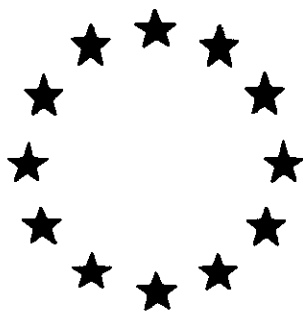


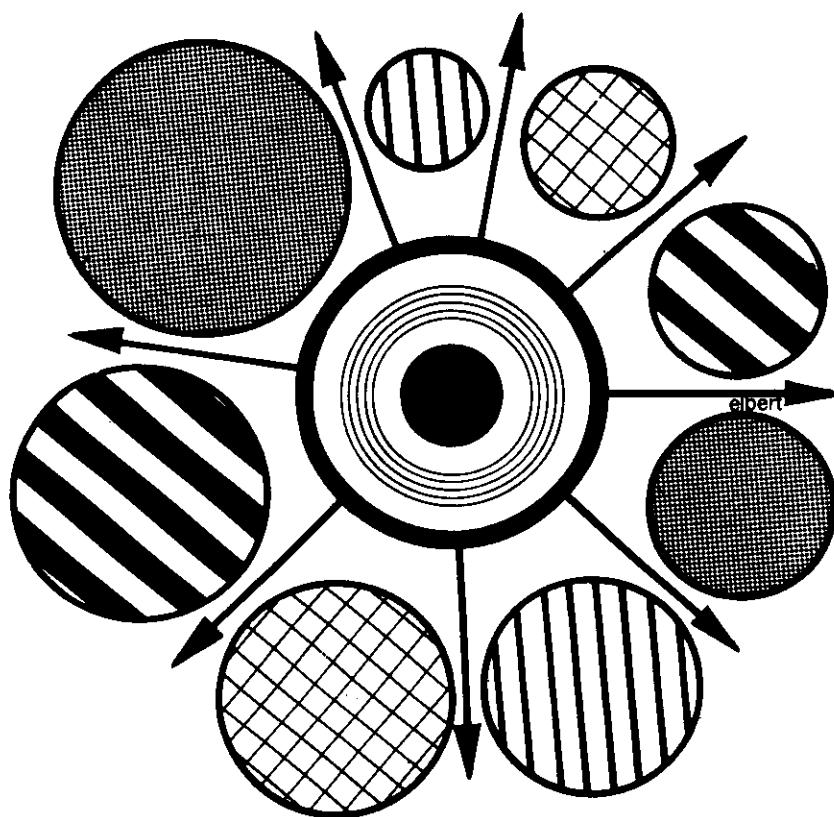
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31



**THE PYRENEES : THEIR ROLE  
IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION  
AND THE REQUIREMENTS  
OF TRANSFRONTIER CO-OPERATION**

STRASBOURG  
1980

EUROPEAN REGIONAL PLANNING

STUDY SERIES

STUDY No. 31

The Pyrenees: their role in European integration  
and the requirements of transfrontier co-operation

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PRELIMINARY NOTE

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The author is responsible for the opinions expressed in the text; they do not necessarily reflect the views of the Council of Europe.

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## 1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

No matter how far back one goes in history, the Pyrenees have never really constituted a political entity. This is partly explained by the great disparity in progress between one end of the range and the other. The eastern regions developed early under the Roman occupation (Gallie Narbonensis, Hispania Terraconensis) which produced lasting political solidarity. (Roussillon was the last territory to be incorporated in France). The western regions were exposed earlier to the vicissitudes of history (English occupation, feudal rivalry, religious wars), a situation which paradoxically served the interests of the French king at a fairly early stage. As a natural and political barrier, the Pyrenees have always formed an almost impenetrable screen not only to economic goods but also to ideas and currents of civilisation, whereas the people on the northern and southern sides of the Pyrenees have often shown great solidarity.

### 1.1 The origin of the Pyrenean peoples

The first people who are known to have inhabited the country, the Ligurians, were overwhelmed by the Iberians in the 6th century BC. The latter were conquered by the Romans in the central and eastern regions. These regions were the cradle of the Catalan nation, which had a sovereign state until Castile and Aragon were united through the marriage of their respective sovereigns "the Catholic Kings" (1).

In the west, the Basques, who had been pushed back into the valley of the Ebro by invasions, founded the kingdom of Vasconia in the Western Pyrenees. Some of them spread out across the plain - Gascony - and were assimilated by the local populations. The mountain Basques in the seven provinces (Labourd, Basse-Navarre, Soule, Guipuzcoa, Biscay, Navarre and Alava) have very carefully preserved their language and traditions.

### 1.2 The route of conquerors and pilgrims

The Pyrenean passes were of necessity the crossing point for many conquering armies heading south or north.

In 719, the Arabs crossed the Pyrenees. In 797, the armies of Charlemagne, organising a march on Spain which had expanded beyond the southern edge of the range, repulsed the Saracens.

The rivalry between France and Spain, the Catalan revolt against the Spanish king and the French Revolution led to many troop movements across the Pyrenees, especially in the eastern part. The armies of Napoleon and Wellington also crossed them. In the Middle Ages, Santiago de Compostela formed a gathering point which was quite exceptional for the period. Pilgrims from all over Europe used to assemble at Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port before crossing the Ibaneta pass.

### 1.3 Shifting borders

Although the Pyrenees form a natural frontier, they have not always determined the limits of sovereignty, especially in the foothills at either end of the range. The history of Roussillon is particularly illuminating. It was wrested from the Arabs in the 8th century, incorporated in 865 in the Spanish marches and became part of Catalonia. It was bequeathed to the King of Aragon

(1) R. Trias-Fargas, "La Catalogne, Région frontière?", in "Cahiers de l'ISEA", No. 3-4 (1971), p. 699.

in 1172. It was given as a reward to the King of France for military assistance to the King of Castile and became French again for a short period in the 15th century. It was not until the 17th century that Richelieu, methodically pursuing a policy of natural frontiers and profiting by the Catalan uprising, recovered Perpignan and Salces. The Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) ratified the union of Roussillon and thirty-three villages in the Cardagne valley with France. (Llivia, which was deemed to be a town, remained Spanish and still constitutes an enclave in French territory). In the reign of Henri IV and Louis XIII Basse-Navarre and the viscounties of Foix, Bigorre and Béarn passed to the French crown. The co-principality of Andorra is one of the last vestiges of the feudal world in the West.

On the Atlantic side, the Valley of Bidassoa has long marked the territorial limits of France and Spain. The definitive border between the Département Pyrénées Atlantiques and Spain was laid down in the Treaty of 1856. The Ile des Faisans, in the middle of the Bidassoa border river, was the scene of several historic events including the signing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. Under intergovernmental agreements between France and Spain, the riparians of both countries alternately enjoy fishing rights along the Bidassoa and in the bay. Since 1901, France and Spain have taken turns in policing and guarding the border in this area.

The present frontier between France and Spain does not always coincide with the watershed despite the disappearance of states like Navarre which straddled both versants. The Valley of Aran (upper reaches of the Garonne), which belongs to Spain, is an exception to the rule of natural frontiers.

#### 1.4 The screen formed by the Pyrenees

Some people belittle the Pyrenees' importance as an obstacle to trade. "The Pyrenees' role as a barrier should not be exaggerated. They did not stop the Moors, Charlemagne, Napoleon or Wellington. The Basque and Catalan languages span both sides of the mountains. Pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela have made Galicia a European meeting place, and Gothic art reigns in old Castile as it does in Portugal, where Batalha offers perhaps the purest nave in Europe" (1).

Yet the penetrability of the Pyrenees may be more apparent than real. One is obliged to note that until very recently, they played an extremely modest role in trade. Border regions like Aquitaine derived advantages from their maritime and not their land frontier.

Until the Spanish-American War of 1898, Spain was orientated exclusively towards its colonial empire. Ideological currents from Europe often reached Spain much later, in a distorted form and only as a result of wars (eg the liberal Constitution of Cadiz which followed the Napoleonic Wars) (2).

The Cuba disaster gave the Spanish people a tremendous psychological shock. Spanish intellectuals who were susceptible to the spiritual confusion of their time and inspired by European modernism tried to impart a preliminary wave of Europeanisation (3). They were nevertheless swayed by the ideas of those for whom Europe was less a subject of reflection than an object of bitterness, or even aggressiveness. Writers such as Unamuno, Baroja and

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(1) Max Derruau, "L'Europe", Hachette 1971, p. 85

(2) Stefan A. Musto, "Spanien und die Europäische Gemeinschaft", Europa Union Verlag 1977, p. 11

(3) A. Salcedo Ruiz, "Historia de España", Madrid 1914, p. 855

Azorin employed vivid language to condemn the "mechanisation", "scientific superstition" and "delusion of progress" which they fancied they perceived in the liberalism of industrialised Europe (1).

The affluent classes in Spain principally lived on income from the land and for a long time were loath to invest their money in industry. Capital came from elsewhere, especially France, which invested heavily in Spain before 1914 (2). The autartical attitude of the France era therefore had deep roots, to which the barrier of the Pyrenees was certainly not completely unrelated.

### 1.5 Pyrenean solidarity

Just as a macro-spatial view of history reveals contrasts between Spain and the rest of Europe, an analysis of the Pyrenean regions suggests fellowship between the north and south versants.

The Pyrenean peoples have always jealously guarded their independence. In the Middle Ages, the nobility were obliged, in order to retain the faithfulness of their subjects to enact "Fors" (charters preserving customs and regulating the relations between the people and the noblemen). For a long time the upper valleys (the seven valleys of the Lavedan, the Aspe, and the Ossau valleys) enjoyed almost complete autonomy and self-government. They called themselves republics. Evidence of trans-Pyrenean solidarity can be found in the custom of the "lies et passeries" agreements, by which the Spanish and French valleys mutually granted one another the right of passage for their herds and flocks, even if the two kingdoms were at war (3).

Solidarity is even stronger at the two ends of the chain. The linguistic limit of Catalonia is not marked by the Pyrenees, but by the Corbières hills, Salces and Leucate. It coincides with the boundaries of the diocese of Elne which separated Catalans from Languedociens. Between 865 and 1659 (Treaty of the Pyrenees), that is to say for almost eight centuries, Roussillon and Catalonia shared a common political fate. Transfrontier fellowship is perhaps even more obvious within the seven provinces of the Basque country.

The concept of "frontier zone", which in a way expresses the existing fellow-feeling, was extolled on the occasion of the tercentenary of the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1959) by the then Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs in the following terms (4):

"The frontier, largely the product of the Community system that originated in the Middle Ages, is not a modern 'boundary line', forming a sharp division between two states but a 'frontier zone' in which the countires are linked together in co-operation through a relationship of neighbourliness, constructive co-existence and peaceful harmony. Whilst the border is clearly defined, the zone operates with sufficient flexibility not to cause a brutal separation between neighbouring populations whose distinct physiomy and traditions have largely been conserved even though the sovereignty of each country extends to the frontier. This situation which has developed over the long history of our good-neighbour relations, was officially confirmed in the Treaty of the Pyrenees which preserved the spirit and forms of life of the frontier villages and set up, not a line of conflict and friction, but a zone

(1) S. Musto, "Spanien und die Europäische Gemeinschaft", op. cit., page 106.

(2) M. Derruau, "Europe", op cit., page 106.

(3) Ibid, page 102.

(4) Quoted by H. Smets in "Joint Water Resource Management in the Lllivia Enclave in the French/Spanish Pyrenees", "Environmental protection in Frontier regions", OECD, 1979, page 322.



where common understanding was born and prospered. It was the precursor in other words of the modern idea of peaceful co-existence between similar peoples and it outdates local egoisms and the old 'boundary wall' concepts which are felt to be completely anachronistic in the remarkable period in which we live."

## 2. THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

### 2.1 Characteristics of relief and climate

The Pyrenees, which extend over 435 kilometres from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, constitute an imposing barrier over the last European isthmus. They were formed in the tertiary era, slightly before the Alps. The most striking feature of the Pyrenees is the dissymmetry between the northern and the southern side. On the French versant, the Aquitaine basin begins some fifty kilometres from the ridge, but the Ebro plain is separated from the axial zone by a whole complex region and a range of foot-hills (1).

The range, which has an average width of 130 kilometres, covers an area of 55,000 km<sup>2</sup>, of which approximately two-thirds (38,000 km<sup>2</sup>) are in Spain and one-third (17,000 km<sup>2</sup>) in France.

The Aragonese Pyrenees comprise from north to south (2):

- the axial crystalline or schistous zone culminating in the peak of Aneto at 3,404 m. In these formations cirque glaciers have shaped the long crest of the central Pyrenees;
- bars of secondary limestone forming the area of the Mont-Perdu (Monte Perdillo) or the Interior Sierras, which is almost as high (3,350 m).
- the second ridge which brings forward secondary marls (sub-Pyrenean cordillera or area of External Sierras);
- the large syncline of marl and conglomerates, which is rarely higher than 1,400 m;
- the plain of the Ebro valley.

The two ends of the range are also asymmetrical. The Atlantic Pyrenees are not very high, whereas in the eastern Pyrenees massifs tower over the Mediterranean coast.

The Mediterranean Pyrenees' originality lies in their structure which is that of an old massif rather than a chain: crystalline blocks such as the Carlit (2,921 m), the Canigou (2,784 m) or the Madres (2,469 M) separate small rift basins. Some of these basins are in the highlands and were used not so long ago for growing cereals (the France-Spanish Cerdagne at an altitude of 1,200 - 1,600m and Capcir), others are already covered with olive trees, vines, orchards and market gardens (Conflent and Vallespir) (3)

The range is widest at the Pyrénées ariégeoises, where the Petites Pyrénées join the main massif. In the central Pyrenees, easy crossing points are rare as the passes are not much lower than the summits. The great differences in relief are accompanied by a variety of climates. The Pyrénées Atlantiques are much better than the rest of the chain. This is reflected in intensive

(1) M. Derruau, "L'Europe", op. cit., page 102.

(2) IBID, page 101.

(3) M. Derruau, "l'Europe", op. cit., page 294

farming in the Basque country, where maize and beet are cultivated in small-holdings which are rarely bigger than two hectares. Here it is possible to grow two crops a year in the same field. Rainfall is also much heavier on the northern than the southern slope and this has led to the development of mixed farming (grain, maize, vines, fruit trees and tobacco) as well as cattle breeding. Cereals and sheep breeding, predominate on the southern side. The Ebro valley is extremely arid (30 cm of rain per annum in Saragossa). The eastern Pyrenees have a Mediterranean climate.

## 2.2 Harnessing Pyrenean water reserves

It is no exaggeration to say that the Pyrenean regions' main resources derive from the reservoir formed by the mountain range. The most arid regions to the south and east of the Pyrenees benefited very early from the possibilities afforded by irrigation. Thus some "huertas" were formed at the foot of the Pyrenees (Hoya near Huesca). The harnessing of the Ebro for irrigation was begun by Charles V. The Imperial canal on the right bank and the Tauste canal on the left were finished in 1790. The Lodosa canal was not completed until 1915. The irrigation of Roussillon goes back still further. The first canals were built during the Arab invasion. In 863, the Vernet canal constructed by the occupying forces, was sold to the Bishop of Elna. The Thuir canal dates from the 12th century and, since the 15th century, Perpignan has owned canals which irrigate 2,600 ha<sup>2</sup>.

The construction of hydroelectric dams has also helped to develop irrigation considerably. This is advancing on the Spanish side in step with the execution of a huge electrification plan. The Pantano de Yesa, on the Aragon, now makes it possible to irrigate the arid Monegros area. Irrigated areas are not always cultivated as intensively as in the Levant. Nevertheless, in the areas served by the oldest canals, intensive agriculture is practised, especially the cultivation of sugar beet. In Spain, new irrigation schemes are accompanied by official land settlement projects with small plots. Water's second major contribution to the economy is in the production of hydroelectricity. In 1972, the French plants' total output amounted to 2.3 million kilovolt-ampers, or 13% of the total output of hydroelectric plants in France. Large-scale plants are concentrated in the central part of the range (the Pragnères station). The numerous Pyrenean lakes (527 on the French side) might constitute substantial energy reserves if they pooled their hydroelectric resources. That is why the various lakes have been linked by tunnels. Hydroelectric power has contributed enormously to the initial industrialisation of the area at the foot of the Pyrenees.

## 2.3 The declining population

Population trends in the Pyrenean regions are comparable to those of many mountain areas. The decline of some traditional activities (hill farming, pasture, transhumance and cottage industries) has made for emigration, ageing of the population and demographic decline. This has even extended to areas at a distance from the mountains, as is testified by the abandoned villages in the Ebro valley, the "despoblados".

Despite Basque emigration, the western Pyrenees have been least depopulated. Natural growth is particularly large in Biscay but is small in Catalonia and Aragon (1).

Depopulation at high and medium altitudes has coincided with a concentration of people around the urban centres in the valleys where industry has developed. The promotion of the tourist trade along the coast and in the mountains has also increased the population in some areas.

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(1) M. Derruau, "L'Europe", op. cit., page 108.

## 2.4 Industrialisation

Two factors have encouraged the development of industry at the foot of the Pyrenees: the presence of raw materials and hydroelectricity. Metallurgy has developed in the Basque country thanks to the high-grade ore of Bilbao, which had been exploited by foreign companies (in 1970, no more than 2 million tons a year were mined). The blast furnaces along the ria of the Nervion have promoted the expansion of a diversified metal industry (railway equipment and various types of machinery). This industrialisation has also led to the growth of Vitoria to the south of the massif. On the French side, the development of the electro-metallurgical industry in Ariège has been helped by deposits of iron ore which are of a high quality, if not abundant. In Catalonia, which possesses hardly any natural resources other than potash in Cardon, industry has developed owing to hydroelectric power from small Catalan and Pyrenean rivers. The north-south valleys of the Catalan massif (Llobregat and Besos) are like roads full of factories. The traditional textile industry (cotton) predominates but many other branches have grown up here (cement, sulphuric acid, fertilizers and cars). In Aquitaine, natural gas has been mainly responsible for the start of industrialisation. The field at Saint-Marcet, which was discovered in 1939, is now almost exhausted. The field discovered at Lacq in 1951 was producing 7,000 million m<sup>3</sup> of crude gas towards 1970. The production of sulphur which is a by-product, amounted to 1.77 million tonnes per annum. Gas supplies the hydrogen required by the chemical industry at the Mourenx-Lacq complex (ammonia, methanol, and ethylene). It is also used as a fuel for boilers (furnaces, kilns and ovens).

Trading, once very active in the ports of Bayonne especially of Bordeaux, did not lead to any true industrialisation in the hinterland of Aquitaine. In 1970, Mr Penouil painted a sobering picture of the economic situation: "In the past, Aquitaine benefited greatly from its position facing America and Africa and near to Spain. Today, this relative advantage would seem to be insufficient if it is not backed up by a strenuous effort to change economic structures and in particular by a policy of industrialisation, diversification and the strengthening of the industrial network in the region. If a policy of this type is not employed, the relative advantages of being a border area which, moreover, have been narrowed by technical advances in transportation, will probably fail to maintain regional growth and prosperity in the future (1).

## 2.5 The tourist boom

The Pyrenean regions have considerable resources which have fostered the development of tourism and hydrotherapy. The large number of mineral and hot springs, which vary widely in composition, nature and therapeutic properties, are a characteristic feature of the Pyrenees. The springs are situated in areas where there was previously volcanic activity -Roussillon and Albères - and on the Hercynian strata of the axial zone or in their immediate vicinity, especially on faults. The virtues of the waters at the Pyrenean spas were recognised in Roman times and rediscovered in the 17th and 18th centuries. Since then, many spas have developed along the chain (Vernet, Amélie-les-Bains, Ax-les-Thermes, Capvern, Luchon, Cauterets, Eaux-Bonnes in France and Panticosa in Spain). Seaside tourism then developed on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coast at both ends of the chain (Biarritz, Saint-Jean-de-Luz, Collioure, Costa Brava). But mountain tourism and winter sports have been the real growth industries in the last 20 years. This rapid expansion has been accompanied by the construction of new winter sports centres on completely new sites

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(1) M. Penouil, "L'Aquitaine, région frontrière", "Cahiers de l'ISEA", N° 3-4 (1971), p. 772

On the French side, the "Parc National des Pyrénées", established in 1967, extends for more than 100 km along the border between the Aspe valley and the massif of Neovielle. It covers an area of 47,300 ha<sup>2</sup>, its width ranges from 2 to 12 km and it rises from 1,070 m to 3,290 m at the summit of the Vignemale. On the Spanish side, the national park of Aigües Tortes, between the Noguera de Tor and Noguera Pallaresa rivers, covers an area of 105 km<sup>2</sup> at an altitude ranging from 1,500 m to 3,000 m. The national park of Ordesa, which has been protected since 1918, is also an exceptionally attractive nature reserve.

## 2.6 Widening the framework of study

If one takes into consideration the great south west ("Grand Sud-ouest")- Aquitaine, Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon) on the French side and the regions of the Basque country, (Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia) on the Spanish side, these two areas have the following characteristics. (1)

	Area	Population (1975)	Population density (1975)	Industry as percentage of total activity (1975)	Estimated GDP compared with national average
French Regions	114,100 km <sup>2</sup>	6,608,000	58 h/km <sup>2</sup>	31.8%	79%
Spanish Regions	97,300 km <sup>2</sup>	9,527,000	98 h/km <sup>2</sup>	47.9%	125%

## 3. ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA AND THE REST OF EUROPE

Spain's share of the trade between the Iberian peninsula and the Europe of Nine is much larger than Portugal's; in 1975, total of imports and exports between Spain and the EEC amounted to 8,976.2 million US\$ whereas for Portugal this volume was no more than 2,514.2 million US\$. (2) Overland trade mainly comes from or is intended for Spain, whereas most of the trade between the EEC and Portugal goes by sea.

Trade arrangements between the EEC and Spain are at present governed by the Preferential Agreement of 1970, which provided for a gradual reduction of customs tariffs and special measures to promote trade in agricultural products. (3). In 1973, the EEC proposed the setting up of a free-trade area but this was not achieved. Political developments in Spain enabled the country to apply in 1977 for accession to the European Community.

The Preferential Agreement of 1970 is fairly favourable to Spain. It grants the country most of the tariff advantages of the EEC without subjecting it to Community obligations. The Common External Tariff customs duties

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- (1) "Le Grand Sud-Ouest. Diagnostics pour l'avenir". Documentation française, 1979, p. 38
- (2) H. Hasenpflug und B. Kohler, "Die Süd-Erweiterung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft. Wende oder Ende der Integration". Hamburg 1977, pages 292-297.
- (3) H. von der Groeben, "Die Erweiterung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft durch Beitritt der Länder Griechenland, Spanien und Portugal", Baden-Baden 1979, p. 16.

applied to most Spanish industrial products were reduced by 60% over three years (1970-73). Spanish customs duties fell by 25% between 1970 and 1973 (1).

An average customs duty of 3.8% is levied on Spanish products entering France. The average duty on French products entering Spain is 15.8%. Moreover, the French tariff is more or less uniform (75% of the rates were lower than 5% in 1971) whereas the Spanish tariff varies widely (most of the rates lie between 15 and 25 per cent, but some go up to as much as 35 and 55 per cent) (2).

At present, Spanish exports are given substantial assistance (lump sum refund of previous taxes to Spanish exporters, rebates to retailers, preferential terms of payment offered to buyers, introduction of the "exporter's card", etc). Furthermore, the export prices of Spanish products are kept relatively low by the industrialists themselves, given the limitations of the home market. At the same time, the Spanish home market is heavily protected, not only by customs tariffs but also by quotas. Under the Preferential Agreement of 1970, Spain undertook to make annual increases in the quotas granted to the EEC, but the rates of increase have been applied to the value of quotas and have not affected their volume because of inflation and the depreciation of the peseta (3).

Spanish foreign trade has grown fairly steadily since 1968, although the balance of trade shows an almost constant deficit. The same is true of trade with Europe in particular. After the Preferential Agreement was signed in 1970, the EEC's position in Spanish foreign trade became stronger. In 1968, 29.6% of exports went to the EEC of Six and 10.2% to the United Kingdom. In 1977, the percentage of exports to the EEC of Nine amounted to 46.3%. The figures for imports were 34.3% in 1968 (EEC of Six) and 7.9% (United Kingdom) and 33.9% in 1977 (EEC of Nine). The relative drop is explained by the sharp rise in the cost of oil imports (4).

The 1970 agreement produced a substantial increase in trade, especially in the first three years. Nevertheless, the pace slowed down after 1974, owing to the economic crisis, sluggish re-organisation of Spanish industry and rising prices.

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- (1) "L'élargissement de la CEE: l'impact de l'adhésion de l'Espagne sur certaines régions françaises notamment ses régions frontalières continentales", Première Note d'avancement des travaux. Institut d'Economie Régionale du Sud-Ouest, Bordeaux, 1978, page 32.
  - (2) "Midi-Pyrénées et le marché commun". Dir. Guy Isaac, Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Européenne, Université des Sciences Sociales de Toulouse. 1978, page 110.
  - (3) "L'élargissement de la CEE". Première Note d'avancement des travaux, op. cit., page 39.
  - (4) "L'élargissement de la CEE". Note de synthèse sur le premier rapport intermédiaire, Institut d'Economie Régionale du Sud-Ouest, 1979, page 5.

Geographical distribution of Spanish foreign trade in 1976 (in million US\$)

Trade partners	Spanish exports	Spanish imports	Trade deficit
World	8,711.9	17,287.6	8,575.7
EEC	4,044.6	5,677.4	1,632.8
Germany	954.2	1,831	876.8
Belgium/ Luxembourg	238.4	339.9	56.5
Netherlands	436.2	443.9	7.7
United Kingdom	628.5	766	137.5
Italy	365.7	809.9	444.2
France	1,266.6	1,362.9	96.3
Sweden	107.3	302.8	195.5
Switzerland	128.3	309.2	180.9

Spanish exports to the EEC mostly consist of agricultural products and consumer goods. They are less sophisticated than average Spanish exports as a whole. Exports of capital goods to the EEC are relatively smaller than to the rest of the world, the main European buyers being France and Italy. Spain's imports from the EEC above all comprise intermediate goods (two-thirds of imports from all sources), capital goods (three-fifths) and consumer goods (almost two-thirds) (1).

Spain has two major trading partners in the EEC:

- Federal Germany: 2,785 million US \$ worth of trade in 1976, with a Spanish trade gap of 876 million US \$;
- France: 2,629 million US \$ worth of trade in 1976. Spain suffered from a deficit in its trade with France until 1976, when the situation was reversed. France's deficit is widening both in agricultural trade (increase in Spanish sales of fruit and fresh and tinned vegetables, drop in French exports of milk and above all, maize) and in industrial trade (owing to the growing number of French industrial firms which sub-contract to Spanish subsidiaries).

#### 4. ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE BORDER REGIONS AND TRANSFRONTIER TRADE

##### 4.1 Agricultural sector

The French Pyrenean regions are predominantly agricultural. If one included secondary and tertiary activities linked to agriculture, this sector as a whole provides about 30% of the jobs in these regions (2).

(1) J. A. Payno, "Characteristics of the Spanish economy and reasons for joining the EEC", report submitted to the "Second Conference on Integration and Unequal Development: the implications of the second enlargement of the EEC", Madrid, October 1979, page 15.

(2) "L'élargissement de la CEE". Première Note d'avancement des travaux, Op. cit., page 49.

Between 1968 and 1975 the number of people employed in agriculture and in the agro-foodstuffs industries fell by 29% in Aquitaine, 30% in Midi-Pyrénées and 18% in Languedoc-Roussillon. Productivity per hectare (gross output) is lower in the western regions (Aquitaine: 1,900 FF/ha, Languedoc-Roussillon: 2,200 FF/ha).

The French border regions in the west specialise in crop and livestock farming. In 1976, Mediterranean products (durum wheat, rice, vegetables, fruit, wine, flowers, sheep and goats) made up only 35% of agricultural production in Aquitaine and 25% in Midi-Pyrénées. Their proportion is, however, going up in both regions. In contrast, they represent more than 60% of agricultural production in Languedoc-Roussillon.

In the Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon regions, agro-foodstuffs industries recorded a slight increase in the number of people they employed between 1968 and 1975, whereas in Aquitaine, this figure fell by 4.7%. Meat industries are concentrated in Midi-Pyrénées and Aquitaine. Canneries are found above all in Aquitaine and Languedoc-Roussillon.

In the Spanish border regions (especially in the east and west) agriculture is relatively less important than on the French side. Agricultural production on the west coast centres on stock farming, that of the east coast on Mediterranean produce (fruit and vegetables), whereas in Aragon cereal production predominates. Farms in the north of Spain are generally medium-sized. In Catalonia, one finds small properties ("minifundios") specialised in fruit and vegetable production. In the northern half of the country, agrarian reform involved a huge programme of reallocation and formation of new farms. Spanish agricultural policy also endeavours to promote stock rearing (dairy and beef herds) in order to increase its self-sufficiency in these two sectors, where there are shortfalls. Moreover, this necessitates larger imports of maize and soya. In Spain, the agro-foodstuffs industry is still modest in size. Most firms are small (tinned fruit, vegetables and fish). Multinational agro-foodstuffs companies have invested in the sectors of milk, oil mills, animal feed and non-alcoholic beverages. These industries are found above all in the province of Barcelona (1).

As far as agricultural trade with Spain is concerned, 70% of exports from the French border regions comprise agro-foodstuffs (milk and fats) and, to a lesser extent, unprocessed products (maize and young cattle). About 60% of the corresponding sales are handled from Aquitaine. Spanish exports consist mainly of citrus fruit, fresh vegetables and tinned goods (2).

#### 4.2 Industrial sector

France appears to be generally more industrialised than Spain, but exactly the reverse is true in the border regions. The south-west of France has very little industry (32% of the working population) while most of Spanish industry is concentrated in the north (51% of the working population).

In the French border regions, industry is centred in the Gironde area, at Pau, Bayonne, Toulouse, Tarbes and Montpellier. On the Spanish side, Catalonia supplies 24% of national industrial output and the Basque country 13%.

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(1) "L'élargissement de la CEE", Note de synthèse, op. cit., page 33.

(2) IBID, page 33.

A short analysis of six branches of industry demonstrates the specialisation of the border regions and major trade patterns.

#### Metallurgical, engineering and electrical industries

In 1977, the metallurgical and engineering sector provided work for 65,800 people in the south west of France. It has grown vigorously in Midi-Pyrénées and even more so in Languedoc-Roussillon, where precision engineering has developed. This has led to substantial trade with Spain (42% of sales and 10% of purchases in this region are transacted with Spain). The French electrical and electronic sector forged ahead at the end of the sixties. Relations with Spain have been established through multinationals. Spain shows a deficit on its trade balance in the engineering and electrical sectors, which are made up of a large number of small firms mostly working under foreign licence.

#### Aircraft industry

This is one of the strongest industries in the south west of France (15,000 jobs in Aquitaine, 14,000 in Midi-Pyrénées). Trade with Spain is still slack and restricted to the import of components.

#### Chemicals

The chemical sector, employing 38,000 people in the French border regions looked very promising at the beginning of the seventies, but its structure has remained rather weak. It nevertheless heads the list in regional trade with Spain. On the Spanish side, Catalonia supplies 34% of the national output (petrochemical plant at Tarragona) and the Basque country 14%. In recent years, there has been rapid expansion, especially in processing and manufacture, owing to the injection of foreign capital. Capital and intermediate goods are still imported, partly from France.

#### Textiles and clothing

This is a traditional industry in the south-west of France (54,000 jobs in 1977) which is highly exposed to international competition. This sector heads the list of industries in Spain. Two-thirds of the firms are concentrated in Catalonia. Despite obsolete machinery and imported raw materials (cotton, wool and synthetics), this sector exports a substantial amount of its off-the-peg garments and hosiery to Federal Germany and France.

#### Leather and shoes

This branch provides work for 35,000 people in the French border regions and is highly exposed to international competition (Italy and Spain). Spain imports skins (tannery at Igualada in Catalonia) and exports finished products (shoes).

#### Timber, furniture and paper

The timber and furniture sector employs 33,000 people in the south-west of France, the paper industry 13,000. Although the factories of Tolosa supply more than one-third of Spanish paper production and the factories of Catalonia about 22%, this sector takes some imports from France. Trade could be stepped up if tariffs were liberalised, as the paper sector is fairly highly protected in Spain. Spain imports its timber but exports furniture to France.



4.3 French border regions' trade with Spain

	Aquitaine		Midi-Pyrénées		Languedoc-Roussillon		South-West Total	
	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.
1970	133	240	69	127	311	62	513	429
1976	569	458	261	330	1,304	160	2,134	948
Growth Ratio	4.27	1.90	3.78	2.59	4.19	2.58	4.15	2.21

(In millions of French francs.)

The three French border regions' balance of trade with Spain has been in the red ever since 1970. The size of the deficit is somewhat artificial, because it is partly due to imports of fruit and vegetables from Spain which are forwarded through the Languedoc-Roussillon region where they are entered on the accounts. Nevertheless, the deficit also exists in most traditional sectors of the regional economy (leather, timber and textiles).

The trends of trans-Pyrenean trade in the seventies can be illustrated with the example of trade between Aquitaine and Spain. In 1970, Mr Penouil described it in these words: "One of the salient features of this trade, especially in goods transported overland, is its extremely marked imbalance. Aquitaine imports about 85,000 tonnes of products, whereas exports are close on 670,000 tonnes. Of the 85,000 tonnes imported from Spain, more than 20,000 tonnes are made up of citrus fruit, about 16,000 tonnes of pyrites imported by the Gironde and 13,000 tonnes of stone and sand, imported by the Basses-Pyrénées. If we look at the exports of the Aquitaine region we notice that maize accounts for more than half of the tonnage exported. Other substantial exports are linked to the working of the Lacq gas deposits, in that they take the form of gas by-products, sulphur and, to a lesser extent, chemicals from the Basses-Pyrénées. In total, they represent some 120,000-125,000 tonnes, the last major item being some 40,000 tonnes of timber. It could be said that trade between Aquitaine and Spain is still trade between under-developed areas which are establishing relations with one another (1).

Between 1970 and 1976, the value of Aquitane's imports from Spain increased 4.2 times and in 1976 they were worth some 100 million francs more than its exports to Spain, which scarcely doubled over the same period.

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(1) M. Penouil, "L'Aquitaine, région frontrière", Op. cit., page 764

The present pattern of trade indicates that French border regions still export unprocessed products to Spain (sulphur, leather and timber), whereas Spain is exporting an increasing amount of finished products with a high added value (domestic electrical appliances, furniture, off-the-peg clothing, shoes, etc) (1) thus enhancing in some way the value of products from the French regions. This merely reflects the difference in industrialisation on either side of the frontier. In order to qualify this assessment, it must be noted that exports from the French regions to Spain are nevertheless fairly varied (agro-foodstuffs, chemicals, machinery and mechanical equipment).

#### 5. PROBABLE IMPACT ON TRANS-PYRENEAN TRADE OF SPAIN'S ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

It seems certain that Spain's entry into the EEC and, to a lesser extent, that of Portugal will improve the volume of trans-Pyrenean trade. A precise forecast of these changes would require rather inaccessible economic data from very scattered sources. Moreover, they depend on the duration of the transitional period and on the reciprocal adjustment of industry. This chapter will therefore merely supply some general information about the economic factors most likely to be influenced by the enlargement of the EEC and about the growth of trade which may result therefrom.

First, it seems advisable to recall some information about the Spanish economy and its development in the last few decades (2).

Until the end of the fifties, Spanish economic policy was aimed at achieving self-sufficiency by substituting home products for imports. The main investments at that time were made in electricity, natural gas, oil, the engineering and chemical industries, building and textiles, without giving much thought to the external market. Government action was characterised by a high degree of interventionism. The Spanish economy was opened to imports after 1959. Its industry then underwent a substantial technological transformation. Most direct intervention measures were abolished, apart from subsidies to agriculture, which were intensified and broadened. During the sixties, concerted economic action was developed which, by means of grants and tax exemptions, encouraged firms to achieve production quotas within a given period. The targets were above all quantitative and did not necessarily mean more competitiveness. The banking sector was strictly controlled until 1976. There was practically no competition because of the restrictions on the setting up of new banks. The distribution of banks' profits is still limited, something which has contributed to the accumulation of funds and provided an indirect means of influencing company policies. Government regulations preventing firms from cutting down on their labour-force are still in force. This has caused a sharp rise in production costs, especially since 1965. In 1970, the Spanish national product was manifestly short of some intermediate goods, raw materials and capital goods. Spanish industry is heavily consumption-orientated and has some large gaps at the top of the production process. Exports, apart from agricultural produce, have traditionally been a safety valve when the home market is weak. Their structure has, however, changed greatly since 1970 in that they are more sophisticated and have a higher technological content. Spain's accession to the EEC will be reflected in its economic relations by the removal of the last EEC tariff barriers retained under the Preferential Agreement of 1970,

(1) "L'élargissement de la CEE", Première note d'avancement des travaux, op. cit., page 31

(2) J. A. Payno, "Characteristics of the Spanish economy and reasons for joining the EEC", op. cit., pages 3-17.

and above all by the removal of Spanish protectionist measures, which are much more stringent. Moreover, the Spanish economy will have to abide by Community rules (introduction of value added tax, observance of industrial pollution standards, introduction of the common agricultural policy and the Community's regional policy, etc).

The impact of community enlargement in the agricultural sphere is the most debated subject because of the anxieties it arouses in the south of France and Italy, and also because of the hope it has engendered in Spanish agricultural circles that it will mean the recovery of European markets lost when the EEC was set up. The basic question is whether Spain's accession to the EEC is going to create a new sense of fellowship between the agricultural regions of southern Europe which is likely to nudge the common agricultural policy towards greater support for Mediterranean products or whether, on the contrary, it will create an atmosphere of complicity between Spanish producers and consumers in industrial Europe. There seem to be tremendous opportunities for developing Spanish agriculture (Mediterranean coast and Andalusia). An expansion of long-distance trade from eastern and southern Spain to north-western Europe must therefore be expected. This increase in Spanish exports will affect French border areas less than the south-eastern regions. Conversely, it is distinctly possible that Spanish farms concentrating on stock farming and the production of cereals (Galicia, Cantabrian Cornice and the Meseta) will be affected by competition from agricultural products from northern and central Europe (1). This would be reflected in long-distance trade from north to south. The Spanish border regions could be affected by this development.

In the industrial sector, the potential impact of Spain's accession to the EEC varies widely depending on the sector (2). On the Spanish side, difficulties are to be expected in the mining and processing of minerals (pyrites, potassium salts and refractory materials), in the chemical industry (basic plastics, fertilizers and fibres), in certain branches of the textile industry (silk and synthetic fibres), in the sugar industry and in the paper industry. Other sectors, however, are likely to benefit from the possibilities of access to the European market. They include some minerals (gypsum), non-ferrous metals (aluminium, copper and zinc), simple iron products (wire, sheet and processed metal), domestic appliances, motor cars (the production of which is completely in the hands of multinationals who are strengthening their position on the eve of Spain's accession to the EEC), some textile products (ready-made clothing and hosiery), agro-foodstuffs (tinned goods) and certain other consumer goods (furniture). In the iron and steel sector, a reorganisation plan running until 1985 is being implemented. This should enable Spain to maintain its competitiveness within Europe. European competition is facing the engineering and electrical industries with many obstacles, the biggest being technological dependence (fees for manufacturing licences amount to 1 or 2% of overall income, whereas expenditure on research and development comes to no more than 0.3%), accompanied by the structural weakness of local firms, financing difficulties and the presence of numerous subsidiaries of multinational companies. Spain's accession to the EEC will be followed by larger imports of capital goods from industrial Europe.

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- (1) J. Romero-Rodriguez, "The impact of full EEC membership on Spanish Agriculture. Some considerations". Report presented to the second Conference on Integration and Unequal Development. "The implications of the second enlargement of the EEC". Madrid 1979.
  - (2) L. C. Croissier, "Spanish industry and the EEC", Madrid Conference 1979

The origin, destination and volume of trans-Pyrenean trade which could result from the enlargement of the EEC seem to vary more for industrial products than for agricultural products. It seems clear that a substantial proportion of this trade will come from or be destined for the Spanish border regions which are already heavily industrialised (Catalonia and the Basque country). It is probable that trade will intensify between these two regions and the other regions of industrial Europe (long-distance trade). This does not rule out a substantial development in short-distance transfrontier trade, if only as a result of the ten-year development plan for the greater south-western area of France.

## 6. TRANSPORT ROUTES AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PYRENEAN REGIONS

### 6.1 Problems and development potential in the Pyrenean regions

Almost all of the trade between the Iberian peninsula and the rest of Europe goes round the two ends of the Pyrenees, over the Perthus pass and along the Bayonne-San Sebastian road.

The north-south movement of goods between France and Spain goes mainly through Aquitaine (two-thirds of the total trade and 51% of transit goods). It chiefly comprises industrial products, and road transport predominates. South-north trade is almost equally divided between Aquitaine and Languedoc-Roussillon. Whereas industrial products mostly enter in the west (80%), agricultural produce comes in mainly at the east (77%). Road transport prevails in Languedoc, but railways still carry almost half the goods in Aquitaine (1).

These figures show that international trade patterns completely bypass the Pyrenean regions. The central parts (especially Aragon and Midi-Pyrénées) derive practically no benefit from them. Ending the isolation of these two regions, both by means of better links with national networks and by the improvement of trans-Pyrenean trade routes, is a major prerequisite for their development.

The stimulation of long-distance international trade which is to be expected from the enlargement of the European Community and the ten-year plan for the south-west make it necessary to establish conditions encouraging a more equitable geographical distribution of development potential.

### 6.2 Different concepts of "development axis"

The combination of various transport infrastructures can perform several functions in regional development, depending on the geographical scale considered:(2)

- at a national and international macrospatial level they are connecting axes for persons, goods and services,
- at mesospatial level, the establishment of urban centres along communication routes promotes regional economic integration, decongests large conurbations and protects open spaces,
- at local level, axes provide access and services.

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(1) "L'élargissement de la CEE", Note de synthèse, op. cit., page 10.

(2) V. von Malchus, "Trunk communication in Europe", Council of Europe AS/Loc (28) 19, pages 40-41.

In border regions which have been artificially isolated for a long time by the presence of a national frontier and physically isolated by a natural obstacle, the improvement of transfrontier infrastructures might greatly assist the development of subsidiary economic factors and lengthen the radius of influence of urban centres.

### 6.3 State and inadequacy of trans-Pyrenean communications

The principal transport infrastructures together form a quadrilateral enclosing the Pyrenean region:

- two north-south axes (motorway and railway) at the eastern and western ends of the Pyrenean chain take the lion's share of long-distance international trade (goods and tourists);
- two east-west axes: the Bordeaux-Toulouse-Narbonne link which is being widened and the road along the Ebro valley in Spain. These two axes are quite a long way from the actual Pyrenees. They are matched by two secondary roads running along the range. In the north, the Bayonne-Pau-Tarbes-Toulouse road, in the south the Pamplona-Jaca-Huesca-Lerida road.

In addition to the two motorways at the ends of the Pyrenees, there are 18 road passes between France and Spain: eight in the Basque country and Navarre, seven in Catalonia and three in Aragon. Most of them play a very small commercial role and carry tourist or local traffic. (1)

As a result of Franco-Spanish negotiations, six main routes have been chosen for improvement:

1. Pau-Saragossa link via the Somport pass
2. Toulouse-Saragossa-Lerida link via Pont de Rey
3. Toulouse-Barcelona link via Puigcerda
4. Perpignan-Barcelona link via La Junquera/Perthus
5. Bordeaux-San Sebastian link via Béhobie
6. Bordeaux-Pamplona link via Dancharinéa

The last three routes do not present any major difficulties, but the first ones pose problems of alignment and frequent blocking by snow because of the altitude. (2)

The secondary routes between Somport and Puigcerda are:

- the Pourtalet Pass (1,792 m)
- le Portillon in the Valley of Aran (1,320 m)
- the Bielsa-Aragouet link via the Bielsa tunnel which was completed in 1977.

On the Spanish side, there are still some difficulties with regard to crossing the sub-Pyrenean area at Puerto de Monrepos, Paso del Noguera Ribagorzana, Colladas de Toasa and the Sierra del Cadi.

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- (1) "Pyrenean ways", symposium on Alpine and Pyrenean roads of the International Road Federation, page 3.
  - (2) J. Hernando Cogolor "Liaison entre l'Europe et l'Afrique à travers l'Espagne". Fourth African Road Conference - Nairobi - January 1980, page 5.

In short, trans-Pyrenean road links, except for the two main ones at the extremities of the range are still in a very poor state. On the French side, the recent modernisation of the mountain road network was aimed mainly at facilitating access to winter sports centres, rather than at improving transfrontier links in the central part. (1) On the Spanish side, some programmes to modernise and improve the main roads have been carried out:

- the Pau-Saragossa road - the Somport-Huesca section (179 km)
- the Toulouse-Barcelona road - the Granollers-Puigcerda section (168 km)
- the Toulouse-Saragossa road - various sections in the area around Noguera and Barbastro.

There are four railway lines between France and Spain:

- on the Mediterranean coast, the line between Port-Bou and Cerbère
- on the Atlantic coast, the line between Irun and Hendaye
- the line from Puigcerda to La Tour de Carol by the Puymorens pass (highest point 1.563 m).
- the line between Pau, Canfranc and Saragossa, which has been closed since 1970 after a bridge collapsed in the Aspe valley. France and Spain run this line jointly under a convention. The French say that the line is not profitable, whereas the Spanish Government base their position on international agreements whereby any negotiations about closing the line can be undertaken only during a period when the latter is functioning (2).

Traffic is quite naturally concentrated on the two coastal railways. Hendaye has an international station. A new station is planned at Figueras in Catalonia. The central part of the Pyrenees is therefore particularly under-equipped with transfrontier railways, especially since the closure of the line between Pau, Canfranc and Saragossa.

#### 6.4 Projects and proposals to improve Pyrenean transfrontier links

Various proposals have already been made at international level about links between the Iberian peninsula and the rest of Europe. Thus the following links are included in the "E" network of major international traffic arteries:

- Main highway between Paris, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Burgos, Madrid and Gibraltar
- Parallel roads and link roads:
  - Bayonne-Tarbes-Toulouse-Narbonne
  - Montpellier-Barcelone-Gibraltar
  - Barcelona-Saragossa-Madrid-Losbon
  - Somport-Canfranc-Jaca-Huesca-Saragossa.

This network favours the routes around the edges of the Pyrenees, except for the last link which has recently been added by the Spanish Government.

The master plan for European railways proposes the following links:

- Avignon-Narbonne-Barcelona-Valencia/Madrid-Paris-Hendaye-Valladolid-Lisbon/Madrid-Algeciras.

They therefore correspond to the existing peripheral links.

(1) J. Buy, "L'Europe de Sud-Ouest et le Réseau Européen des grands axes de communication". Provisional document, Council of Europe, 1979, page 13.  
(2) J. Buy, "L'Europe de Sud-Ouest et le Réseau Européen des grands axes de communication", op. cit., page 15.

For a long time the Council of Europe bodies have been advocating new transversal links which would make it possible to end the isolation of underdeveloped regions.

The draft recommendation presented by the Committee on Regional Planning and Local Authorities refers to "the establishment of routes across the Massif Central and the Pyrenees better designed to draw the regions of the south-west of Europe, and notably of the Iberian countries, into the family of European peoples". Back in 1970, in Resolution 430, the Parliamentary Assembly was of the opinion that "one of the most urgent tasks is, without any doubt, to link the centre of Europe with the peripheral regions, including, in particular, south-west Europe across the Massif Central" (1).

In the explanatory memorandum to the draft resolution (Doc. 4096), Mr Radius notes that "the Pyrenees frontier, for its part, is still an obstacle to European traffic. Trade will be further intensified as the result of the entry of the two Iberian states into the Council of Europe family and the establishment of closer links between them and the European Economic Community. Accordingly, in the name of European solidarity, a substantial improvement should be made to the trans-Pyrenean road links". He records that "an association for promoting the building of a European north-east, south-west highway (VENESO) has for years been campaigning for a primary European route that would link Lisbon, Gibraltar, Madrid and Toulouse to Benelux, the Ruhr, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Helsinki via the Massif Central and Burgundy." He remarks, with regard to the master plan for European railways approved by the IUR Board of Managers in 1973, that "it is probably regrettable that this approach is almost entirely based on immediate needs regarding passenger traffic to the major urban centres and tourist areas, no account being taken of a network's structuring effect on regional planning particularly in the case of underdeveloped regions". (2)

In Opinion No. 19 (1974) on the organisation of a European network of trunk communications in the context of European regional planning and development, the European Conference of Local Authorities proposed:

- linking up the Atlantic seaboard, south-west France and the south-west of the Iberian peninsula with the centre of Europe by rail and motorway or expressway links across the Massif Central;
- promoting the central Europe/Atlantic Highway (motorway or expressway) to link up the Atlantic coast, the south-west of France and the Iberian peninsula directly with the motorway network of central Europe without passing through Paris;
- promoting the European North-East/South-West Highway to complement the above mentioned highway by providing the essential north-east south-west crossing of the Massif Central via Clermont-Ferrand towards Toulouse and Brive, and thence to the Pyrenees and Madrid;
- promoting a TEE high-speed rail link Basle-Bordeaux-Madrid bringing south-west France and the western Iberian peninsula into direct communication with southern Germany, Switzerland and Austria. (3)

These proposals tend to show that, from a European point of view, crossing the central Pyrenees and the Massif Central are closely linked problems, as they are both mountain barriers to a highway crossing Europe from the north-east to the south-west.

(1) Parliamentary Assembly - Document 4096, "Report on recent developments concerning trunk communications and regional planning in Europe", point 9 d VI, 1978,

(2) Ibid - Document 4096, pages 26-28.

(3) European Conference of Local Authorities, Texts adopted, Tenth session, 16-20 September, 1974.

Moreover, it seems important to consider extending this axis towards the south, thus providing a valuable link between Europe and northern and western Africa. Although the International Road Federation decided to give priority to the link along the Rhine through to Yugoslavia, Turkey and finally on to Africa via the Horn on the east coast, the need for a link with western Africa via Europe, Morocco and Senegal is obvious. In 1977, Africa exported to western Europe goods to the value of 25,450 million US \$ while its imports represented 29,480 million \$. A substantial increase in this trade is foreseeable, which fully justifies the consideration of a Europe-Africa link via the west. A Spanish-Moroccan study commission has been set up to further the building of a permanent link (by bridge or tunnel) across the Straits of Gibraltar. The intensification of trade between Europe and Africa is therefore not unrelated to the crossing of the Pyrenees. Plans should now be made to relieve congestion on the principal trunk roads (4/5 of heavy lorries now take the eastern or western routes) and to encourage the widening of secondary roads which, moreover, can stimulate the development of regions with a weak economy.

Some proposals have already been made for the improvement of trans-Pyrenean links.

Some tunnels are programmed on the Spanish side of the six main axes described above:

- on the route between Toulouse and Barcelona:
  - the Tossa tunnel on road No. 152 from Barcelona to Puigcerda;
  - the del Cade tunnel - link between the frontier pass of Puigcerda and the road from Berga to Barcelona;
- on the road from Pau to Saragossa:
  - the Monrepos tunnel on road C 136 from Huesca to Sabinanigo, which joins up with the Somport and Pourtalet passes.

In the longer term, there are plans on the Spanish side to build a sub-Pyrenean road from Figueras in Catalonia to Pamplona via Olot, Puigcerda, Seo de Urgal, Pont de Suert, Boltana, Sabinanigo and Jaca. It would act as a general distributor of traffic, particularly among the secondary trans-Pyrenean roads. Moreover, direct access from Barcelona to the Aran valley is planned (1).

On the French side, a road linking Toulouse and Lerida via Saint-Girons and a tunnel at Salau (1,300 m) were proposed by the Midi-Pyrénées region in 1975. Officials of the province of Lerida were interested in the project which presented the major advantage of providing a pass at a relatively low altitude (2).

If these projects and a general plan to improve trans-Pyrenean links are to be accomplished, it is just as necessary to obtain recognition of priority for such programmes at the highest level as to arrange transfrontier inter-regional consultation.

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- (1) "Los enlaces pirenaicos", Coloquio IRF sobre tuneles de carreteras alpinos y pirenaicos, op. cit., pages 3 and 7.
  - (2) J. Buy, "L'Europe de Sud-Ouest et le réseau Européen des grands axes de communication", op. cit., page 16.



## 7. THE REQUIREMENTS OF TRANSFRONTIER CO-OPERATION

The foreseeable increase in trans-Pyrenean trade, the large-scale construction of tourist amenities, the requisite economic revival of mountain areas which are becoming depopulated and the conservation and enhancement of the cultural, historical and natural heritage will make it essential to strengthen transfrontier co-operation. The latter can be carried out at different levels, depending on the type of problems to be dealt with.

### 7.1 Transfrontier co-operation at national level

This is organised by the "Commission Frontalière Interétatique des Pyrénées". Its general aim is to harmonise the development of common interests in the border area and to try to solve the technical, economic and political problems of this region.

The plenary commission meets alternately in France and Spain every two years. Its function is to co-ordinate the work of specialised sub-committees and working parties and to solve at government level all matters within its jurisdiction. The delegation leaders and the secretariat of the commission come from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs. The various technical ministries are represented in it and can appoint experts to assist them. The sub-committees and working parties meet between the plenary sessions of the commission and submit the results of their deliberations to it.

The plenary commission deals with the following subjects:

- frontier problems proper:  
demarcation of the border, customs and police posts, mutual assistance;
- infrastructure:  
roads, railways, telephone, airfields, etc.
- international watercourses:  
beaches, fishing, islands, hydroelectric schemes, etc;
- nature conservancy measures:  
agreements on national parks, hunting and fishing, comprehensive studies of the Pyrenees;
- co-ordination of regional transfrontier co-operation:  
chambers of commerce and agriculture, COPEF (Conférence Permanente d'Industrie et de Navigation de Sud-Ouest de la France et du Nord et de l'Est de l'Espagne.) meetings concerning local grazing rights, etc.

The sub-committees and working parties are responsible for problems such as:

- the opening of new roads;
- the building of bridges;
- the harnessing of waterfalls and dams on transfrontier rivers for the production of electricity;
- studying agricultural questions.

A perusal of the results obtained by interstate border commissions in Europe shows generally that, although they can effectively solve serious problems or carry out major projects, they are less successful when it comes to managing day-to-day regional and local planning, particularly when these commissions do not make sufficient use of regional and local officials in their work. Moreover, the hiving-off of responsibilities to sub-committees and the lack of a sub-committee responsible for regional planning reduces the likelihood of uniform, integrated transfrontier development. Lastly, the involvement of the Foreign Ministries in the solution of practical, concrete problems of regional development may prove to be a source of delays and administrative dilatoriness.

## 7.2 Transfrontier co-operation at local and regional level

In the Pyrenean regions, transfrontier co-operation at regional level is above all the affair of chambers of commerce, industry and agriculture. These co-operate at transfrontier level within the framework of the "Conférence Permanente des Chambres de Commerce et d'Industrie et de Navigation du Sud-Ouest de la France et du Nord et de l'Est de l'Espagne" (COPEF). Transfrontier co-operation between local and regional councillors or officials is still rather embryonic.

At European level, there are numerous examples of inter-regional and inter-municipal transfrontier co-operation and some are extremely effective, such as the "Euregie" on the border between the Netherlands and Federal Germany. These bodies have various structures, They generally take the form of two private law institutions (registered associations) which bring together local and regional authorities and chambers of commerce and industry, etc, from both sides of the border. Each has an elected board. In some cases they can take the form of a single transfrontier body with a single board. These transfrontier associations generally work effectively in studying problems and preparing decisions, but numerous obstacles of different types still stand in the way of implementing joint decisions. Local and regional authorities may not assume legal or financial liability towards a foreign authority without the express permission of the state. Moreover, the execution of jointly decided transfrontier projects requires larger appropriations than those available to local and regional authorities. In order to reduce some of these obstacles, a convention has been drawn up by the member countries of the Council of Europe. This makes it possible for two states with a common border to enter into an agreement defining the limits within which local and regional authorities can mutually assume responsibility in transfrontier matters. Under the interstate agreement, local and regional communities may conclude co-operation agreements without having to ask for special authorisation each time.

Moreover, the Parliamentary Conference on Transfrontier Co-operation in Western Europe offers a platform for exchanges and information on the machinery and results of inter-regional transfrontier co-operation in the various regions of Europe. Its scientific and parliamentary committees provide it with the back-up required to study and find political solutions to the problems identified.

## 7.3 An example of successful transfrontier co-operation: joint water resource in the Llviva enclave.

This example is reported by H. Smets of the OECD's Environment Directorate (1).

The Spanish enclave of Llviva, in Cerdagne, results from the Treaty of the Pyrenees of 1659. It is watered by several rivers and canals from France. At the beginning of the 1970s, the French decided unilaterally to tap water from the Err river, thus reducing its flow rate by the time it arrived in Llviva.

The Err question developed in two phases. The first was characterised by French unilateral action and the second by a joint attempt among local authorities to find a solution which safeguards the respective interests.

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(1) H. Smets, "Joint water resource management in the Llviva enclave in the French/Spanish Pyrenees" in "Environmental protection in frontier regions", OECD 1979, pages 321-331

The solution is that, in return for the water it diverts, the French intercommunal syndicate undertakes to put back an equal quantity by transferring it from the valley of the Sègre to the Err above Llivia and, for this purpose, to build a canal between the two rivers. A Spanish Government delegate, accompanied by a French delegate, can at all times inspect the diversion and return installations and the measuring instruments on French territory. Any disagreements about the amount of water returned or about the assessment of damage caused should such return fail will be submitted to a joint commission.

Smets stresses the highly progressive nature of the answer found:

- presentation of acquired rights (Boundary Treaty of 1868);
- polluter-pays principle (all additional costs borne by the Syndicate);
- quasi-absolute liability of the Syndicate;
- possible organic link between the two countries' drinking water systems;
- inspection and supervision on foreign territory;
- appointment of a special joint arbitration body.

According to Smets this is an example to be studied:

" Joint management of the waters in the Llivia enclave shows how, by allowing the communities directly concerned to solve their problems on the spot, many difficulties were avoided and solutions were found matching the various requirements particularly well. They were worked out in co-operation with the technical and political authorities of the two countries and in close consultation with all the parties concerned. The joint management of installations of general interest and the joint use of natural resources as practised in Cerdagne, both of which go back to the Middle Ages, are still today a model of democratic tradition and participation that could usefully serve as a source of inspiration for other frontier areas."

## 8. PROPOSALS FOR A WORK AND STUDY PROGRAMME ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PYRENEAN REGIONS

All transfrontier co-operation must proceed from a thorough, congruous knowledge of the transfrontier area. Here we are therefore proposing some guidelines for discussion and work which might serve as a programme for a Franco-Spanish team, which it seems essential to form for the study of the Pyrenees.

### 8.1 Economic activities

Development of the sub-Pyrenean regions.

The sub-Pyrenean regions suffer from some backwardness in their economic and, above all, industrial development, especially in the central part of the range. Strategies for redevelopment and adjustment to international competition must be worked out. It seems particularly important to examine how the foreseeable increase in long-distance trans-Pyrenean trade can be turned to account for the development of the sub-Pyrenean regions. In addition, an attempt must be made to promote transfrontier links in industry.

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## Maintenance of economic activities suitable for mountain regions

### Revival of cottage industries

Handicrafts are a traditional economic activity in mountain regions. Their revival might help to maintain, or even expand, the economic potential of mountain regions.

### Tourism

Tourism has become one of the major economic activities in mountain areas. Nonetheless, its economic impact can take a wide variety of forms. It is essential to develop tourist amenities which will primarily help the local economy. As tourism can provide a seasonal injection of income, it can also help to support other less flourishing activities (agriculture for example). Local interests must be borne in mind when defining strategies for the growth of tourism.

### Agriculture

Hill farming and stock rearing have declined sharply because of their low productivity. Yet these activities are necessary for the maintenance of the countryside and of mountain ecological systems. It might be possible to ensure their survival by trying to combine them with handicrafts and tourism.

## 8.2 Enhancement of the natural heritage and ecological conservation

The natural heritage of the Pyrenees is of considerable importance. The balance between the various functions carried out by the natural heritage (habitat of an exceptional flora and fauna, catchment area for extensive sub-Pyrenean regions, recreation and tourism, etc) must be maintained. It seems important to draw up a transfrontier inventory of this natural heritage. It is also necessary to take stock of damage to the environment so far.

Concerted action in the Pyrenees in this sphere might lead to the delimitation of transfrontier nature reserves and preparation of the ecological documentation needed for decisions on the development of the infrastructure and on major construction projects.

## 8.3 Trans-Pyrenean transport infrastructures

Trans-Pyrenean transport infrastructures must be improved. Several alternatives can be considered. It will be necessary to back up choices by cost/benefit analyses, with particular emphasis on the long-term effects as regards economic spin-off, the cost of fuel and power for transport, environmental impact, etc.

## 8.4 Implementation of joint decisions at transfrontier level

The implementation of joint planning decisions in a transfrontier context is always delicate. It requires not only a thorough knowledge of existing or potential co-operation and negotiating machinery but also of implementation and decision-making structures in each national context at various administrative levels. This means that the preparation of planning decisions must be accompanied by a careful study of the possible conditions for their application.

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