

## **APPEAL OF THE CATALANS IN THE EXILE, TO THE UNITED NATIONS, 1945**

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# **THE CASE of CATALONIA**

## **APPEAL to the UNITED NATIONS at the INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION CONFERENCE**

**San Francisco, California  
April, 1945**

**CATALAN NATIONAL COUNCIL  
(United States Delegation)**

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\*\*\*\*

## **[Letter]**

To the United States of America,  
the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,  
the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and  
the Republic of China,  
Sponsors of the United Nations Conference on  
International Organization at San Francisco:

Inasmuch as Catalonia (in spite of her present subjugation under Spain) is a well-defined nation (1), as proven by her history, her ethnological characteristics, her particular language, her own literature and culture, her specific laws, her customs and traditions and, above all, her permanent and manifested will and her desire to regain national sovereignty;

Inasmuch as Catalonia (because of her unrecognized status as a nation) cannot adhere to the United Nations Declaration not to declare war on any Axis power and so gain admission to the San Francisco Conference;

Inasmuch as Catalonia, being occupied by the Fascist armies of General Franco, cannot proclaim her *de facto* state of belligerency against the Axis nor gain official recognition for her many sons fighting now in the United Nations' Armies;

Inasmuch as Catalonia cannot, in justice, be classified as a neutral nor legally as an Ally, although she is a friendly nation still occupied by Nazifascism;

Inasmuch as, on the other hand, the legal institutions representative of Catalonia no longer exist (her president Lluís Companys having been executed by Franco (2) and her democratic Government disbanded and nullified);

We, therefore, in our own name, as members of the Catalan National Council\* (United States Delegation), in the name of 75,000 organized Catalans residing on the American Hemisphere\*\* and in the name of the people of Catalonia whose voice is now suppressed

R E Q U E S T from the Sponsors of the San Francisco Conference:

THAT, in view of these special circumstances and the unique position of Catalonia, in view that Catalonia is one of the few remaining nations in Europe whose national rights have not yet been recognized, CATALONIA BE CONSIDERED A SPECIAL CASE and since she cannot be legally represented nor actually participate in the proceedings of the Conference, BE ALLOWED TO PRESENT AND FILE THE FOLLOWING APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS before their representatives at San Francisco.\*\*\*

New York, April 14, 1945

J. Carner Ribalta      J. M. Fontanals      J. Ventura Sureda

*Members of the United States Delegation of  
the Catalan National Council in London.  
(Registered with the State Department, on March 28, 1942.)*

(1) See Appendix No. 1.

(2) To be noted that Catalonia's President is the first and only head of a nation to be executed by Nazifascism.

(\*) See Appendix No. 2.

(\*\*) See Appendices No. 2a No. 2b.

(\*\*\*) We hereby respectfully request from you, as Sponsors, to forward this Appeal to

the President of the Conference at San Francisco to be, at due time, included in the Agenda of the Conference.

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# **APPEAL**

## **TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

## **OF BEHALF OF**

# **CATALONIA**

The special situation of Catalonia is a nation prevents her from having legal representatives and from being present at this Conference to participate with the United Nations in the charting of an international organization for peace and security. But it is precisely in view of Catalonia's unique situation that we have decided to present her case of Catalonia's unique situation that we have decided to present her case to your attention so that the national rights of 3,000,000 ([\[1\]](#)) may be known to all the United Nations and may justly be considered in the charter for a new world. We are not presenting a problem of frontiers or political reconstruction, economical recovery or any such matters which are not to be attended to until after the security organization has been set up. We present a case for national liberty which requires solution or at least consideration precisely while the security negotiations are taking place.

Catalonia existed as a free nation until 1714, when she was finally incorporated by force into the Spanish state, and is one of the few remaining nations in Europe whose national rights have not yet been recognized. This makes the case of Catalonia almost an obsolete problem, mainly because most of the problems on the European nationalities were supposedly solved at Versailles. But Catalonia's was not; her liberties were not restored at the end of World War I like those of the other nationalities. It is for this reason that we present here her problem as a special case and as a matter which demands consideration and solution so that the Charter which is to be written for the new Europe does not become once more an injustice against Catalonia.

In a way, Catalonia's over-prolonged captivity and retarded liberation is due, more than to several military defeats, tot repeated diplomatic misfortunes suffered by Catalonia. In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, after a long war against her Spanish oppressor, Catalonia's rights were disowned by her own allies and sacrificed to power politics and matters of expediency. In 1919, at Versailles, in spite of the 18,000 volunteers Catalonia contributed to the Allied armies, the rights of that unfortunate nation were once more overlooked. In 1924, at Geneva, due to the detective clauses of the League's Covenant, and to the presence of Spain in the League of Nations, which made impossible the required vote of unanimity of such matters, the League of Nation could not even consider Catalonia's demands for liberty. In 1937, at the Nyon conferencem Catalonia's rights were disregarded but, on the other hand, the claim of Italy about "the right to intervene in Spain to prevent the setting up of an independent Catalan Republic" ([\[2\]](#)) was considered valid.

This traditional diplomatic indifference towards Catalonia's claims should not lead anyone to believe that the Catalan case has no bearing in the maintenance of permanent peace and security in Europe. The "Catalan Question" has been at the bottom of much of the unrest and political turmoil in the Iberian Peninsula during the last three centuries, and there has never been any aggressive power of force in Europe which has not tried, at some moment, to speculate on the Catalan discontent to enhance of secure success of their plans. As an example, we will mention that during the period of the French Revolution, Robespierre in person, with the aim of gaining Catalonia to his cause, visited Barcelona with the written "Constitution of Catalonia" in this brief-case. scarcely a quarter of a century later, Napoleon Bonaparte, in order to gain a foothold in the Peninsula, actually created the "Catalan State" and tried to establish a Catalan government separate from that of the kingdom of Spain. In recent times, in the geopolitics of Germany (3) for the Mediterranean area, Greater Catalonia (that is to say the old Catalan Kingdom of the present territories of Catalan Language-Catalonia, Valencia, French Catalonia, and the Balearic Islands) was scheduled to play a big role against France and her African empire, although Catalonia did not accept the "New Order" of nazism. As a final proof of the importance of Catalonia in the stability of Europe, any well-informed and clear-sighted statesman will admit that lest the national problem of Catalonia is satisfactorily solved, there will never be real peace and order in the Iberian Peninsula. (4)

Now that a charter of the nations of the world is going to be definitively written for a durable peace, Catalonia cannot let this opportunity pass without appealing to the justice of the United Nations for her due recognition, lest new and irreparable mistakes are committed at the moment of the charting, and her national freedom be postponed indefinitely.

In appealing to you for justice, Catalonia wants to state her full aspirations and the full scope of her rights. We earnestly request that this Conference do not commit the same mistake of the Peace Conference at Versailles, which dismissed Catalonia's demands on the erroneous argument that it was a mere case of home rule, to be granted by Spain, and as such an internal problem, a "family conflict", to be solved within the Spanish state. Neither could we allow the United Nations to judge Catalonia's rights on the same basis as the League of Nations that classified them as a simple problem of a minority inside Spain. Catalonia is a nation and must be recognized as such before any regional organization can be established in Spain, in the Iberian Peninsula, the continent of Europe, on the liberated world.

It is unnecessary to tire your attention by detailing the historical, ethnical, linguistic and cultural reasons which prove the national characteristics of Catalonia; nor need we present any list of all persecutions and oppressions of which she is and has been a victim. Neither do we believe it necessary to adduce proof of her determination and ever-increasing will to live again as a free nation. We do not even need to point out that her struggle for freedom has continued through the centuries. In 1640, in the first attempt against her freedom, Catalonia fought against Spain (War of Secession) and proclaimed the Catalan Republic; in 1714, after her national rights were disregarded at Utrecht, Catalonia continued to fight against Spain and France, even after having been abandoned by her allies (England, Austria, Portugal and Holland); in 1931, Catalonia led in the Peninsula the democratic and civil revolt against the Bourbon Monarchy, proclaimed the Catalan Republic (5) and made possible the Spanish Republic; in 1931,

Catalonia organized a national plebiscite in which 98% of the population proclaimed Catalonia's will of self-government; in 1934, after the Spanish Republic had fallen into the hands of the fascists and reactionary forces, Catalonia struck for democracy and national freedom and proclaimed the Catalan State as part of the Confederacy of Iberian Nations [\[6\]](#); in 1936, upon the nazifascist coup and fought at the same time for her national freedom.

There is, however, a matter which should be set forth here very clearly to end all possible misconceptions. We refer to the permanent and inalterable nature of the Catalan problem. In other words, the basic terms of the Catalan aspirations do not change with the existence of a more or less liberal regime in Spain, not with a greater or lesser degree of persecution or oppression. For instance, Catalonia's aspirations are independent of the existence or non-existence of Franco in Spain. Catalonia has been an oppressed nationality under the Monarchy, under the Spanish Republic, under Franco. [\[7\]](#) The removal of Franco *alone* will not solve the Catalan national problem, as it was not solved by the overthrowing alone of the Bourbon Monarchy. Catalonia fights Franco and is trying to overthrow his fascist regime, and in the same spirit she is fighting for the destruction of Hitler and Hirohito. Franco is Catalonia's present tyrant, but in the dual function of representative of nazifascism and representative of the Spanish Unitarian State. The replacement of Franco will free Catalonia from nazifascism but it will not make Catalonia free from Spanish oppression.

This takes us to the real danger of any Catalan "solution" carried out under the light of routine and misconception. For this reason we appeal here-with to the United Nations before any decision be taken and any commitment be made with regard to Spain. Too many people erroneously believe that the Catalan case is merely a Spanish problem. It is not so. There is a tendency to classify the Catalan question among the internal problems of Spain. The conflict between Catalonia and Spain, as any problem between an oppressed nationality and her oppressor, has always been of an international nature. Catalonia is not a Spanish conflict but a European problem. In these terms the problems of the other European nationalities were solved at the peace table at Versailles.

To class the Catalan question among the internal problems of the Spanish state is to appoint Catalonia's oppressor to be sole judge and jury in a conflict in which it is itself a contending part. Catalonia, or any other oppressed nation, cannot expect justice from her own oppressor.

As history shows, not even a liberal and democratic Spain, or the type of the Spanish Republic, is capable of solving the Catalan national problem. [\[8\]](#) [\[9\]](#) Most of the leaders and the statesmen of the former Spanish Republic live in the erroneous notion that the principles and the clauses of the Atlantic Charter apply to the Spanish State but do not apply to Catalonia and the other nationalities incorporated by force into the Spanish State.

Hence Catalonia cannot accept the premise that her national liberty is to be identified and confused with the problem of restoring democracy and restoring the republican regime in Spain. At its due time, the United Nations will have to confront the Spanish problem, and Catalonia will help with all her strength to solve it, but its denomination and solution has no direct relation with Catalonia's problem of national liberty.

Let no one misinterpret this statement. Catalonia is vitally interested in democratic Spain. ([10]) 150,000 Catalan youths died in the Spanish Civil War to eradicate Fascism from Spain and to secure the subsistence of democracy in the Iberian Peninsula. But it is as Catalans that the people of Catalonia want to participate in the welfare of the Iberian block of peoples. ([11]) They want their rights as a nation to be recognized, so that Catalonia, through self-determination, can be free to join in the political reorganization of the Peninsula. Once free and duly recognized as a nation, Catalonia will be in a position to consider, for instance, a Confederacy of Iberian States, on the basis of equal rights and voluntary association, in which Catalans, Basques, Galicians, Spaniards, and Portuguese could participate.

On the other hand, Catalonia being absolutely identified with the cause of the United Nations -in whose armies so many of her sons are fighting on all the fronts- declares her willingness to accept the sacrifices the reorganization of Europe may demand of her, no matter how jealous she may be of her sovereignty and freedom as a nation.

Summing up, Catalonia

REQUEST from the United Nations:

- a) – THAT her delayed case of national liberation be, from this moment, scheduled as one needing immediate solution.
- b) – THAT her case for self-government be filed for immediate solution under the principles and the clauses of the Atlantic Charter, independently of any regional solution contemplated for Spain.
- c) – THAT her position in the political organization of Spain be decided by herself, through plebiscite of the Catalan nationals, after recognition of her status as a nation.
- d) – THAT any further disagreement or dispute between Catalonia and Spain be submitted for hearing before the United Nations Council or the International Court of Justice on its behalf.

In submitting her claim for national liberation before this Conference and before the international public opinion, Catalonia expects justice from the United Nations.

New York, April 14, 1945

J. Carner Ribalta      J. M. Fontanals      J. Ventura Sureda

Members of the United States Delegation of  
the Catalan National Council in London.  
(Registered with the State Department, on March 28, 1942.)

....

[1] Properly, the Catalan lands include besides Catalonia, the old kingdoms of Valencia and the Balearic Islands, and also the old Catalan territory of Roussillon annexed to France. This forms Greater Catalonia, with a total population of almost

6,000,000 were the Catalan language is generally spoken.

[2] A. B. Keith, "The King, the Constitution, the Empire, and Foreign Affairs", 1936-7, pp. 166-167.

[3] "Spaniers Tor Zum Mittelmeer und die Katalanische Frage", Franz Pauser (Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin, 1938) (See Appendix No. 2b).

[4] See Appendix No. 3.

[5] See Appendix No. 4.

[6] See Appendix No. 5.

[7] See Appendix No. 6.

[8] In 1932, the Spanish Republic granted Catalonia a Home Rule Statute which fell considerably short of the demands made by Catalonia through referendum. The Statute, proved to be insufficient.

[9] See Appendix No. 7.

[10] See Appendix No. 8.

[11] Id.

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## **THE CASE OF CATALONIA**

### **A P P E N D I C E S**

#### **APPENDIX No. 1**

##### **EXISTENCE OF THE CATALAN NATION THROUGH THE AGES (Her national status since the VIII century)**

- Two centuries under the dependency of the Frank emperors.
- Four centuries of national independence.
- Three centuries of union with Spain through pact (1469).
- Four years of limited and insufficient home rule, granted by the Spanish Republic in 1932.
- Six years under fascist domination and complete subjugation to Spain through Franco (1939).

#### **APPENDIX No. 2**

##### **THE CATALAN NATIONAL COUNCIL**

Established in London in 1940, its members are:

President:

Carles Pi-Sunyer

Councilors:

(in London)

Josep M. Batista i Roca  
Dr. Josep Trueta  
Fermí Vergès  
Ramon Parera

(in U.S.A.)

J. Carner Ribalta

(in Mexico)

Josep Carner  
Josep Tomàs i Piera  
Baltasar Samper  
Ferran Zulueta  
Dr. Salvador Armendares  
Dr. F. Paniello

(in Cuba)

J. Conangla i Fontanilles

(in Columbia)

Dr. Antoni Trias  
Joan de Garganta

(in Bolibia)

Dr. Santiago Pi-Sunyer

(in Argentina)

M. Serra i Moret  
H. Nadal i Mallot

(in Uruguay)

F. Bergós Ribalta

(in Catalonia)

X (A member of the underground movement “Front Nacional Català”)

## **APPENDIX No. 2a**

ORGANIZED CATALANS IN EXILE HAVING AUTHORIZED THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION OF THE CATALAN NATIONAL COUNCIL TO PRESENT THE NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF CATALONIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

## Argentina:

Casal de Catalunya ... Buenos Aires  
Associació Mutualista Montserrat ... Buenos Aires  
Protectora Ensenyança Catalana ... Buenos Aires  
Comitè Llibertat ... Buenos Aires  
Radio "Hora Catalana" ... Buenos Aires  
Revista "Ressorgiment" ... Buenos Aires  
Casal Català ... Cordoba  
Centre Català ... Rosario  
Centre Català ... La Plata  
Centre Català ... Bahía Blanca  
Grup Patriòtic Català ... Mendoza  
Societat Catalana d'Estudis Socials Econòmics i Polítics ... Buenos Aires

## Chile:

Agrupació Patriòtica ... Santiago  
Centre Català ... Santiago  
Revista "Germanor" ... Santiago  
Hora Radial Catalana ... Santiago  
Auxili Mutual ... Santiago  
Revista "Noticiari Català" ... Santiago  
Grup Escènic Vilanova ... Santiago  
Orfeo Català ... Santiago  
Grup Esportiu Barcelona ... Santiago  
Centre Català ... Valparaíso  
Centre Català ... Concepción  
Del. Comunitat Catalana ... Valdivia  
Del. Comunitat Catalana ... Cautin  
Del. Comunitat Catalana ... Curico  
Del. Comunitat Catalana ... Linares

## Colombia:

Comunitat Catalana ... Bogotá  
Comissariat Ensenyança Catalana ... Barranquilla

## Costa Rica:

Comunitat Catalana ... San José

## Cuba:

Centre Català ... Havana  
Club Separatista Havana ... Havana  
Revista "La Nova Catalunya" Havana  
Grup N.R. "Catalunya" ... Santiago

## Dominican Republic:

Club Català ... Ciudad Trujillo

Ecuador:

Del. Consell Nacional Català ... Guayaquil

Guatemala:

Del. Catalan Colony ... Guatemala City

Mexico:

Comunitat Catalana ... Mexico City

Acció Catalana ... Mexico City

“El Poble Català” ... Mexico City

Estat Català ... Mexico City

Orfeó Català ... Mexico City

Esquerra Catalana (Secretariat) ... Mexico City

Unió General de Treballadors ... Mexico City

Partit Socialista Català ... Mexico City

Uruguay:

Casal Català ... Montevideo

Hora Catalana de Radio ... Montevideo

Protectora Ensenyança Catalana ... Montevideo

Venezuela:

Catalan Delegagtion ... Caracas

U.S.A.:

Casal Català ... New York

“Free Catalonia” ... New York

On March 2, 1943, the United States Delegation of the Catalan National Council sent the following telegram to the aforementioned Catalan groups in the American Hemisphere:

“PRESUMING THAT POSSIBLE EMERGENCIES MAY SOON ARISE IT IS URGENT THAT YOU CABLE US YOUR AUTHORIZATION TO ACT BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS ON BEHALF GROUPS IN YOUR TERRITORY IN PRESENTING NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF CATALONIA”

The answers follow: (translation of cables & letters)

From Santiago de Chile:

CATALANS IN CHILE FULLY AUTHORIZE YOUR DELEGATION TO ACT ON OUR BEHALF BEFORE CHANCELERIES. (Signed: Agrupació Patriòtica; Centre Català Santiago: Centre Català, Valparaíso; Centre Català, Concepción; Delegations at Valdivia, Cautin, Curico and Linares; Revista “Germanor”; Hora Radial Catalana; Auxili Mutual; Revista “Noticiari Català”; Grup Escènic E. Vilanova; Club Esportiu Barcelona).

From Mexico City: (...)  
From Colombia: (...)  
From Cuba: (...)  
From Argentina: (...)  
From Uruguay: (...)  
From the Dominican Republic: (...)  
From Costa Rica: (...)  
From Ecuador: (...)  
From Venezuela: (...)  
From Guatemala: (...)

#### **APPENDIX No. 2b**

##### IMPORTANCE OF THE CATALANS IN LATIN AMERICA

(...)

##### POLITICAL HISTORY OF CATALONIA

(...)

##### CATALAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

(...)

##### STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF CATALONIA

(...)

##### CATALANS IN EXILE

(...)

##### CATALAN ORGANIZATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

(...)

#### **APPENDIX No. 3**

##### SPAIN A PLURINATIONAL COUNTRY

(...)

#### APPENDIX No. 4

##### PROCLAMATION OF THE CATALAN REPUBLIC by President Francesc Macià, on April 14, 1931.

“People of Catalonia!

“in the name of the people I proclaim the Catalanian state which, with all cordially, we shall endeavor to incorporate in the Federation of Iberian Republics.

“From now onward is formed the Government of the Catalanian Republic which will meet in the Palace of the Generalitat.

“Those who form the Government of Catalonia will now and henceforward be ready to defend the liberties of the Catalan people and to die for them. Let us hope that youo, Catalonians, will be prepared, like all of us to die for Catalonia and the Republic.”

(translated from the Catalan)

#### APPENDIX No. 5

##### PROCLAMATION OF THE CATALAN STATE by President Lluís Companys, on October 6, 1934.

“Catalans!

*“En aquesta hora solemne, en nom del poble i del Parlament, el Govern que presideixo assumeix totes les facultats del Poder a Catalunya (i) proclama l’Estat Català de la República Federal Espanyola...”*

Translation: (In this solemn hour, in the name of the people and the Parliament, the Government over which I preside assumes all the functions of power in Catalonia (and) proclaims the Catalan State of the Federal Spanish Republic ...)

#### APPENDIX No. 6

##### CATALONIA DEPRIVED OF HER NATIONAL RIGHTS UNDER THE SPANISH MONARCHY, THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE SPANISH FASCIST REGIME

- From the Decree by Philip V of Spain, in 1714, invoking the right of conquest to abolish the Catalan liberties:

*“Habiendo pacificado por las armas el territorio de Cataluña, toca a mi soberanía establecer gobierno en él.”*

(Having pacified by the arms the territory of Catalonia, it belongs to my sovereignty to establish a government in it.)

- From the Decree of the President of the Spanish Republic, of January 2, 1935, abolishing the Catalan home rule granted by the Spanish Cortes in 1932:

*“Art. 1º– Quedan en suspenso las facultades conferidas por el Estatuto de Cataluña...”*  
(The faculties granted to Catalonia by her Statute will remain in suspense...)

- From the Decree by Franco, April 5, 1938, definitively revoking the Statute (home rule) for Catalonia:

“...el Estatuto de Cataluña, en mala hora concedido por la República, dejó de ser válido, en el orden jurídico español, el día 17 de julio de 1936.

“...la entrada de nuestras gloriosas armas en territorio catalán... plantea el problema... de restaurar... el principio de la Unidad de la Patria... etc.”

(...the Catalan Statute, in an evil hour granted by the Republic, ended to be valid, in accordance with the Spanish laws, on July 17, 1936.

...the entrance of our victorious armies into the Catalan territory (\*) raises the problem... of restoring... the principle of the unity of the fatherland... etc.)

(\*) Note the invocation of the right of conquest in identical terms as Philip V, in 1714.

## APPENDIX No. 7

### SPAIN versus CATALONIA

Under the title “*España frente a Cataluña*“, A. Sieberer, an Austrian journalist, has published a well-informed book, from which we quote:

“In the XV century Castile had, within her domain established by force, riches, an success, all the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula... The simultaneous uprising of Portugal and Catalonia... was a sign of the exhaustion of the Castilian power. The peripheric forces started to surpass those of the center. Portugal gained her independence; Catalonia had to return to the Austro-Spanish yoke. The 1640 rebellion is a clear proof that Castile had not succeeded in her attempt to assimilate the Iberian peoples and merge them into an unified Spanish nation.

“Castilians have retained from their old days of glory a disproportioned arrogance. They consider themselves the backbone of Spain; they behave themselves as though they belonged to a higher degree of civilization entitling them to rule over the other races in Spain... As long as this arbitrary idea of values remains in the mind of the Castilians, there will be no peace in the country.

” (...)

” (...)

” (...)”

### THE POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE IBERIAN PEOPLES

The Catalan Society of Political, Economic and Social Studies, established in Buenos Aires, has issued the following statement, signed by Pelai Sala, President, Joan Cuatrecasas and P.Mas i Parera:

“The Iberian Peninsula forms a geographical group of peoples over which, at different times though history, one of them has tried to build a political unity. The results have been diverse. The fact that, in recent times, the attempt of establishing and consolidating such a political unity has been conducted under the form of an unitarian state, ignoring all ethnic and linguistic characteristics of the different Iberian peoples, has created much discontent and even violent reactions from the different groups towards the coadjutor for the Spanish state, namely, Castile.

” (...)

” (...)

” (...)

” (...)”

## APPENDIX No. 8

### THE POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA / TO ESTABLISH ORDER IN SPAIN

(...)

#### THE CATALAN ATTITUDE TO THE QUESTION OF A ROYALIST RESTORATION IN SPAIN

From the statement issued by the Catalan National Council in London: WHY THE CATALANS CANNOT BE PARTY TO A RESTORATION: THE MONARCHY CANNOT SOLVE ANY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF SPAIN – ITS FAILURE WILL CAUSE ANOTHER REVOLUTION.

(...) TO SUM UP:

The Monarchy will be supported only by the landed aristocracy of Castile, some generals, a group of international financiers, and perhaps some industrialists -but not by the majority of the people.

The Monarchy, therefore, will of necessity have to be an absolute and not a democratic regime.

Such a Monarchy will be unable to solve either the problem of the nationalities or any other fundamental problem of Spain.

The Monarchy will after a few years prove a failure, and the Spanish peoples will be thrown into revolution again.

So the Monarchy will ultimately fail even in what is its fundamental purpose: to keep order and prevent revolution.

These being logically predictable developments, it is not in the interest of the Catalans to embark on the dangerous adventure of a Royalist Restoration.

#### HOW TO REPLACE FRANCO IN SPAIN

(...) Therefore, the proposed formula could be summed up as follows:

- a) Diplomatic pressure on Franco by the United Nations, conminating him to give up his regime.
- b) Instauration of local governments in Castile, Catalonia, Basque Country and Galicia with the purpose of restoring law and order effect the passage to democratic life.
- c) Referendums in Castile, Catalonia, Basque Country and Galicia to determine their aspirations in the political reconstruction of the Iberian Peninsula.
- d) Constitution of an Iberian Committee in which the Castilian, Catalan, Basque and Galician delegates, in equal rights, will discuss de formula for the new Spanish or Iberian State, in accordance with the manifested will of their peoples.

“We are sure that the results of this procedure will be a smooth passage from fascism to democracy, without the occurrence of a bloody upheaval; a general satisfaction in every sector of Peninsula, at this first step towards freedom; and, finally, a Portugal can also be invited) and which will fit perfectly into the general reconstruction of Europe according to the plans of the United Nations.”

