



# SPANISH REPUBLIC

The Spanish Republican Government in exile esteems that the time is now ripe for the publication of the following text, which during the last few months has already been discreetly brought to the notice of the Chanceries and distinguished personalities.

The Spanish Republican Government in exile regrets that its loyal warnings have not received the attention which in its opinion they deserved, and it cannot accept any responsibility for incidents which are likely to occur henceforth in Spain. Such incidents the Government endeavours to avoid, and will continue to do so, by maintaining (even at the risk of not being listened to) that national reconciliation and a free and impartial electoral consultation are the only means of re-establishing democratic liberties and of consolidating peaceful collaboration between all the citizens and peoples of Spain.

<i>The President of the Government,</i> <b>FELIX GORDON ORDAS</b>	<i>The vice-president, Minister of State and International Relations,</i> <b>FERNANDO VALERA</b>
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The Spanish Republican Government in Exile begs to address itself, with all possible objectivity and restraint, to the Governments of the Western Nations, in the belief that in so doing it fulfils a loyal duty towards the free world, since we consider that Spain belongs to this strategic zone on account of historical, political and economic reasons, and hoping that the present report will be given earnest attention.

The development of events in Spain, confirming the provisions of this Government, shows clearly the impossibility of consolidating in a stable and permanent manner General Franco's regime, which moreover is in course of desintegration. Impartial observers in contact with the various sections of Spanish opinion can

see for themselves the almost unanimous hostility of all classes towards the Chief of the State and his political system. The situation is so evident that these social strata — minorities albeit powerful — which up to the present have supported the regime in power, are today rather looking for a succession acceptable for themselves. The Spanish Republican Government in Exile does not therefore consider it necessary to produce details or documents in support of a fact which cannot have escaped the knowledge of the Information Services of foreign States.

Now that the problem of the substitution of the franquist regime is posed, as it has proved its incapacity of evolution, the Spanish Republican Government is particularly concerned with the question of obtaining, by all possible means, that the inevitable change of regime be carried out without letting loose a fresh wave of revolutionary agitation within the country, which could have repercussions on international stability. With this view in mind, the Spanish Republican Government begs to recall the terms of the Memorandum which in 1956, the Head of the Government, Señor Gondón Ordás submitted to the United Nations, which moreover was communicated verbally or in writing to all the Democratic Governments.

There are now three possible solutions to resolve the problem of substituting the existing regime in Spain. On the right choice of these solutions depends the question whether the change can be carried out in an orderly and reasonable manner: (a) Restoration of the Monarchy; (b) Imposition of a regime of popular-democratic trend, and (c) Restoration of free Democracy, the definite form of which would respond to the will of the overwhelming majority of the Spanish people.

**(A) Restoration of Monarchy.**

The Spanish Republican Government in Exile draws the attention of the Western Nations to the risks involved in any attempt of restoration or installation of a Monarchy without previous free electoral consultation. Such a Monarchy, by reasons of its origin, would inevitably be absolute and neither democratic nor constitutional; it would thus in practice assure the continuity of that

very regime which it is supposed to replace, and it would inherit its responsibilities whilst relying on a reduced force or coercion to contain the increasing hostility of public opinion. A Monarchy thus imposed on the Spanish people would not only be an injustice which Spain does not deserve, but it would not resolve the crisis of power, nor would it fulfil the the minimum conditions for the integration of the country into the free world, which would keep faithful to its essential principles. Constitutional Monarchists themselves realise that if the Monarchy is to become a viable solution must be constitutional and democratic, and that this is only possible if it is supported by the Republican forces. These Republican forces and the Government in Exile itself have repeatedly been approached to co-operate in this solution, request which however is unacceptable for reasons of principle and respect for the dignity of the Spanish people, and even for practical reasons of expediency. Such a concession would deprive the Republican forces of the support of large sections of public opinion, which at present are on their side, and which would turn to the advantage of political and social extremists.

Indeed, if it is recognized that a stable constitutional regime cannot be sustained without the aid of Republican opinion, would it not be more logical and reasonable to allow Spain facilities to express by free elections the form of Government by which it would be ruled? In any event, logic, morality and the interest of the country do not permit the Monarchists to help in the restoration of a Republic, nor Republicans to support the restoration of a Monarchy. On the other hand, what could reasonably be demanded, in the name of patriotic duty and respect for the nations, is that both sides accept the result of free and genuine consultation of the people's will.

#### **(B) Imposition of a regime of popular-democratic trend.**

The possibility that the downfall of the Franco's regime may leave the place open for an attempt of a different form of totalitarian regime has increased dangerously in the recent years on account of three facts: the prolongation of dictatorship, the complicity of the free world in this prolongation, and the efficient and constant activity of the Communists as regards Spain. The Spanish Republican Government in Exile deems that there is still time to repair the damage caused, if the existence of danger is recognized, and urgent measures are taken to apply the necessary remedies. This Government begs to draw the Western Governments' attention to the risks they are incurring by commission or omission. Even if no positive result is obtained, this procedure places it beyond the reach of reproaches which might be made later on, for not having done everything in its power to prevent, or face up the catastrophe while there was yet time.

For many long years the Spanish people has been unable to listen to voices other than those of totalitarian propaganda and information, whether Franquist or Communist, since both are agreed that Communism is the only possible alternative to Franco's tyranny or his imposed succession. More than twenty broadcasts on these lines are made daily to the Spaniards by Communist radio-stations, utilising for these purposes symbols, hymns and prestige of the Republic. The so-called realistic international policy has helped to prolong the Fascist experiment by moral and material assistance, such as the Concordat and the Agreement concerning the American bases in Spain; it has moreover confirmed, by incontrovertible arguments, the slogans of Communist propaganda, and in the eyes of the Spaniards has identified the free world with the dictatorship which oppresses them. On the other hand, in complete contrast with this constant and efficient activity, the Government of the Republic in Exile, together with the liberal and democratic parties and trade-unions, does not possess the means and opportunities to counteract this systematic action of totalitarians, or to present and defend before the Spanish opinion the third possible solution, that of a regime of liberty such as is enjoyed by other Western peoples and which would be the most adequate solution for the interests and aspirations of the Spanish people.

The Government of the Spanish Republic in Exile cannot understand why the Western world does not realise the dangerous anomaly occasioned by the fact that for nearly twenty years Spanish public opinion has had no other source of information nor any other interpretation of world political movements than those emanating from totalitarian sources, whether from right or left. Moreover, the Spanish people, despite having to support for so many years this one-sided political indoctrination, continues on the whole to be immunised against Fascist and Communist ideologies, which to an impartial mind constitutes a proof of the natural tendencies of the Spanish people towards democratic and liberal forms of Government, as are practised in the West.

#### **(C) Restoration of free Democracy.**

A lot of facts and evidence of the greatest importance proves to us each day that the orderly transition towards a system of democratic liberties (the definite form of which would be, in our eyes,

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