."*

b-3) *"International law neither permits nor prohibits the holding of referenda by aspiring states. Under international law, a state must have a territory with a population subject to the control of a government – criteria that Catalonia will meet. It also must be sovereign, meaning that other states must recognize it as independent. This is how the Catalanian issue will be owned by the other European states."*

b-4) *"Europe as a whole is unlikely to deny recognition to Catalonia. That would create a frozen conflict in the core of Europe that will drain political capital and economic resources of an economically fragile Spain. In many European states, non-recognition would be perceived as anti-democratic. It will be extremely difficult to justify, given that more than two dozen states have achieved recognition in the past twenty years, and that Scotland is likely to join that list."*

b-5) *"Now is the time for the EU to be proactive and develop a policy for dealing with Catalonia's call for self-determination and possible independence."*

3. EB eta Katalunia

José Manuel Durao Barroso eta Xavier Sala i Martin¹³, tartean Kroazia eta Serbia...

4. España: Aparta de mí este cáliz

Espania eta langabezia¹⁴: lasai, hurrengo urtean dena konponduta.

Espania eta Troika¹⁵: lasai, bi urte barru dena konponduta.

Espania (eta Italia eta Frantzia) Depresio Handiko gazte langabeziaren mailarantz¹⁶: lasai, bost edo sei urte barru dena konponduta.

Ezin baduzu lo egin aurreko linkak irakurri eta gero, lasai, ez arduratu. Euskal Herriko ekonomialari askok, gehiegik, eta kazetari anitzek, guztiek?, aipatzen eta berraipatzen eta behin eta berriz esaten duten moduan: agian urte pare batean (*sic*) edo, bestela, sei urte barru (*re-sic*) krisia gaindituta egongo da.

¹² Ingelesez: *"Catalonia's regional administration last month announced a November date for its referendum, which the Spanish government of Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy immediately vowed to block. Yet Catalonia continues to move toward a unilateral declaration of independence. The separatist movement has sustained its momentum since it organized a massive demonstration in Barcelona in 2012 that led the region's parliament, days later, to approve a resolution affirming Catalonia's right to declare independence."*

¹³ Ikus, erdara batuan, <http://salaimartin.com/randomthoughts/item/714>.

¹⁴ Ikus <http://neweconomicperspectives.org/2014/01/spain-rains-rehns-austerity-victory-parade-unemployment-rises-26.html>.

¹⁵ Ikus <http://neweconomicperspectives.org/2014/02/troika-new-york-times-bury-issues-just-lead.html>.

¹⁶ Ikus <http://neweconomicperspectives.org/2014/02/spain-italy-france-economic-failures-will-soon-political-failures.html>.

ESPAÑA, una grande y libre, please, arren, mesedez, faborez, otoi: *aparta de mí este cáliz*¹⁷.

5. Jakin ala ez jakin: that's the question!

Shakespeare eraberritua: *Jakin ala ez jakin: that's the question!*

- i) Paul Krugman, Ben Bernanke,... FX, Fed, dirua inprimatzea¹⁸,...
- ii) Fed, Altxor Publikoa, FX, QE, oinarriko dirua, ..., Paul Volcker¹⁹
- iii) Warren Mosler: magister²⁰

Dakienak badaki, ez dakienak baleki.

6. Maastricht eta hori guztia

Goazen atzera. 1992an gaude. Maastricht-i buruzko eztabaidak...

Hona Wynne Godley-k zioena banku zentralaz eta gobernu zentralaz²¹:

*“The incredible **lacuna in the Maastricht programme** is that, while it contains a blueprint for the establishment and modus operandi of an **independent central bank**, there is **no blueprint whatever** of the analogue, in Community terms, of a central government.”*

Baita federazioaz eta aurrekontu federalaz ere:

*“I also sympathise with those who seek integration under the jurisdiction of some kind of **federal constitution with a federal budget very much larger than that of the Community budget**. What I find **totally baffling** is the position of those who are **aiming for economic and monetary union without the creation of new political institutions...**”*

W. Godley gogoratu dute haren heriotza dela eta. Hona hil-mezu bat²²:

*“Wynne Godley obituary: **Economist with a flair for anticipating and responding to crises.**”*

7. Krisia: ikusiz nola etorri zen...

Randall Wray-k elkarrizketa batean eta modu erraz batean krisia nola etorri zen (ekarri zuten!) adierazi du²³.

Hona hemen nolakoa zen testuingurua:

- (i) Finantza arloa libre zegoen inongo erregulazio edo gainbegiratzetik gabe.
- (ii) Globalizazioan bizi gara. Hortaz, krisiak jo zuenean, mundu mailan hedatu zen.

¹⁷ ikus <http://www.literatura.us/vallejo/caliz.html>.

¹⁸ Ikus <http://www.unibertsitatea.net/otarrea/gizarte-zientziak/ekonomia/paul-krugman-eta-warren-mosler-jakin-ala-ez-jakin>.

¹⁹ Ikus <http://www.unibertsitatea.net/otarrea/gizarte-zientziak/ekonomia/warren-mosler-fed-altxor-publikoa-oinarriko-dirua>.

²⁰ Ikus <http://www.unibertsitatea.net/otarrea/gizarte-zientziak/ekonomia/warren-mosler-magister>.

²¹ Ikus <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v14/n19/wynne-godley/maastricht-and-all-that>.

²² Ikus <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/may/20/wynne-godley-obituary>.

²³ Ikus <http://multiplier-effect.org/?p=10280>.

- (iii) Finantza arloa industriaren gainean egon zen. Ekonomia 'finantzializatuta' zegoen, ekonomia osotik korporazio mozkin guztien % 40a hurrupatuz.
- (iv) Makroteoria estandarrak aurreko guztia joera on gisa hartzen du. Beraz, ekonomialari ortodoxo horiek guztiek ez zuten krisia etortzen ikusi.

Baina DTM inguruan mugitzen direnek krisia etortzen ikusi zuten. Izan ere, badaude hiru joera zer gertatzen ari zen argi aurreikusteko:

- (v) Hyman Minsky-en finantza ezegonkortasuneko fokapena²⁴;
- (vi) Wynne Godley-ren sektore balantzearen fokapena²⁵; eta
- (vii) DTM, aurreko bietan oinarritzen dena²⁶.

Wray-k dioenez,

- (viii) Minsky-ren jarraitzaileek ikus zezaketen finantza erakundeak arrisku operazioetan erabat sartuta zeudela, zeintzuek azkenean likidezia eta solbentzia arazoak kausatu ahalko zituzketen.
- (ix) Godley-ren jarraitzaileek jakin zuten gobernu aurrekontuak oso altuak zirela eta sektore pribatuak zor handia bereganatzen zuela.
- (x) DTM-ren jarraitzaileek jakin zuten Eurolandia eratuta zegoela porrot egiteko: politika fiskala moneta subiranotasunetik deslotuta egonda, atzerapen serio batek edo finantza krisi batek EBren existentzia bera mehatxatu ahalko zuket.

Krisiaren ondorio gisa langabezia hedatu da nonahi.

Hona hemen Wray-ren proposamenak langabeziari aurre egiteko:

- (xi) Epe laburreko eta epe luzeko arazoak daude²⁷.
- (xii) Epe luzerako *Job Guarantee*, hots, *lan bermeko* (gobernu subiranoek zuzenki sorturiko lanpostuak) programari²⁸ ez dio ikusten inongo alternatibarik.

Zein da globalizaturiko finantza sistemak ekonomia errealean daukan eragina? Erregulatu al daiteke finantza sektorea?

Hona Wray-ren erantzuna:

- (xiii) Jendeak finantzak baliabide eskasiarekin berdintzen du, hortaz finantza 'librea' behar dugu hornikuntza gehitzeko. Hori faltsua da.

²⁴ *Financial Instability Hypothesis*: <http://www.levyinstitute.org/pubs/wp74.pdf>.

²⁵ *A constructive critique of the Levy Sectoral Financial Balance approach*: <http://www.paecon.net/PAEReview/issue64/Fiebiger64.pdf>.

²⁶ DTMkoek aspaldian abisatu zuten: <http://www.unibertsitatea.net/blogak/heterodoxia/2013/03/19/dtmkoek-aspaldian-abisatu-zuten/>.

²⁷ Ingelesezt: "We have two unemployment problems—short run and long run. *In the short run*, we have not recovered from the Global Financial Crash of 2008. Even if we do not slip back into recession, it will take years and years to recover those lost jobs. *But even if we were to get back to the employment levels of 2007*, we still would be tens of millions of jobs short in both the EU and the USA."

"*The long term problem is jobless growth. It is a global problem. It will not be resolved by recovery. We need to create millions and millions of new jobs.*"

²⁸ Lan bermeaz, ikus <http://www.unibertsitatea.net/otarrea/gizarte-zientziak/ekonomia/langabeziaren-aurka-lan-bermea>.

- (xiv) Gaur egun finantza ‘teklatuen’ bidez lortzen da, kreditua sortzeko. Hornikuntza hori potentzialki infinitua da.
- (xv) Eskasia mailegari onen hornikuntzan datza²⁹.

Eta EBko LTRO³⁰ delakoa eta euroaren egoera?

Hona Wray-k dioena:

- (xvi) Europako Batasun Monetarioa, EB, egoera berezian dago, zeren politika fiskala mugatuta baitago EBko herrialdeek atzerritar moneta bat onartu zutelako: euroa.
- (xvii) Soilik ‘politika monetarioa’ geratzen da, EBZ-ren esku³¹. Baina Grezia eta Portugal bezalako estatuek Maastricht-eko irizpideetakoak baino gobernu aurrekontu defizit handiagoak erabili behar dituzte. Hori erabat jasagarria da EBZ-ren sostenguarekin.

(Nire galdera: Soilik Grezia eta Portugal?)

Orain, berriz, Wray. Zer gertatzen da euroarekin, oro har?

Erantzuna hemen:

- (xviii) EBko estatuek beren monetak utzi zituzten (drakma, lira, Irlandako libra,...) eta atzerritar moneta bat, euroa, onartu.
- (xix) Ekonomialari gehienak kezkatua zeuden EBZ-ren inguruko moneta politikaren batasunaz, benetan garrantzitsua politika fiskala monetatik deslotzea zen bitartean.
- (xx) Barneko politika fiskala atzerritar monetan inplementatzeak ekonomia atzerritarren kolonizazioa berdintzen du.
(Nire galdera: Hortaz, zer gertatuko da Eskozian, independentziarekin Britainia Handiko libra esterlina erabiliko omen dutenean?)
- (xxi) Euroaren eraketa horren bidez, botere ekonomiko nagusiak (Alemania izan zena) beste herrialde guztiak kolonizatuko zituen, ondorioz, Alemania ‘atzerritar’ bilakatuz. Godley-k horixe azpimarratu zuen europar batasuna baino lehenago. Zuzen zegoen. Alemaniak, kasu, Grezia³² kolonizatu du.

Eta EBZ-ren obsesioa inflazioarekin?

- (xxii) Inflazioarekiko Alemaniaren obsesioak EBZ kutsatu du, hasieratik.

²⁹ Ingelesezt, honela segitzen du Wray-k: *“We lived through a fantasy period in which financial institutions thought it did not matter whether the borrowers were good—because all risks would be pushed onto someone else’s balance sheets through securitization and other derivatives. Again, false. The delinquencies and bankruptcies all came back to the financial institutions. The job of finance is to do good underwriting to find the good borrowers. And we need good supervision and regulation of bankers to make them do that job. We do not have “too little finance”; rather, we have far too much unregulated and unsupervised finance.”*

³⁰ LTRO-z, ikus <http://www.cnbc.com/id/46567837>.

³¹ Hona zer dioten Wray-k, ingelesez: *“Near-zero ECB rates don’t do much good because Greece, for example, cannot borrow at those rates in markets. What is needed is a guarantee by the ECB that it stands ready to support Greek government debt at some maximum interest rate—say, 3 percent. The ECB would either directly buy the debt, or lend to any bank that would buy the debt at that rate. That is the way the ECB can support fiscal policy. But this must come without conditions—it does no good to allow governments to borrow but then to tell them they must adopt austerity.”*

³² Galderak egiten dituen ikasle greziarra da. Elkarrizketa Greziako aldizkari batean, grekoz, argitaratzekoa zen.

(xxiii) Wray-k ez du uste politika monetarioaren inflazio afera garrantzi handikoa denik³³.

Zeintzuk dira eurogunea suspertzeko politikarik egokienak? Eta Greziari buruzkoak?

Wray-k:

(xxiv) Gaur egungo antolamenduekin ez dago inolako suspertzerik.

Bi irtenbide besterik ez daude:

(xxv) Lehena da EBtik irtetea, nahiz eta berau kostu handiko eta mingarria izan.

(xxvi) Bestea, EBko egungo eratzea erreformatzea. Horrek suposatuko du muga fiskaletatik askatzea, agian EBko Parlamentuaren gastua oraingo BPG-ren %1etik baino gutxiagoa izatetik BPG-ren %10era igarotzea³⁴.

Warren Mosler-ek irtenbide dotore bat proposatu zuen aspaldian³⁵.

8. Eta Euskal Herrian?

Hona hemen zenbait urrats.

8. 1. Azpeitiko hitzaldia: *Euskal Estatua bideragarria al da ekonomikoki?*

Azpeitiko lagunek gonbidatua, hitzalditxo bat eman dut beran: *Euskal Estatua bideragarri al da ekonomikoki?*

Hona hemen zenbait zehaztasun:

- i) BERRIAN hitzaldiaz egindako elkarrizketa txikia³⁶
- ii) UZTARRIA aldizkarian azalduetako berria eta egindako elkarrizketatxoa³⁷

³³ Honela segitzen du Wray-k: "Some time ago Claudio Sardoní and I showed that there really has not been much difference between interest rate setting by the Fed versus the rate setting of the ECB. While the ECB is more fanatical about inflation, the actual policy adopted has not been much different. *Again, what matters is the constraint on fiscal policy—not the monetary policy constraints.*"

³⁴ Wray-k honela dio ingelesez: "The "money" must come from the center—*either allocations by a better-funded European Parliament (whose budget is now under 1 percent of GDP—so we are talking about more than a ten-fold increase of its spending), or by ECB purchases of member government debt at very low interest rates. To be fair and to ensure all members benefit, it should be based on population. And to ensure decentralized political decision making, it should come with few strings attached. Letting each member nation spend more (by issuing debt to the ECB or through grants from Parliament), the economies can recover.*"

³⁵ Ikus Warren Mosler-en proposamen dotorea, euroa erabiliz:

(<http://www.unibertsitatea.net/blogak/heterodoxia/2012/05/21/warren-mosler-en-proposamenak>);

Teklatuaren bidez...

(<http://www.unibertsitatea.net/blogak/heterodoxia/2013/06/20/teklatuaren-bidez>);

Teklatuaren bidez...: Eurolandian ere?

(<http://www.unibertsitatea.net/blogak/heterodoxia/2013/06/20/teklatuaren-bidez-eurolandian-ere/>).

³⁶ Ikus http://paperekoa.berria.info/agenda/2014-02-26/023/001/eb_desastre_hutsa_da_eta_gu_euro_erabiltzaile_soilak_diren_bi_estaturen_menpe_gaude.htm.

³⁷ Ikus <http://uztarria.com/komunitatea/azpeitiagureskudago/1393237877> eta <http://uztarria.com/aktualitatea/1393332407>.

iii) Hitzaldiaren muina³⁸

iv) Gehigarria³⁹

Mila esker Azpeitiko lagunei.

8. 2. Azpeitiko hitzaldiaz hitz bi

Hitzaldia Azpeitiko *Geure Esku Dago* taldeak antolaturiko hitzaldi sorta⁴⁰ barruan izan zen.

Lehendabizi zuzenketa bat:

Ondoko linkean⁴¹ agertzen diren hiru baieztapen ez dira nireak:

- 1) Dagoena: Joseba... UEUn dabil orain ikertzaile eta *Ekonomiaz Jantzi* blogean idazten.
- 2) Egon beharko lukeena: ... eta *Heterodoxia. Diru teoria modernoa eta finantza ingeniari-tza* blogean....
- 3) Dagoena: Demagun Kataluniak eta EAEk independentzia politikoa lortzen dutela.
- 4) Egon beharko lukeena: ... Kataluniak eta *EHk* independentzia politikoa...
- 5) Dagoena: Baina mesede handi bat: zure herrialdeak erabakiko duela bere diru politika...
- 6) Egon beharko lukeena: ... erabakiko duela bere *politika fiskala*...

Barka, beraz, eragozpenak.

Kronika laburra:

75 lagun baino gehiago entzule. Ordu bat eta erdiko hitzaldia, gero 30/40 minutuko galdera/erantzunak egiteko.

Jendea oso adi.

Galdera onak.

Bukatu eta gero lagun batzuk hurbildu zitzaizkidan galdetuz ea zergatik ez dudan gehiago idazten BERRIAN eta GARAN.

UEUko bloga erabiltzen dudala zen nire erantzuna, gainera, askatasun osoz eta neuk erabakitzen dudan maiztasunez.

8. 3. Euskal estatugintzaz bi hitz

Jule Goikotxeak naziogintzaz eta estatugintzaz ikerketa interesgarria bezain sakona egin du⁴².

³⁸ Ikus <http://www.unibertsitatea.net/otarra/gizarte-zientziak/ekonomia/euskal-estatu-bideragarria-al-da-ekonomikoki>.

³⁹ Ikus <http://www.unibertsitatea.net/otarra/gizarte-zientziak/ekonomia/mundutik-euskal-herrira-ebtik-igaroz>.

⁴⁰ Ikus <http://uztarria.com/komunitatea/azpeitiagureskudago/1390564366>.

⁴¹ Ikus http://paperekoa.berria.info/agenda/2014-02-26/023/001/eb_desastre_hutsa_da_eta_gu_euro_erabiltzaile_soilak_diren_bi_estaturen_menpe_gaude.htm.

⁴² Ikus *Nationalism and Democracy in the Basque Country (1979–2012)*: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17449057.2012.711049#.UxDg5c52Fws>. (Mila esker, Jule!)

Foru Diputazioak, Kontzertu ekonomikoa eta Kupoa analizatuz, ondoko ondoriotara iritsi da Goikoetxea:

- (i) *“...the updated Basque Foral system has led to a new pattern of distributing power and political autonomy; that is, to a differentiated Basque federal democracy, which in turn has shaped a new set of nationalist demands (different from those of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) that are barely distinguishable from democratic demands to the extent that self-government-related demands refer to the distribution of power and political autonomy.”*
- (ii) *“...The development of the updated Basque Foral regime has demonstrated that political and socio-economic equality between individuals can, under some circumstances, be best achieved by ensuring territorial equality and hence territorial-political rights.”*
- (iii) *“...the challenges Spanish and other Western dominant nationalisms face are democratic challenges that may be reassessed not solely by how they accommodate national minorities through recognizing diverse identities, but, above all, by how they build political and socio-economic structures that facilitate social cohesion and at the same time political autonomy and territorial plurality.”*
- (iv) *“One of the main questions democratic theory and liberal democracies will have to answer is therefore whether in a democratic state the notion of differentiated bodies [...] will in reality have any place in this new century where diversity, autonomy and self-determination have become the core elements of democratic demands.”*

Goikoetxearen ustez, Euskal Herriari dagokionez, estatugintzak ordezkatu behar du naziogintza⁴³.

Galdera: Estatugintzak ordezkatu behar du naziogintza, beraz?

Erantzuna: Bai; bestela, galduta gaude. Nazio honek iraun dezan denboran eta *demos* bat izan dezan, estatugintza egin behar da. Ezin da jarraitu naziogintzaren diskurtsoarekin XVIII. mendean egongo bagina bezala. 'Nazio bat izan nahi dugu European', esaten ari da EAJ. Baina European ez daude nazioak, estatuak daude! EH Bildu ere diskurtso zaharkituekin ari da. EAEn eta Nafarroan estatu erakundeak dauzkagu; gure ogasuna ere badugu. Erabil dezagun estatugintzaren diskurtsoa eta jar dezagun mahai gainean, erlazionatuz demokraziarekin.

Ad Majorem Vasconum Libertatem

(donejurgi)

⁴³

Ikus

http://paperekoa.berria.info/harian/2014-02-27/008/001/estatugintzak_ordezkatu_behar_du_naziogintza_bestela_galduta_gaude.htm.