EUZKADI'KO ORDEZKARITZA
BASQUE DELEGATION, LONDON

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A MINISTERIAL DECLARATION by the GOVERNMENT OF EUZKADI

The Government of Euzkadi, the Basque Country, which has been fulfilling without interruption since 1936, under the Presidency of Jose A. de Aguirre, its task of defending the liberty and rights of Euzkadi amid mighty commotions of war and political strife, once again addresses its people, this time to report its reorganisation following the tragic loss, in the space of the last two months, of two of its members, a Counseller, Paulino Gomez de Segura, and the Vice-President, Francisco Javier de Landaburu. Its first duty is to render to its deceased colleagues the homage which they have earned from all by virtue of their great merits. And in making known its new composition with the five members who are signatories to this Declaration, it underlines the true and enthusiastic constancy in adherence and collaboration of the political and trade union forces which, in their day, guided the will of the people to promote its constitution in Guernica.

Helped since 1945 by the Basque Consultative Council and gathering about itself the democratic organisations, the Government of Euzkadi, which has its fundamental support in the will of the Basques, has been able, in this long quarter of a century, to hold the line of its cause, the line of defence of liberty, which, for this very reason, has confronted in every critical moment of recent history the line formed and held to this day by those who continue to hold illegitimate power in our country

The political blindness of these people was represented at first, in 1936, by the belief that the

JAURGO-AGERPIDIA

Euzkadi'ko Jaurlaritza'k 1936' gaŕenean eta Agiŕe' tar Joseba Andoni jaunaren lendakaritzaz jayo zanak, ordutik ona eten gabe Euzkadi'ren azkatasun eta eskubideen aldeko lanean jaŕaitu du guda ta eŕiketari buruzko aldakuntza aundien artean. Gaur bere eŕiari dei-egiten dio beŕiro. Arestian, azkenilebete bi auetan bere jaurkide bien galera mingotsa izan du: Gomez de Segura'tar Paulino jaurlari jauna ta Lendakari-ordekoa zan Landaburu'tar Frantzeska Xabier jauna. Zenduak ditugun jaun bi auenganako eginbidez, gogoz egiten diegu berak irabazi zuten gorazaŕe biozkoŕena. Agiŕi au izenpetzen dutenez beŕiturik geratu da gure Jaurlaritza, esandako galtzearen ondoren, eta beŕizte onen beŕia ematean, auxe oaŕerazi beaŕ da lendabiziz: Gernika'n eratutako lenengo Jaurlaritza erriaren naimenetik sortu zan eta naimen ori zuzendu zuten eŕiketa ta gizartera-kundeak berak, beren atsikitze ta laguntzean berebat jaŕaitzen dutela.

1945' gaŕen urtedanik Euzko-Aolkulari-Batza'k lagunduta eta bere inguruan eŕi-agintzari men dagioten erakunde guziak izanik, Euzkadi'ko Jaurlaritza'k euskaldunen naimena du bere oñaŕi nagusitzat, eta mende-laurden luze ontan beti azkatasunaren aldeko lanean yardutea jakin du, bertan bere elburu nagusia baitzan: oŕengatik gaur gure Eŕi'an sasi-agintaritzas jaŕaitzen dutenok jazokun aundi guztietan barna izan duten jokoraren aurka beti egon da.

totalitarian systems would be accepted by the Western world as a barrier against Communism and that democracy would allow itself to be extinguished, softly and indolently. It persisted later in hope that the Fascists would triumph in World War 11 from its very outbreak in 1939. When this illusion was frustrated, it was hoped that the Facists would bring the war to an end with a compromise peace, so that, in the final reckoning, what they termed "the decadent democracies" would end by accommodating differences. And it was demonstrated again, among a great number of examples with which we will not trouble ourselves here, when they thought that they could consider as wholly null the prospects for construction of a democratic Europe. It was then, in the face of this blindness, that this Government took up, in your name, the positions marked, at their respective dates, by the three documents to which we shall now refer.

On 7 October 1936 President Aguirre, at the head of his Government, took oath to his duty under the Tree of Guernica as he announced the Programme of his Government: Rights of the Individual, religious freedom, public order, independent justice, social advance, access of the worker to capital and its benefits, public works of necessity and of convenience, access to ownership by tillers of the land, social liberation of the needy classes, social functions of taxation, access to culture and learning in all grades under no conditions other than those of individual aptitude to merit them, safeguard of Basque national characteristics including the use of Euskera (the Basque language) in teaching, recognition and affirmation of the individuality of Euzkadi. These bases of the Ministerial Declaration, which were, of course, set out therein in greater detail,

Gure arerioen itsutasuna guzion begietan azaldu zaigu. 1936' gaŕenean komunismoaren aurka esi bat jartzeko, sarkaldeko eŕiak fatxista-erakundea ontzat artuko luketela uste zuten; gero Ludi'ko guda aundia 1939' gaŕenean asi zanean, fatxistaŕek irabaziko zutelakoan zeuden; amets ori galdu zutenean guziei egokia izango zitzaion nolabaiteko pakea egingo zala oldoztu zuten, usteltzat zeuzkaten erikalagintzale aiek amor-egiteko zeudelakotan; azkenez, eta aipa genitzaken beste jazoaldiak ixilik uztean, Europa eŕi-agintzearen bidean eratzeko azpegiak indaŕ gabekoak zirala uste zuten. Beste jokera izan da Euzko-Jaurlaritza'rena eta emen gogoratu nai ditugun iru agirietan, bakoitza bere egunean izanda, zuen izanean jokera kirmenak artu zituen.

1936'ko uŕilaren 7' gaŕenean Agiŕe Lendakariak, bere Jaurlaritzaren buru agertzean, Gernika'ko Zugatzaren azpian, bere aginbidea betetzea zin-egin zuen, bere Jaurlaritzaren Egitaraua jakinerazten: Gizonaren eskubideak, erlijioari buruzko azkatasuna, eŕizaintza, zuzentza yarei, gizartearakiko auŕerapena, dirutza ta onen irabazpenetara langilearen eltzea, beaŕak edoegokiak izan ditezken ororentzako lanak, nekazariek jabetzera eltzea, lander bizi diranen jasotzea, zergak gizartearen bidean jartzea, irakaskintza ta kultura-mail guzitarako [illegible] ororentzat idokitzea norberaren gaitasuna baño beste baldintzarik gabe, euskal endeŕiaren izakera berezia gordetzea, euskera irakaskintzan sartzea, Euzkadi'ren nortasuna ontzat artu ta bayeztea.

were, are, and will continue to be the charter of equal rights in Euzkadi - as much by virtue of the Statute approved by plebiscite of the Basques on 5 November 1933 as by the law of the Cortes of the Spanish Republic which accepted it as such - of those who are Basques by birth and the other Spanish citizens who may have qualified for administrative adoption in the Basque Country.

On 31 March 1945 there was signed the "Declaration of Bayonne" by all the political and social forces represented by the Basque Government. The five salient points in this document affirm: Confidence in this Government as the legitimate representative of the Basque People; respect for and defence of the freely expressed will of the Basque People when democratic normalcy is re-established; constitution of the Consultative Council and continuation, beside the People, the Political Parties and Syndical Organisations of the Peninsula, of the struggle in every terrain against the Government of Franco and any other dictatorial regime and against all other anti-democratic threats which may arise as well as any attempts at restoration of the monarchy.

From 23 to 29 September 1956 there was held in Paris the Basque World Congress. It affirmed its recommendations in these terms: "The Basque World Congress, conscious of the grave problems which threaten the survival of the ancient human group of Euzkadi so long as it is subjected to the present Franco-Falangist dictatorship, makes an urgent appeal to the conscience of Basques the world over, seeking the aid and the vigorous action necessary for the Basque Country to recover its liberty and with it the assurance that it can live its own life

"In the face of the action to be developed, itself implicit in

Jaurlaritzaren agintzak zeuzkan oñari oiek, agintza artan zeatzago azalduta ziranak, orduan, orain eta gerorako, Euzkadi'n bizi bear diran eskubideen agiri orokaŕa betetzen dute. Bai 1933' gaŕeneko azilaren 5' gaŕenean euskaldunak ontzat artu zuten. Araudia'z baita Erkala espanararen Lege-batzaŕak Araudi ori legetzat onartzeko izan zuen erabakiaz ere, izatez euskaldunak diranentzat eta Euskaleŕi'an bizi-izateko eskubides lortu duten españaŕ guzientzat ere egiña izan zan, eskubide berdiñen agiri orokaŕ ura.

1945'ko epailaren 31'gaŕenean "Bayona'ko Itunbena" Euzko-Jaurlaritza'n zeuden eŕiketa ta gizartearekiko indaŕ guziekizenpetu zuten. Agiri ortan agertzen diran azpegiak bost auek dira: 1936'ko uztailaren 18'gaŕenean bildu ziran eŕiketa ta gizarteari buruzko indaŕen alkartzea, Euzkadi'ko Jaurlaritza'ren eratzean agerturik; Euskaleŕi'aren egiazko ordezkaria dan Jaurlaritza ortan ustekon izatea; bein eŕi-agintzaren beŕiro asi-ta, Euskaleŕi'ak yarei azalduko dituen naimenak onartu ta eustea; Euzko-Aolkulari-Batza eratzea ta España'ko. Eŕi, Alderdi ta Gizartearekiko erakundeekin, Franko'ren Jaurlaritza edo bera bezelako beste edozeiñen aurkako gudan jaŕaitzea, bide guztietan barna; orèbat errikal-agintzaren aurka edo eŕegerik jartzeko sortu ditezken alegin guztien aurean.

1956'gaŕeneko irailaren 28' gaŕenetik 29'gaŕeneraño Paris'en Euskal-Batzaŕ Orokaŕa izan zan. Onela osondatu zuen: "Euskal-Batzaŕ Oŕokaŕa'k Euzkadi'ko giza-sail zararen irautea zematzen duten auzi gogoŕak

the appeal which embodies the democratic will most recently expressed by the Basques and by virtue of the activities revealed by the President of Euzkadi, the Congress, which recognises the Government presided over by Senor Aguirre as the legitimate authority of the Basque Government, does proclaim it as the appropriate instrument to continue directing the operations leading to the liberation of the Country.

"With elemental respect and unquestioning obeisance to the will of the People which authorised the autonomous regime in defence of which our People sacrificed themselves and our soldiers and men of the Basque Resistance gave their blood, and with acknowledgment of the obvious fact that the will of the people was forged around the State of Autonomy, which has also cemented the union of the Basques, the Congress proclaims the Statute of Autonomy as the standard of Basque Union, the battle flag, and the banner of firm repossession.

"The Pact of Bayonne constitutes a guarantee of agreed union and cordial solidarity in the task of re-establishing liberty and democracy on solid foundations.

Other conclusions related to peace, the effective recognition of peoples to govern themselves, the integration of nations and states in higher formations, like Europe and the Confederations in America, etc. Among them the Government of Euzkadi reiterates its enthusiastic reception of the "fervent wishes" which as "a general aspiration of the Basques" were formulated with respect to the entry of Nabarra in the organic autonomous life of the Basques.

The years which have passed since then and the march of events have set the seal of approval in matters of both doctrine and performance on the line adopted

ikuston ditu, francotaŕen pean jaŕaitu bear baldin bad eta, yoranez boterik, Ludi guziko euskaldunai dei-egiten dio, beaŕak diran laguntza ta ekintzearen eskí, Euskaleŕi'ak bere azkatasuna lortu dezan eta oŕela bere biziari eutsi dizaioken.

"Erabiltzeko dagoen egiponaren auŕean, deian bertan eta esan gabe adierazten danez, arestian eta eri-agintzearen bidez azaldutako euskaldunen naimena ageŕerazten duelako, eta Euzkadiko Lendakariak jakinerazitako egiponen onartzeagatik, Batzaŕak, Agiŕe jaunak zuzentzen duen Jaurlaritza, Euskaleŕi'aren egiazko agintza bezela onartzen duelarik, Eŕi'aren azkatasuna lortzeko jokerak zuzentzen jaŕaitzeko, eskuarte egokitzat ojustatzen du.

"Yarei-jaurgoa bayeztu zuen eŕi naimenari burun beaŕa dan onartzeagatik, gudariak beren odola ta eriak bere nekeak aren jaurgoaren aldo ain oparoki eskeiffi zutela-ta, era berean guda ixilean jaŕaitzen duten gisonengatik ere, eta euskaldunen naimen ta alkartasuna Yarei-jaurgoaren inguruan tinkotu zirala oŕen argi delarik, Batzaŕak, Yarei-jaurgoaren Araudia, euskal-batasuna, guda ta eskariaren ikuriña bezela ojustatzen du.

"Bayona'ko Itunbena izenpetutako batasunaren yagolea da, bai ta oñ arí gotoren gariaz askatasun eta eri-agintaritza jartzeko naimen biziaren alkartasun bioskoŕa ere."

Beraren erabaki batzuek beste azpegiai buruz arturik izan ziran: pakearekiko; beren burua jauŕí ta zuzentzeko eŕi guztien egiazko eskubi-

by this Government. We are living in days of de-colonisation impossible to foresee in 1936, days of racial non-discrimination, days of liberation of peoples by a large variety of means. "The peoples which maintain the democratic forms of government", with which even at that time the Basque Government stated that it would establish closer links, are those which have been carrying out these processes. It is right and proper that, owing to our geographical position, we should make special mention here of France, which, on its part, has carried so much weight in this task. Nor must mention be omitted of the Pope of the Church of Christ, John XX111, whose writings have penetrated deeply into the souls of our compatriots, of ourselves, and of all men of good will.

All this fortifies the Government of Euzkadi the more each day in its efforts and in the clear knowledge that such action is directly related to the existence of the Basque People, which, in its turn, is well aware that the Government serves this vital cause; wherefore it never pays heed to any suggestion that it should terminate its adherence to the Government and the confidence which it has always maintained in it. Such is the secret of the manifestations of popular warmth with which members of the Government are followed everywhere that tributes on their death are successively paid.

The Government could terminate its declaration at this point, and would be pleased to do so if it were to make reference only to the Basque compass. But it cannot but refer to the consequences of the fact that our problem is also insert in the general politics of Spain. Interested as we have been in uniting our effort with that of the Spanish democrats in overthrowing the regime established

deai buruz beste erakunde aundiagoetan biltzeko endeŕi ta lateŕien eskubideaŕekiko, osate baterako Europa ta Amerika'ko Alkartasunak; eta abar. Erabaki guztien artean Euzkadi'ko Jaurlaritza'k auxe nabariaraston du biziki: "euskaldun guztien iŕikitzea" bezela, yarei eratua izango dan euskal-bizian Napaŕea sartzeko adierazei ziran "naimen beroak" gartzuki onartzea.

Gero eldu diran eta auŕera dijoazen urteetan barna, naiz asmotan naiz e gipenetan, Jaurlaritza onek eramandako bidea, goikoenetako mailetan ontzatarturik izan da. 1936'gaŕenean argi ikusten etzan eŕien azkat aunaren egunetan gaude, enda dala-ta bereizkunderik egiten ez diranetan, bide askerenetik eŕiak beren esku bizi-izateko mugen egokienetan. Eta ain zuzen aurerapan guzti oiek aintzina eranan dituztenak, "jaurgoan eŕi-agintzazko bideak daramazkien eŕiak" izan dira, ordun Eusko Jaurlaritza'k oiekin laguntza ertsian bizi nai zuela esan zituenak. Bidezkoa da, lutelestiari buruzko gure egokeragatik, Frantzia'ren izena emen aipatzea, bere aldetik, esandako azkatasun oietan ainbeste lan egin duelako. Ezin ixil dezakegu berebat Yesukristo'ren Eliza'ko Doipurua izan dan XX111'gaŕen Yon'en izena; gure aberkideen, geronen eta naimen onaren gizon guztien gogean oŕen sakon eldu diran agirien gatik.

Guzti oŕek areago tinkotzen du Euzko-Jaurlaritza bere jokeran, bai ta jokera ori Euskaleri'aren izatearekin zuzen biltzeko dala adierazten era; Euskaleria'k bere aldetik ba-daki

there, we certainly must at all times take into account the consideration which they have given to the "Basque case". This has at its heart, without question of parentheses or suspensions, the right of our community to life as a defined ethnic entity of high social and moral significance, and politically of democratic root from time immemorial.

We Basques can never allow, especially at a time when the road to the restoration of democracy is being taken, that there should be a postponement of the recognition of so irrenounceable a right to other primacies or to tactics which will always appear doubtful in our eyes. Anything else in us would be unconscious or inconceivable complicity.

We continue and shall continue to take part in the fight for democracy. Until its establishment, whatever the formulae, the stages, the intermediate forms to establish it, if indeed there be any, we accept no time limit to our wait, no suspension whatsoever of the mandate which we have received to take Euzkadi, as such, to the point of exercise of democratic rights. Such, we are convinced, is for us and for our compatriots the unavoidable exigency of a cause which will permit no political alliance which does not take for granted the explicit undertaking to respect the will expressed by the Basques in so far as it concerns the concrete problem of their political autonomy.

The Government of Euzkadi, therefore, favouring every effort tending to re-establish democracy in Spain in all distinctness and firmness

DECLARES that it will continue without dismay in the struggle and in political action of every kind for the liberation of the Basque Country, without cease, until it shall return to that

Jaurlaritza bere bidetik dijoala, eta ońengatik eztu entzun nai berarengandik alde egiteko eltzen zaion esondatzerik. Orixe azaltzen dituen ongienik il diran jaurlarien iletaetara mila ta milaka agertu diran gizalagunek eŕiaren beroa zeramatelarik.

Ementxe amai lezakean Jaurlaritzak bere deia, eta orala egingo luke euskal baranoari bakaŕik so-egingo balio. Baña beaŕezkoa zaio, gure auzia España'ko eŕiketa barnean ere sarturik dagoelako, ortik eldu dakizkioken ondorioak zeintzuk izan ditezken begiratzea. Gaur España'n dagoen jaurgoa irauleraztoko oŕi-aguntzalcak diran españa-rekin alegiñetan ari-izateko, lenengo ordutik gertuta egon geralta-ta, eietxe "euskalauzi"'ari ematen dioten aŕera gogoan beaŕ dugu izan beti. "Euskalauzi" ońek auxe adierazten du: tartorik eta uzterik gabe, eta ońen garbi azaltzen dan gure enda-izaeraz, bizirako gure Eŕi'aren eskubidea; gure izaera ori gizartearen buruzko galgan ońen nabarmengaŕia dalarik eta eŕikotarekiko oŕi-agintzari aspaldidanik ońen atsikia izatean.

Ezin aŕ dezakegu euskaldunck oŕi - agintzearen bidean zoar abiatzen danean batik bat, utzi eziña zaigun eskubide ońen onartzea, beste jokera ala nayagotzearen atzean jartźea; alako jokerak susmegaŕiak bezela agertuko zaizkigu beti. Beste egitekorik, garean, buru gabeko ta ulergaitsa izango litzakon jokabidea izango zalako.

Orain eta gererako, oŕi-agiñtzaren aldeko gudan

country as the legitimate Government that it is or, in defect thereof, until it shall have discharged democratically the popular plebiscite on the regime which the Basque People may freely want for itself and the institutions which it may have chosen for itself for its own future.

6 July 1963
THE GOVERNMENT OF EUZKADI

Jesus Maria de Leizaola,
President
Jose de Rezola,
Vice-President
Gonzalo Nardiz,
Ambrosio Garbisu,
Juan Iglesias
Counsellors

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alegineta n gaude. Bertan, bera jartzeko izan ditezken zentzun, epe ta arteko orak, edozein izanik, orelakoak baldin badira ta ura jari arte, guk ez dugu onartzen ez zai-egoterik ez eta iñungo uzterik ere, Euzkadi bera dan bezela bere eri - agintzazko eskubideak erabiltzera eramateko artu dugun agintzan. Orixe baita, ziur - ziur gaude, gure aberkide - entzat eta gerenentzat, utzi ezin diteken elburu baten eskaria; elburu ortaz ezin enar diteke erikotari buruzko alkartzerik, erikotarekiko yarei - jaurgoan dagoen auzi ertsiaz, euskaldunak adierazitako naimena ontzat artzeko itza emango ez duen iñorekin.

España osoan eŕe - agintzaren bidea idekitzeko egingo dan alegin guztiaren alde gertu dalarik, Euzkadi' ko Jaurlaritzak

Auxe ADIERAZTEN DU:

Euskaleŕia askatzeko egin ditezken gudan eta edozein moduzko eŕiketarekiko egipenetan auŕera ta aulezirik gabe jaŕaituko duela; eten gaberik ete, legezko Jaurlaritza izatean, Eŕi' anbertan jaŕi arte; edo beste aldetik, Eŕi' ak bere buruari yareiki eman naiizango duen jaurgoaz Jaurlaritza'k eriagintzaren bidez Eŕi-ari galdetu ta, onek geroroko erabaki ditzaken beste erakundeak jaŕiak izan arte.

1963'ko uztailaren
6' gaŕenean

EUZKADI'ko JAURLARITZA

Leizaola'taŕ Yosu Mirena
LENDAKARIA

Frezola'taŕ Yosebe
LENDAKARI-ORDEKOA

Nardiz'taŕ Gonzalo
Garbisu'taŕ Ambrosio
Iglesias'taŕ Yon
JAURLARIAK

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