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Euskal-Herria and the Kingdom of Nabarre: the Basque People and State against the imperialism

STEPPING-STONES: IDEOLOGICAL FUNDAMENTALS

(Extracts. In citations indicate always: [Iparla Publications.](#))

The intra-totalitarian transition between the first and the second Francoism, currently reigning, which crystallized in the “general elections”, June 1977, showed - without no possibility of being camouflaged with the least ambiguity - a reality that had until then been jealously guarded: the liquidation of the Spanish “republican and left-wing opposition” and its eagerly awaited integration (the so called “national reconciliation” or “historical synthesis of the opponents”) in the fascist system of domination that had won it in the war and in the post-war period; a system that the former, not being already able to reject or modify in its substance, did assume in its entirety in return for secondary modifications in its own benefit. In contrast to it the Peoples and States subdued by the Spanish imperialism continued to pose a real and perfectly active and operational opposition, because of being their national oppression the weakest and most irretrievable link in the established structure of national-imperialistic domination. Consequently, even though those Peoples had maintained a reservation “of principle” (indicatively covered under the claim of *immediate and provisional reinstatement* of the autonomous régime prior to the fascist victory) in wait for an eventual effective attitude of the Spanish “democratic opposition” against its own imperialism, nonetheless, in the light of the latter’s non-existence after its integration into the social base of the francoist régime, it was already clear that from that moment on those Peoples would have to fend for themselves. Under the circumstances the betrayal of these subjugated Peoples’ political bureaucracies - in order that they would provide their recognition of the reformed francoist régime as a democratic one - was the essential requirement so that the trickery of the “Transition” could operate and be imposed. And unfortunately that condition was fulfilled by obtaining their collaboration, which already had been pre-established from the unitary pacts of Paris in 1957-61 and Munich in 1962; thus allowing the continuity of fascism and ruining that opportunity to liquidate it.

Now then, the disappearance of any real Spanish opposition to the francoism did also imply the disappearance of the need to take into account its own previous positions or demands, which had until then been regarded in logical correspondence with the *structure* that should keep a democratic revolution against fascism in the assumed implication that it was going to be done with the assistance of that opposition, namely: a structure composed of sundry agents that collaborated on the basis of the respect for their respective purposes and means. Nevertheless this structure *was something that now did no longer exist*, beyond the Peoples and States subjugated by the Spanish imperialism. Therefore this determined the *possibility and necessity* of establishing hereinafter the national claims of those subjugated Peoples up to a decisive level of accomplishment of their independence, *completely aside from previous “autonomist” commitments* towards a “Spanish opposition” non-existent as such;

commitments whose purpose of hindrance was now laid bare and which it had never sincerely thought of honouring given its own - already it couldn't be hidden any more - pervasive and intractable imperialistic Nationalism, identical to the victorious Fascist Nationalism and integrated in it from the "Transition".

Nowadays, already forty years after those events (that only have been modified to be more and more strengthened each time, always in the same national-imperialistic direction), and once the foreseeable and - as it will be exposed - *foreseen* real reach of the "democracy to Spanish style" established with the second francoism has been disclosed, even for the most naïve observer, in all its disgusting imposture and corruption, to even consider the maintenance of any self-limitation in our national claim is simple suicidal madness, given the agonizing situation which our Country is confronted with as a result of another forty years of francoism. Therefore it is now high time so that we, leaving behind the already surpassed and now in addition disabling constraints of the past, do clearly establish the *ideological fundamentals* or *stepping-stones*: the *essential political positions* that we must keep - as a People subjugated by the fascist imperialism of Spain and France, and in exercise of all instruments provided in this respect by the international law - in pursuit of our national liberation; the only way, indeed, in which we can contribute to the weakening of the general imperialistic system and to the strengthening of democracy and peaceful coexistence in the World, *necessarily based upon the Freedom and national Independence of Peoples*.

1/ The Basque People/Euskal Herria: one more People in the world.

The Basque People/Euskal Herria, rooted from time immemorial in its current historical Territories that fully belong to it, is also the holder, as well as all the Peoples of the World, of a fundamental, original and infeasible right to live free in its own free territory. The Peoples do politically precede and legally constitute the States and the Governments.

The Euskera or Basque Language: *lingua Navarrorum* [the Language of the Navarrese], is the sole own language of the Basque People. Against the assertion of the agents of imperialism (widely diffused by the local Spanish broadcast television system that the collaborationists-autonomists do call "euskal irati-telebista"), the Euskera is not a "minority language": it is *the sole national language of the Basque People*. The Languages either they are national languages, and they succeed in surviving as such; or they are not so, and then they do not succeed at all. The "secondary, minority, local or regional" languages: such a thing does not exist and cannot exist; not more than their corresponding cultures and Peoples, of which the former are inseparable. The imperialism does know it, sometimes it even does say it; but its victims don't always realize of it and sometimes do fatally accept their own marginalisation, prelude to their liquidation.

The minorities neither are Nations or Peoples, nor have right of self-determination; they do not create right: they only do suffer it. As such, they are doomed. The hypocritical international conventions, exhortations and resolutions on "protection and rights of minorities, of regional or minority languages" etc. do not impress anyone and even less the

dominant States, which have it very clear what they want to do and they do it according to their possibilities. If they proceed with delay or hesitation it's because they cannot do otherwise and are merely awaiting for more favourable circumstances. And if they ever retreat it's only to better be able to jump at the first opportunity.

The fact that the ideology of the imperialism - about this one the same as about so many other crucial issues that will be exposed in this work - has been accepted and amplified by an indigenous political class (composed of incompetent fellows and/or collaborationists (defeatists, traitors and liquidators of the national principles of the subjugated Peoples) that participates in those operations, does show in practice the consequences of their guidelines: the offspring of their integration in the established totalitarian power. As we'll have the chance to expose more widely below, the imperialistic ideology is the imperialistic ideology; and its eventual spreading in Euskera neither does weaken the nature of the former, nor contribute to the empowerment of the latter but quite on the contrary in both cases. The marginalisation and destruction of the Basque language is a *direct and unavoidable consequence* of the criminal imposition of the imperialism of Spain and of France upon our People; and its full social and linguistic recovery: a natural and democratic objective, is *necessarily linked* to the abolition of the imperialism, inevitably incompatible with any democratic progress. As it is evident to anyone that has not closed his eyes to the imperialistic reality or that is not committed to the maintenance of it, in the ecosystem of the centennial nationalist imperialism of France and of Spain - as it already happened with their invasive predecessors Franks and Visigoths - there is not and there cannot be the smallest place for the Basque People and its language.

2/ The Kingdom of Navarre is the State of the Basque People.

“Since their appearance in History a fierce independence had always been the distinctive sign of the Basques. Rome never submitted them completely, nor did so the Visigoths; even less the Muslims.” The Basque People, in its own defence and that of its territory, has faced up to its aggressors all throughout History by means of various political and State structures; of which, the first one that there is kept evidence was the Duchy of Wasconia-Aquitaine.

At a time when the Arab imperialism (driven at that moment by the Umayyad Caliphate under the permanent totalitarian premise of a world-wide imposition of Islam) had already been imposed, among others, over the North-African Berber People and had demolished the Visigothic Kingdom in Hispania, the State of Wasconia-Aquitaine, under the leadership of “Eudes, prince of Aquitaine” (*Liber Pontificalis*), did halt the North-Pyrenean expansion of the Umayyad Arabs and their auxiliary troops - formed by elements of the Peoples that they had already subjugated and alienated - by its victory in the decisive Battle of Toulouse (721), capital town of the Duchy, and its participation in that of Tours-Poitiers (732).

Overflowed the Duchy of Wasconia by the subsequent and continuous attacks and depredations of the Franks, to which were joined those of the Gothic-Asturians from the west, and after having inflicted to the “Universal Empire” of that epoch its greatest defeats in

Orreaga/Errozabal (778 and 824), “the Basques, once again, proved that they were self-sufficient, and at the end of the 8th century or at the beginning of the 9th, at the very latest, they were also solidly established as a Kingdom”. “The Basques from the central Pyrenees, who were called Navarrese, lived by their side in their valleys. Finally also they constituted their own Kingdom that appears clearly by the year 900” with the name of Kingdom of Pamplona: the Kingdom of the Basques. The Kingdom of Nabarre, successor of the trans-Pyrenean Kingdom of Pamplona, is the most perfect political organization that the Basque People has achieved *in freedom*. The “de facto Government of Euskadi”, established in painful moments of internal tear driven by a new onslaught - this time from the Spanish, clerical and international fascism - against the Basque People, was also for its President a continuation of the Pyrenean State. “I place myself with the Pyrenees and with those who, for 410 years, did - at their own pace and with ideas of their time - fight in a relentless way, wanting to create and consolidate for the Basque State territory and form, consistency and existence”. (For a larger scope on the fundamental data of our history, see our work Notes on the historical evolution of the Basque People and State.)

The Kingdom of Nabarre: ignored by a purported “Basque political class” formed by incompetents and collaborationists who present the Basque People as “a People with the right to form a Nation” (“moderate nationalists”) or as a “Stateless Nation” (“radical nationalists”), remains nowadays the only State of we the Basques, who have never recognized or accepted any other. It is today the sole State of the Basque Nation.

3/ Aggression of French-Spanish imperialism against the Basque people and its State.

After the imperialistic pressure of Romans and Visigoths had disappeared, the expansionism of Franks and Hispanics, their despotism and absolutism, and the conceptions and ambitions of the medieval pontiffs and their favourite kings to a universal rule (*imperium*) clashed head-on with the foundations of the Pyrenean right and of the freedom and independence of Peoples. And it’s because the fact that the Country was not here - as it so occurred in many other States – a King’s “thing”: “The Country is not of the King’s but the King is of the Country’s”. According to a distinguished “historian” in the service of the Spanish imperialism, “The kingdoms were owned by the kings, who hold them at their disposal following the principle of male succession. [On the contrary] The King, in Navarra, keeping to the old roots, was neither crowned nor consecrated: placed on a shield, he was lifted thrice while his name was uttered aloud.” (L. Suarez Fernandez; *The origin of the Kingdom of Navarre: A journey through the Kingdom of Navarre from its birth up to the attainment of its end.*)

“Remain ready, you free people, so that the homeland be free” was the Commoners’ motto, as it appears in the Act of Federation of the Commoners’ Council with the Good Boroughs against the despotic Government of the consort to Queen Joanne I of Nabarre, the frankish King Philip IV “the Fair”; Obanos, Nabarre; 1297. (Original in Latin.) These ideas of popular freedom did also appear in the *Remonstrance of the Irish Chiefs to Pope John XXII* (1317),

and very notably in the Declaration of Arbroath (Arbroath Abbey, Scotland; 1320) also addressed to the same pope. (Originals also in Latin.) In times in which the christian theocracy did establish the principle of royal ownership over the Countries by divine delegation through the pope, and of the latter's power to deliver that property to another monarch even foreigner, those Declarations implied an outright rejection of such a fraud by denying the "right" of aggression and appropriation of Peoples and States and by denouncing the hideous crimes committed to achieve it, affirming instead people's freedom: even to choose another king of their own should the previous one did not defend them from those aggressions; something that the totalitarian and imperialistic powers, and the ideologists to their service, have always endeavoured to hide, combat and deny.

The Country of the Basques: the confederation of Vasconic Republics, Counties or feudal estates historically constituted around the Kingdom of Pamplona, suffered successive aggressions, occupations and dismemberments - ecclesiastically induced, supported and legitimised - that culminated in the great general offensives of warlike occupation in 1199 and 1512. The understanding between the Hispanic Kingdoms and the Church for the attack to the despised and hated Basque People and its State, both of them refractory to the theocratic and totalitarian conceptions of those popes and kings, made it possible - through papal excommunications and Spanish military aggressions - the final dismemberment of the Kingdom of Nabarre.

"[...]: one thing I find and draw as a very certain conclusion: that the language was always a companion of the Empire; and in such a way the former did follow the latter that they did together start, grow and flourish, and then joint was the fall of them both. [...]"

"[...], the most reverend father Bishop of Avila snatched the answer from me; and answering for me he said that after your Highness had put under her yoke many barbarian peoples and nations of odd languages, and with their defeat, those ones would need to receive the laws that the victor lays onto the defeated, and along with them our language; so through this my art they could come into knowledge of it, [...]. And so it is true that not only the enemies of our faith, who have the need to know the castilian language, but also the biscayne, navarrese, French, italian, and all the others who have some relations and conversation in spain and need of our language, if they do not come from childhood to learn it through use, they could the more easily learn it through this my work." (Prologue to the *Grammatica Antonii Nebrissensis*; A. Nebrija, 1492.)

"Waiting for the happy day when the whole world will speak French." (Zola.)

But the Spaniards and the French did not confine themselves to remain "waiting for the happy day when the Biscayne, Navarrese and all the others would come from childhood to learn" their language in Spain and France. According to the contemporary apologists of the conquest (and also the current ones), "the Spaniards invaded, subjugated, confiscated and retained the Kingdom of Navarre"; "Spain, regulator of the Orb, obtained Navarre by *ius gentium*, divine and human" etc. They all thus recognized the entity of "the Biscayne and Navarrese", of Nabarre and the Kingdom of Nabarre, as distinct from that of Spain and the

Spaniards. So did in their turn recognize it all the Kings “*de France et de Navarre*”: France was not Nabarre; neither Nabarre was France.

“Navarre is so low in its fancy after your most Reverend Lordship commanded to overthrow the walls [of the ramparts of Pamplona and the Kingdom’s castles], that there is no man daring to raise his head. [...] because it was a hard thing to provide keeping men in arms for every place. This way the Kingdom [of Nabarre] cannot be more subjugated and more subject, and none in that Kingdom will have boldness or daring to show up [in open rebellion].” (Letter from Colonel Villalba to Cardinal Cisneros; 1515.)

“If they do not surrender soon, I shall destroy Biscay down to its foundations.” (General Mola, March-1937.)

Terrorism of war and of occupation: first from Spain and afterwards from France, arriving up to deportation and bombing of towns; appalling crimes, imperialistic colonization and genocide; persecution, prohibition and contempt of the dominated People’s language, destruction of the subjugated Nation and of its national characteristics, and imposition of the language and imperialistic nationalism of the invader; illegal abolition of its Laws and Constitution, and annexation of the occupied State; exploitation and plunder of its natural wealth and of its cultural and productive resources; warlike and tributary confiscation, looting and pillage of the particular property; oppression and repression of the popular aspirations of freedom etc. etc. do constitute, since its inception until today, the foundation of French and Spanish presence in our Country.

Starting from this reality of pluri-centennial aggression and oppression, the constant work of the propagandists of the imperialism (often also Naturals of the occupied Country, Renegades at its service), which comes up to our days, has always consisted in denying the violent occupation and hideous crimes upon which it’s constitutively founded the Spanish- French domination of the Kingdom of Nabarre. Yet, as it is clear, the denial of the national reality of the Basque People, and the affirmation of the “natural and peaceful incorporation” of the Country of the Basques as a part of France and of Spain as well as of their “right” to occupy it and to establish in it (but not any longer in Cuba or Algeria, in the United Provinces or the Kingdom of Italy) “institutions, political parties and public representatives” that claim themselves to be French or Spanish and in addition “democratic”, do constitute a shameless historical-sociological falsification of the reality based on the “naturalness” of the “right of conquest” and in the corresponding reminiscence of the medieval doctrine of “just war”; a reality that, quite on the contrary, has been and is maintained only through the terror of imprescriptible crimes, fascism and military occupation.

The current French-Spanish political régime, maintained and developed through the monopoly of violence of its permanent armed forces (which have committed countless crimes in order to establish it), is the final result of the annexation, partition and repression of Peoples and States whose own and ancestral freedoms have been destroyed by the violence that founds the existing system: always at the service of a planned historical enterprise aimed at the destruction of those Peoples and States. Upon such “titles” and powers is founded the “right” that the modern agents of the imperialistic Nations do attribute themselves - by

promoting to this effect huge campaigns of mass alienation and hysteria characteristic of all totalitarian régimes - so as “to impose its will on another which we call imperialism”; to decide about good and evil; to dictate the public morality and law; to impose the rapine of their exactions and conscriptions: both of money and of blood that they have forced them to shed in the numerous imperialistic and colonial wars of Spain and of France; to qualify themselves however as “non-violent, righteous, good and decent people”, and those who resist against them, as “terrorists, malefactors, criminals, delinquents, violent and baseborn people”; to attribute homelands, identities, territory, frontiers, inhabitants, rights, duties and responsibilities; and to continue arranging by means of violence and terror the whole social, material and cultural life in the service of a permanent and deliberate enterprise of total genocide through “the rule of law and the right of the State that we’ve given us between ourselves”: the State, the right and the law of the Empire that they themselves have ruled for the others to endure.

Such is the régime that the bureaucracy of the Pnv-Eta group [“Basque nationalist Party/ Pnv”-“Euskadi ta askatasuna/Eta”] describes as a “democracy with a deficit”. These are the States that claim to be holders of justice, law and democracy, and - as such - worthy of our submission and respect. Yet the fascists, imperialists, colonialists and their henchmen are not respectable; they all are criminals of international common law: perpetrators, co-perpetrators, accomplices or beneficiaries of crimes against the laws of war, against peace and against humanity, intrinsically constituent of the régime that they defend and that defends them. As such, they have no rights. There cannot be freedom and democracy that are founded in the validity, ignorance, forgetfulness and forgiveness for the crimes of the imperialism and fascism, and in the results obtained through them.

Nevertheless the crimes “of the past”, just as the crimes of today, remain unpunished and in current force. They are not - as their authors and beneficiaries want to make believe when it suits them - a past history, without identity or continuity and relevance in the current social relations. Quite on the contrary, with them and by means of them were established, are constituted, do continue and are kept the actual social relations, the infra-structure and the supra-structure of the current régime of occupation. One cannot affirm this one without claiming the crimes that have built and do maintain it. One could not condemn those crimes while retaining the social formation imposed by the fascism and imperialism, without giving up the political, economic and ideological domination constituted by them.

4/ There are not Peoples that resist and Peoples that submit themselves to the imperialism: the Peoples do never submit or incorporate “themselves” to it, if they have strength to avoid it.

The imperialism is the extreme, more aggressive and oppressive species of violence, war and domination, despotism and totalitarianism. The various factors of domination do reinforce or counteract, join, follow and complement each other, and are present in different forms in each case; but they always, like the Horsemen of the Apocalypse, do ride together. Genocide of the

subjugated Peoples and rape of their women; nationalism, racism, colonialism, terrorism and fanaticism; political, religious, linguistic and cultural oppression; exploitation of class and sexist domination of men upon women, inherent to the imperialistic and colonial order; plunder, corruption and despoliation, discrimination and denial of freedom, of fundamental and inherent human rights and of all democracy are identical and constituent of imperialism.

The imperialism, in its different versions, is made up of war of aggression and terrorist violence of masses, conquest, occupation, dismemberment and annexation of lands and States, bombardment and destruction of towns and civilian settlements, crimes of war, against peace and against humanity; extermination, genocide, rape and racial, linguistic and cultural expansion-destruction of Peoples, and expulsion, deportation and colonization (substitution, plantation and assimilation) of populations; torture, murder and systematic State terrorism, threat, kidnapping, prison and taking of hostages, repression of masses, monopoly of violence and suppression of all fundamental freedoms; hunger (hunger and disease), subjugation and exclusion, seizure of persons and Peoples within impassable and impermeable borders, separation of families, sexual repression and direct or indirect sterilization; fire, plunder, extortion and despoliation, looting, exploitation and pillage of natural and productive resources; corruption, collaboration and betrayal, social, economic and political domination, ideological conditioning of masses by propaganda and psychological warfare, destruction of cultural heritage and of signs or symbols of identity; and violation of fundamental human rights and first and foremost of the right of self-determination of all Peoples: first of human rights, prior condition of them all and inseparable from the inherent right of legitimate self-defence. It's this way as have been founded and maintained the Empires: organizations of robbers and murderers on a large scale. However much the names of facts are changed to make the world believe that they are a different thing, the institutions created by the imperialism drip the blood of its countless victims, permanent testimony of the monstrous crimes of masses that have built them: crimes of war, against peace and against humanity.

The power established by means of war, terrorism and the law of the mightiest cynically affirmed; by means of military occupation, criminal conculcation of the fundamental and historical rights, contempt for the international right of free-disposition or self-determination of Peoples (first of human rights and precondition of them all), aggression against the integrity and independence of States, destruction of the national characters through violence and displacement of populations; and by means of the seizure on economy and culture: they all are the historical and sociological facts that are the base of the current political system of imperialistic occupation, and that do condition and sort all its forms. They are facts that the national-imperialistic ideology cannot assume and that must necessarily snatch from the consciences. In their place the imperialism must make enter and take root in the consciences the idea of the dominant Nation one and unique; the democratic, non-violent and non-nationalist origin and foundation of the colonial occupation; and the legitimacy of the State which is its perpetrator and beneficiary. It must reduce to nothing, even in idea, the subjugated Nation and State; present the democratic resistance of everybody who will not grovel under the imperialistic nationalism as fascist, aggressive, violent and "nationalist"; and discredit and defame all that's left of freedom, dignity and spirit of independence in the

oppressed People: A heavy task, even if everything is possible there where the monopoly of violence establishes and ensures the ideological monopoly!

The resistance of the Peoples against their domination by the imperialism is a perennial revolutionary struggle against the forces of oppression. The Peoples do resist, therefore they exist. They are not Peoples only because they exist; they are so and exist because they resist: the resistance is their mode of existence. Its Resistance itself makes that “a People is a People”, identifiable under the imperialistic aggression, occupation and terrorism. The imperialism is a criminal enterprise of nationalist domination against the freedom of Peoples, established and maintained through aggression: an action of State Terrorism which is carried out by means of wars of conquest, violation of fundamental human rights, and imprescriptible crimes of war, against peace and against Humanity. An enterprise which all the Empires of the world, their historians, legists and propagandists have called and still call “of national unification”. The struggle of the Peoples for their freedom is the greatest revolutionary force of History.

The ideology of the French-Spanish imperialistic Nationalism does - according to the respective versions - claim that the Basque People either did never exist or, if it ever did, disappeared in the more or less recent, diffuse and confused date in which it did voluntarily renounce - as it is taken for granted - its nationality to join France and Spain, separated in two by the “natural border” in the Bidasoa river (which no longer is so upstream the Endarlaza bridge) imposed by war and occupation. As far as France is concerned, it is postulated that the Basque People disappeared during the “Revolution”, when a part of “the Basques did freely abandon their nationality so as to voluntarily join the French one and indivisible People and become French” tout court; which Gipuzkoa and Biscay refused to imitate in their federalist (and therefore “counter-revolutionary”) proposal of accession. As regards Spain, it is intended that the corresponding incorporation-accession was manifested in the successive “voluntary unions” that followed the wars of conquest; which either never occurred, or were democratically validated, healed or consolidated it is not known how (the given version depends in each case on the shamelessness of he who “explains” it). And that it finally gained access to the democracy with the “constitutional pact” between the political Parties of the Spanish “transition”, through the régime “that we’ve all given ourselves”, it is: that they’ve given themselves for the others to suffer. Falsifications, lies, myths and nonsense are thus the obliged supporting resource of the imperialistic Nationalism in this Country.

As it is natural “the Basques are not Spaniards or French; the Spaniards and the French are not Basques”: something that occurs exactly the same as regards any other People. Now then, once a Nation has decided to undertake a national-imperialistic enterprise against the freedom of another Nation, there strikes on it as an “evidence” the idea that what does not exist, does have no rights; therefore denying the national entity - id-entity - of a People is the first step for undertaking its liquidation.

The *anticipated denial* of their identity and their very existence serves ideologically to the task of liquidation of Peoples undertaken by the imperialism, which begins by denying them in theory so as to better be able to destroy them in practice. It is the supreme expression of the essence of imperialistic nationalism and racism: the scorn and denial of other Peoples. The

imperialism needs to deny the Basque People as a People, as a Nation and as a State, so that their subjects can be Spaniards or French. According to the legislation of the French imperialism, in the territory of “the Republic” the Basques do not exist at all, there is only “the French people”. In the legality of the Spanish imperialism the recognition of the existence of “Basques and navarrese” consists of a simple ideological trick, which defines them as such only insofar as they are its own nationals dwelling in certain parts of its territory, namely: on condition of being *Spaniards* administratively recognized as residents of the territory of four Spanish provinces. In the same ideological vein, the “moderate and radical” indigenous collaborationists do claim that “they are Basques and Nabarrese all persons who live and work here”, who are divided into “nationalists and non- nationalists: all of them Basques with different sensibilities”. “We have proved that one can be a Basque and Spaniard” (or Pakistani), they say. But the only thing that they prove is the ideological fakery, traps and misunderstandings that the monopoly of propaganda, under the protection of the monopoly of violence, disseminates without possibility of reply and with the help of the Renegades and the “moderate and radical” Collaborationists.

They say likewise that it is possible being a Basque in many ways; however it’s not possible to be so in all, or in any way. The truth is that nobody can be a Basque, and be at the same time a Spaniard or French; just in the same way as it’s not possible to be a Spaniard, and at the same time French or German. No one can have two nationalities, belong to two States, two Nations or two Peoples all at once; even less when one of them denies (whether at all or on an equal footing) the other’s existence. On the other hand, as it is evident, a People is not constituted by ascription to a territory; in such a way that - for the sake of argument - the draining of the Territories of the Country of the Basques (*Euskaldunen Lurraldeak*) and their restocking with three (or thirty) millions of Chinese or any other People would not turn these ones into Basques. Quite on the contrary, it is the territory that is determined by ascription to the People who inhabit it; which, by the way, in the case of the Basques does occur in a peaceful and uninterrupted form since time immemorial.

The recuperation and falsification of the subjugated Peoples’ identity signs are mechanisms that do contribute to confuse their social base: deceived, helpless and betrayed by a purported intellectual and political class composed by incompetents and sell-outs in the service of the imperialism. To subjugate a Country by means of military aggression, imprescriptible crimes and centennial domination; to deprive it of the control of its economy and frontiers; to colonize it, pursue and destroy its national features so that they become assimilated to those of the occupiers, their colonists and renegades who present themselves as “natives” of the Country and with a “legitimate right” to represent it, and then deny this criminal reality of imperialistic oppression and exploitation and call it all “pluralism, co- existence and democracy”: such is the revolting task proper of the imperial-colonialists, the National-socialists and their “scholar” collaborators in politics, judiciary or university teaching, whether these fellows - either foreigners or indigenous - be fully conscious of their miserable task at the service of imperialism or weak minded individuals.

The racist and imperialistic Nationalism of those who built “the empire on which the Sun never set” and spoke of “the Spaniards of both hemispheres” and the “Day of the Race”; and

that of those who have indoctrinated Aboriginal children in Africa and Asia on “our ancestors the Gauls” (as it was taught to the students, “at that times France was called Gallia”), that’s to say: a criminal Nationalism based on the delirium involved in the affirmation of the immanent sacred and eternal character of the own Nation stretching historically backwards (= retrojection) over those of the others on the grounds of “inheritance” of earlier Empires, or of merely begging the question, drove them to destroy “barbarian peoples and nations of odd languages”, races and civilizations at a world-wide scale, and to impose on them by force their own language and identity. Nonetheless it’s those same Spanish and French National-imperialists: hypocritical or fool fascists and their programmed zombies “of the white hands”, along with their military criminals of the white gloves, who have the impudence to accuse the small subjugated Peoples (which on anyone want to impose themselves, having trouble enough with resisting the terrorist and racist colonization of such aggressors) of keeping an “identity nationalism”.

Today as yesterday, fascist bands in uniform or without it, whose functional criminal insanity will not face any clinical-penal treatment, are still rampant at ease through this Country, trampling its people in a complete normality. And, today as in the past, they are Spain and France: historically predatory and genocidal Nations to a planetary scale against either pagan, muslim or christian Peoples and States, those which continue not being able to bear the *Fundamental Rights* and even the very existence of the Nations that have had the misfortune of being their neighbours, scapegoats which the former have decided to swallow and to which - behind a mask of goodness, love for God and neighbour, peace and democracy - they cynically accuse of “violence and terrorism” while destroying them with their State violence and Terrorism, as they have done with so many others throughout their bloody history.

All of this is not too surprising insofar as it corresponds to the “classic” French-Spanish national-imperialistic system, which these Countries did establish all over the world through the affirmation of their “right of conquest” based on the “just war” theory. The current novelty, after the intra-totalitarian transition, consists in the appearance of some indigenous political bureaucracies formed by corrupt and/or incapable traitors; which, after having accepted for forty years the submission to the imperialism, have turned themselves into agents at its service dedicated to hiding this “classic” imperialism and to making people believe that it consists in a democratic régime. For the collaborationism-institutionalism, from the traditional Pnv to the Eta, the imperialistic aggression and occupation do not exist nor preclude, therefore, the “legitimate, non-violent and democratic” nature of the régime. They see in it a “deficit”, but this - as they say - does not affect its character, essentially democratic and non- violent at the same time.

This involved bringing the people in the first place to accept the “Constitutions” of France and of Spain as “democratic” ones, despite the fact that they are based on centennial military imposition and on the violation of the Fundamental Rights of the Basque People and State: absolutely denied in them as subjects of international law. And in the next place, to participate in their totalitarian “general elections” as if we the Basques were French or Spaniards; being therefore internationally and “democratically” assigned as Spaniards or French by our own actions, and thus recognizing the non-existence among us of any kind of

imperialism and of any international problem. In return for it, *and after* such bureaucracies had led the people to recognize as “democratic” all previously said, the Spanish imperialism (not so the French one) has installed some “autonomous institutions” that all of them do call “Basque government” and “navarrese government”, which consist in a clientele-patronizing system of the corruption and political falsification that - behind an appearance of “self-government” - hides the reality of the usual Spanish imperialism on the Basque People; an imperialism which is in this way comfortably maintained hidden thanks to the betrayal, corruption and/or incapability of these bureaucracies. Thus the Spanish imperialism itself doesn't even have to worry about denying its own imperialism, since they are the agents at its service within the subjugated People: officially components the “autonomous governments”, who do so for it. It is the perfect solution. We will have the opportunity to expose these central issues in this work.

The Peoples which do not build, preserve or restore their own State do not exist for the “international community” of the dominant States; they are impostors, “weak-minded”, national and international delinquents. “A People that at this late stage of History still does not have its own State, does not deserve our losing time talking about it”; the only decent thing it can do - they seem to say to us others from among that “respectable community” - is disappear for not complicating the things to Engels or making waste time to Hegel.

The race for the freedom or the destruction of the Peoples has entered already the home stretch, since the space is being exhausted, the time is running out, and the deadlines are met. Fascism is today the terminal, finished, necessary and inevitable form of imperialistic Nationalism; because the systematic enterprise of subjugation and liquidation of States, Peoples and Nations, which is meant to be absolute, total and final, cannot already continue without resorting to the more ‘sophisticated’ totalitarian forms of repression and ideological conditioning of masses, intrinsic to fascism. Thus all pay the consequences of the imperialistic enterprise, because it ends by turning against the predatory Peoples themselves: “A People who oppresses another one cannot be free”. The definitive victory of the imperialistic Nationalism implies, sometimes in a very short time, the irreversible and irreparable destruction of States and Civilizations, Nations and Races, pluri-millennium Cultures and Languages.

For the small subjugated Peoples the victory through disarmament or destruction of the enemy is impossible; only through national resistance they can avoid the defeat and prevent the own destruction. There is but only one means for them to escape their fatal destiny; the dominant Nations do know it, although the dominated ones don't always know or want to know it: the strategic qualification and general integration of the resources of their social basis in a coherent policy of democratic resistance and national liberation; and the construction or restoration of their own State Institutions. State institutionalization and strategic qualification and implementation are the only possible alternative to submission and genocide. The eventual compensatory advantages that the Peoples can produce in order to palliate their weakness come from the use of elements that are favourable to them in the structural asymmetry of the imperialistic system of domination. They refer to the “moral” factors of the conflicts: motivation and conviction, determination and resolution, lucidity in

the appreciation of the situation and the forces in presence, correct intuition and perception of the reality, and ability to react with initiative, decision, anticipation and adaptation. These are the cards that should have - that has or does not have - the national resistance against the international imperialism, colonialism and fascism.

5/ Fundamental Human Rights.

The Fundamental Human Rights (HHR) are inherent, original, immediate, unconditional, continuous, permanent, non-transferable, inalienable, un-renounceable and indefeasible; they do condition, preside over and subordinate the whole issue of violence, peace and policy in general. Being *constituents of all freedom and democracy*, they are not to be submitted to voting or decision; they do not to depend on petition or concession, grant or condition; they are not a matter of choice nor are referred to “majorities or minorities”: they just are either naturally exercised, or criminally violated. The affirmation of a fundamental right “of an agreed exercise” constitutes an imperialistic falsification. There is nothing to be agreed in the case of a fundamental right, and even less “its exercise” since it is just this: its exercise, what constitutes the essence of the right. The introduction of a caesura, of a separation between the HHR and their exercise is a clumsy imperialistic hoax designed so as to destroy the nature of such rights, “from which it’s not possible to abdicate even with the own consent”. It is a delusion that, aimed first and foremost to stop the International Right of Self-Determination of Peoples, in our Country - something unheard of - has been adopted and is served by those ones who claim to defend it. Its sheer purpose is to establish an indefinite moratorium in favour of the imperialism, taken as *the sole juridical framework from which to start: a criminal juridical framework that the latter did accept (Pact of Munich, 1962) as a democratic one* already from even before the Spanish intra-totalitarian transition, and which they continue being unable to abandon not even in idea.

“Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; Peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. ‘Self-determination’ is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of actions which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril. We cannot have general peace for the asking, or by the mere arrangements of a peace conference. It cannot be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful States. [...]

“This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiances and their own forms of political life.” Etc. (From President Wilson’s Address to the Congress of the USA, 11- February-1918.)

The ideas of the President of the United States on self-determination led him to establish as a dogma of all his international policy the principle that “the Peoples are the ones who have the right to dispose of their own destinies”. A first distortion/falsification of self-determination, which appeared from its very formulation, was to make it equivalent to the “plebiscite”,

“consultation”, “vote”, “suffrage” etc. However, those procedures had already had perfectly documented precedents and what was meant with them was to legitimize a *de facto* situation derived from warlike acts. This is what was done already since the French “Revolution” in 1792, and by Napoleon III in 1860, so as to give a “legal” appearance to the incorporation of the Duchy of Savoy to France:

“When the plebiscite is imposed as a means of covering with juridical and legal appearances what is the work of violence, nobody can even put into question the wrongfulness of the procedure. The idea of justice is completely contradictory with the idea of violence. Laurent is quite right in saying that ‘what characterizes the change of nationality in the post-war annexations is the fact that the will of those who lose their ancient homeland, and acquire a new one, does not play in it any role’; and this happens even in the case in which the annexed populations are consulted and emit their vote, because they do so in a state of moral and material coercion that contradicts completely the freedom, which is the essential foundation for the act of suffrage. Nothing more exact than that great irony of De Maistre, when analysing what had been the plebiscite to legitimize the annexation of Savoy to France, in saying: ‘that the Savoyards were free to say *yes*; that is, that there had been proceeded in such a way that they were not be free to say *no*.’

“And it’s so that when the Nations or Peoples trust upon weapons the resolution of their differences, through this only fact cannot be invoked another law than that of force; not being worth in front of it those theoretical subtleties of [R. J.] Pothier and Velette when affirming that the natives of the annexed country do voluntarily change their owner and nationality because they recognize expressly or tacitly a new sovereign, since the victorious State does always leave the defeated in freedom to emigrate or expatriate. This freedom is a lying freedom, is the freedom of death or despair, abandoning the loves of home, of family, of property, of the country where is born that who is called a free citizen!” (Rafael Altamira.)

Thus, the territories of East-Prussia continued belonging to Germany in 1920 through a “plebiscite of self-determination” that, held on the sociological reality previously imposed by the Teutonic imperialism (see the paradigmatic case of Allenstein/Olsztyn), gave the result that was to be expected; all of which did its bit to the set of causes that triggered the following World War II. Hitler himself invoked the “self-determination of the German people” in order to annex to Germany the Sudetenland. As it is evident, this nothing had to do with a real self-determination, based first and foremost in the withdrawal of the forces of occupation of the annexed Country and in the restoration of its own and denied independence and legality prior to the annexation by the occupying imperialism. However the imperialism establishes by begging the question its own reality as an undisputed and “natural” fact on the basis of its “ancient” occupation of the Peoples, States and Territories that it has annexed; and the patriots who claim the independence, if they are perchance able to overcome the suppression imposed by the established régime and set forth their claim, are officially rejected as “foreign agitators”. This is how the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Realm, count of Brockdorff-Rantzau, exposed his Country’s refusal to abandon East-Prussia and even to make any plebiscite there, in the Counter-Proposals of the German Delegation to

the Draft of Peace Treaty at the Paris Conference, prior to the Treaty of Versailles that put an end to I World War while creating the conditions for II WW:

“The right of self-determination of nations must not be a principle which is applied solely to the prejudice of Germany, it must rather hold good in all States alike and especially be also applied where populations of German race wish to be united to the German Empire. [...]

“Almost the entire province of West Prussia with the exception of a few districts (Kreise) in the East and West is to be annexed to Poland. Even a portion of Pomerania is to be torn away from Germany without the slightest ethnographical justification. [Yet] West Prussia is an old German territory; the Order of the Teutonic Knights has stamped it for all time with German character. [...] The cession of the greater part of West Prussia would completely separate East Prussia from the German Empire. [...]

“East Prussia, with a German population of about 1 1/2 millions, is to be separated bodily from the German Empire and, economically speaking, is to be delivered completely into the hands of the Poles. It is bound to become impoverished and accrue eventually to Poland. Germany can never allow this.

“In Southern East Prussia the presence of a population whose mother tongue is not German is given as a reason for demanding a plebiscite in this region (Articles 94 and 95). This region is nevertheless not inhabited by an incontestably Polish population. The fact that in isolated localities a language other than German is used cannot be taken into consideration, for similar cases are to be observed in the oldest State units: the Bretons, the Welsh and the Basques may be mentioned. The present boundaries of East Prussia have been established for about 500 years. [...]. This population has, aside from a group of foreign agitators, never expressed a demand for separation from Germany, and therefore no reason exists for changing the governmental and economic circumstances of this territory.” (Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, The Paris Conference, 1919, Volume VI, Document 89.)

The authentic free disposition or self-determination of the Peoples is their factual possibility to govern and develop themselves as such Peoples peacefully, according to their own will and without any external interference or imposition established by a foreign power; which, should there occur, must be nullified and reverted so as to restore the legal original state of those Peoples. This obviously can only be achieved if they are placed in the state of their pristine liberty that was taken from them by imperialism: illegal and criminal in itself and in its consequences that can never bring for it a gained advantage. That's to say: self-determination can only occur on the basis of national independence of Peoples in the face of all colonial and foreign domination. If on the contrary a People is subject to a foreign domination, that's to say: to the imperialism of another Power, it obviously makes impossible self-determination. Imperialism is the denial of the principle of self-determination or independence of Peoples, just in the same way as the slavery is the denial of the principle of freedom of the individual. Imperialism is the opposite and the denial of Self-Determination or Independence of Peoples: if there is imperialism/slavery, there is no Self-Determination/Freedom.

Without a *prior* national independence from all foreign domination it is not possible the Self-determination of a subjugated People; just like without the *prior* abolition of his slavery it is not possible the freedom of the enslaved individual. So the first condition in order that a subjugated People can get to self-determine itself, i.e.: to exercise its Self-Determination, is not the realization of a plebiscite etc. but the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces and the entire apparatus of imperialistic-colonialist subjugation of the occupying Power, namely: it must be *previously* placed in a situation of real national independence; in the same way as an individual subject to slavery cannot be free unless he is *before* freed of his chains. The refusal of imperialism to withdraw its occupation forces does not only show its true despotic nature, visible from its very origins and real constitution established upon armed aggression; it also shows its deep conviction that, despite the elapsed centuries since then and in spite of massacres, repression and colonization, its armed presence is the only thing that guarantees and makes it possible the continuity of its domination/ exploitation on the occupied and annexed Peoples, States and Territories, and the protection for the agents at the service of its criminal enterprise: the indigenous renegades and the colonies of population from the metropolis.

Yet in a world founded on HHRR there is not “right of imperialism”: there is crime of imperialism, and it is imprescriptible. Therefore against the imperialism, that’s to say: against the denial of Self-determination or national Independence, there emerges the infeasible *right of self-determination* (RSD). Free Peoples in their own free territory is the basic sociological fact that the RSD does protect, being radically opposed to the criminal “right of imperialism”. Even though the observance of the RSD does not necessarily ensure the observance of all HHRR, nevertheless its violation does ensure that of the others.

There are imprescriptible and inherent rights of Peoples or Nations, as there are imprescriptible and inherent rights of humans. The fundamental and infeasible right of all Peoples is the right of self-determination or independence, whose corollary in the case of aggression is the right of self-maintenance or legitimate self-defence. The right of independence, free disposition or self-determination of all Peoples is a fundamental human right, not a right derived, secondary, conditioned and constituted by any other previous right. No additional constituent act, on the part of free or subjugated Peoples, or of other States or Organizations (even the international ones), makes any sense in order to constitute what is already constituted. The RSD of Peoples does precede all recognition and does not depend on it. If the fundamental rights were to depend on their recognition in order to exist, then there would not be fundamental rights. Proposing that the imperialism should recognize the precedent RSD of the People that it has dominated is like proposing that the thief should recognize the precedent right of ownership that he has stolen.

The rights, very especially the fundamental ones: A) are not based on the consent of the obligor nor depend on it; B) are not product of democracy, since, quite on the contrary, it is democracy that is constituted by the observance of HHRR and exists only by virtue of them, and the RSD is the first of HHRR and the precondition of them all; and C) are imposed unilaterally. “The unilateral proclaiming of independence is fascism”, say the fascists and the agents of the imperialism in the States that it has occupied. But a “right of self-determination”

that arises or is founded in the “bilateral” decision with the obliged State, it is: the offender occupying imperialistic State, or whose “exercise” should be “agreed” with it, is not right of self-determination nor right of nothing, it’s only a functional mockery. The fundamental rights: inherent and original, do exist and compel and are to be observed with or without and anyway *before* all recognition. Making derive their fulfilment from the recognition by anyone, and even less by the imperialistic occupying State, is to deny and destroy the RSD; and proposing the preliminary recognition of what is not observed nor is meant to be observed, a foolishness.

A fundamental right does not depend on any voting (a mechanism that the imperialistic ideological falsification presents as “democracy”) but does precede and condition it: otherwise that right would not be fundamental but founded by the voting, and the “right to vote” would then be the fundamental right; which is absurd. Of course the hatred (and self-hatred) of national independence is something inseparable from the imperialism and from its induced pathological syndromes, typical of fanatics and Renegades; but of course this is irrelevant to the case.

No “majority” has any legitimacy against the HHRR in general and against the RSD of Peoples in particular: against their right to live free in an own Homeland, on an own territory and in secure borders. To make depend the RSD on a “consultation”, whatever it may be, is to deny the RSD. The Basque People’s opinion - or any other’s - on the RSD in nothing affects the validity of the RSD, which does not at all depend on such an opinion. Neither the Basque People nor any other else have *any right to decide* nor has *anything to vote* as regards the contents of the right of self-determination, which is a fundamental and inherent right of all Peoples and that, just because of its being so, does precede any decision and upon which there is nothing to decide. The Basque People has nothing to express, has not any “right” in this regard. The “consultation in order to find out the opinion of the Basque People about the RSD” is the most forced evasive and dilatory way of falsifying the RSD for the benefit of the imperialism.

According to an insistent formula of the United Nations’ General Assembly Resolutions (UNGAR), the right of freedom, self-determination or free disposition *of all* Peoples: *recognized, not constituted*, by the United Nations (UN), is the first of HHRR and prior condition of them all. There is no in this issue valid place for distortion, manipulation or postponement:

“*Whereas* the right of peoples and nations to self-determination is a prerequisite to the full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights, [...] *The General Assembly recommends* that: 1. The States Members of the United Nations shall uphold the principle of self-determination of all peoples and nations;” etc. [UNGAR 637 A (1952).]

6/ The right of self-determination of all Peoples is the same thing as their right of independence against/from/in front of the imperialism.

In the political order, the imperialism (i.e.: the “right” of imperialism and its corresponding “rule of imperialistic law”), and the generally called right of free disposition or self-determination of all Peoples and Nations are constitutively correlative and antagonistic concepts: none of them can be or exist without and against the other one.

The (“right”, i.e.: crime of) actual or virtual imperialism constitutes (is the constitutive condition for) the right of self-determination: without actual or virtual imperialism and without imperialists there is no right of self-determination, nor any need of it either. The right of self-determination constitutes (is the constitutive condition for) the crime of imperialism: without right of self-determination there is no crime of imperialism. The imperialism is the correlative opposite of the national independence or self-determination of Peoples. The national independence or self-determination of Peoples is the correlative opposite of the imperialism. There are no rights without agent and patient subjects. The agent of the crime of imperialism is the patient subject of the right of self-determination, held by all attacked and occupied Peoples and States.

The imperialism is the theoretical and practical denial, the violation of the self-determination or independence of Peoples: first of HHRR and prior condition of them all; and the self-determination or independence of all Peoples is the (ontological) denial, the opposite of imperialism. The imperialism, in depriving the assaulted People of the first of its HHRR and turning it into the patient subject of the aggression, activates the *original right* of independence of that People, antagonistic of the imperialistic aggression; therefore from that same moment this People becomes the agent of the right of self-determination or independence, whose patient subject is the imperialism. So, the crime of imperialism does immediately constitute in its counterpart the RSD: If there is imperialism, there is RSD; if there is no imperialism, there is no RSD (nor any need of it, either).

The eventual effectiveness in time of the forced *de facto* imperialistic situation does not thereby make the RSD repealed (as it will be more widely exposed in point 18), and the mere persistence or the emergence of a Movement of National Resistance claiming the independence of the attacked People is reason enough for the existence of a RSD which is indefeasible, as imprescriptible are the crimes that were committed in its violation; violation that from the beginning of the aggression-occupation constitutes a continued crime of imperialism.

The imperialistic ideology has always tried to reduce, confuse and replace the *original and unconditional* RSD of all Peoples with purported *derived and limited* rights to the autonomy, federation or free association; however the RSD is not such things, and cannot therefore be reduced to or replaced by such legal forms. Of course it was not so for Lenin:

“[T]he self-determination of nations means the political separation of these nations from alien national bodies, and the formation of an independent national state. Later on we shall see still

other reasons why it would be wrong to interpret the right to self-determination as meaning anything but the right to existence as a separate state". (Lenin; *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, 1914.)

All this did clearly materialize in what he calls "the right to secession": "Let us state first of all that however meagre the Russian Social-Democratic literature on the 'right of nations to self-determination' may be, it nevertheless shows clearly that this right has always been understood to mean the right to secession. [...] To sum up: As far as the theory of Marxism in general is concerned, the question of the right to self-determination presents no difficulty. No one can seriously question the London [International Congress] resolution of 1896¹, or the fact that self-determination implies only the right to secede," etc. (Lenin; *ibid.*)

His claims that the RSD is not the "right to autonomy" (much less the so-called "cultural extra-territorial autonomy") are constant: "On leaving the 1903 Congress, Rosa Luxemburg's friends [the Polish Marxists Warszawski and Hanecki] submitted the following statement: 'We propose that Clause 7 [now Clause 9] of the draft programme read as follows: § 7. *Institutions guaranteeing full freedom of cultural development to all nations incorporated in the State.*' (P. 390 of the Minutes.) Thus, the Polish Marxists at that time put forward views on the national question that were so vague that *instead of* self-determination they practically proposed the notorious 'cultural-national autonomy', only under another name! This sounds almost incredible, but unfortunately it is a fact." Etc. (Lenin; *ibid.*)

As regards invoking the "right to federation", as an alternative to self-determination, this makes no sense and it is as worth as invoking one's right to marry a person who does not want to accept that spouse. All this is expressed by Lenin thus:

"By the way, it is not difficult to see why, from a Social-Democratic point of view, the right to 'self-determination' means *neither* federation *nor* autonomy (although, speaking in the abstract, both come under the category of 'self-determination'). The right to federation is simply meaningless, since federation implies a bilateral contract. It goes without saying that Marxists cannot include the defence of federalism in general in their programme. As far as autonomy is concerned, Marxists defend not the 'right' to autonomy but autonomy itself, as a general universal principle of a democratic state with a mixed national composition, and a great variety of geographical and other conditions. Consequently, the recognition of the 'right of nations to autonomy' is as absurd as that of the 'right of nations to federation'." (Lenin; *ibid.*)

In any case, it's evident that the eventual free association, confederation or federation with an independent State imply the previous independence required to be able to freely stipulate the association, confederation or federation. (The irrationality characteristic of the imperialistic and fascist propaganda forces to make of truism a forcible and recurrent form of ideological criticism.)

¹"This resolution reads: 'This Congress declares that it stands for the full right of all nations to self-determination [*Selbstbestimmungsrecht*] and expresses its sympathy for the workers of every country now suffering under the yoke of military, national or other absolutism.' Etc."

Less place is still left for these tricks and confusions since the International Law declared by the UN has *recognized* that the RSD is not the right to autonomy nor the right to federation or confederation; nor is “the right to decide” nor - strictly speaking and contrary to Lenin - the right to secession/separation either, as we shall see later. And this is so because, properly speaking, there cannot be separation between those who, by their having undergone an imperialistic domination, *have never been legally united* but “they have under the Charter [of the UNO] a status separate and distinct from the territory of the State administering” the purported union. [UNGAR 2625 (1970)]

Under an imperialistic régime there is not and cannot exist “separatism” of a subjugated People; there is RSD. The RSD is purely and simply the right of independence against/from/ in front of the imperialism, exercised by a subjugated People and eventually its State, which have *never* been united to it.

Those who - whether individuals or social groups with political plans or aspirations - in a Country occupied by the imperialism do - in theory or in practice - deny or stand out against its not falsified RSD, which it is purely and simply the right of independence against any form of imperialistic political domination and exploitation, do automatically and objectively constitute themselves by their own choice in agents of the imperialism, and exclude themselves and are not part of the subjugated People insomuch as political agent of the RSD. The same happens with those who defer or subordinate its vindication in the name of “humanitarian” or “social” goals supposedly priority or urgent: simple camouflage and pretexts for agitation groups formed by Colonists and Renegades, organized in “labour-political” branches of the metropolis on which they depend for everything, and whose function in the service of the Nationalism and social-imperialism is already a classic in this Country. Here, the same as everywhere, the imperialism is the fundamental contradiction, and the priority and utmost urgency is the fight against it. The fundamental domination that the imperialism constitutes, in violating *by its mere existence* the fundamental freedoms and HHRR, does necessarily determine the social cohesion of all democratic sectors of the attacked People: peasants, fishermen, employees-freelancers, professionals or intellectual, small national bourgeoisie...

In an occupied Country under an imperialistic régime of military occupation there can only be place for two real Parties: that of the integration into the dominant power, and that of the Resistance. This must be necessarily formed on the unanimous condemnation of that régime as imperialistic and fascist, and on the unanimous affirmation of the right of self-determination or independence of the subjugated People, with all its implications; which are based on the demand for unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the imperialistic and colonialist occupying forces and apparatus of subjugation. These are the positions that are to be necessarily *maintained by all the popular and democratic sectors that do integrate that Resistance*, since they are the only ones that can furnish it with a strategic level, irrecuperable by the imperialism. Apart from them there can only be an infra-strategic “opposition” that is fatally recuperated by the régime through its various auxiliary agents: provocateurs and demagogues in its service; all of which should be avoided at all costs.

Without a Resistance of a strategic level against fascism and imperialism the democratic opposition and the HHRR do disappear; because the maintenance of the imperialistic “legality”, on the one hand, and democratic opposition and HHRR, on the other, are contradictory terms. The imperialism, this is: the violation of the right of independence, free disposition or self-determination of all Peoples, first of HHRR and precondition of them all, constitutes the *fundamental* contradiction and the oppression and exploitation of classes at an international level; which poisons and prevents any democratic progress. Any attempt to raise the *accessory* claims (whether it be in the name of “feminism” or “pensions”) against or above that of the RSD is an imperialistic manoeuvre to weaken, delay and finally prevent the emancipation of the subjugated Peoples, and of course also the authentic Women's emancipation and that of the disadvantaged classes.

The imperialistic aggression makes victims among all the attacked Country's nationals without sexual distinction, beyond the usual, regular and systematic procedures: rape, for women; and forced labour until death by exhaustion or direct murder, for men. The bombing of cities is much more “egalitarian”: bombs do equally kill, maim and injure women and men, children and elderly. It is imperialism the conflict that has caused and continues to cause the great hecatombs of Humanity: genocides, massacres, displacement and starvation of entire Peoples, which have affected their victims up to turning them into beings exploited, alienated, colonized and deprived of their fundamental rights; and therefore which imposes the nationwide unity of the attacked Country against the continuation of the political régime and achievements attained by means of the imperialistic aggression. In a Country under an imperialistic occupation the emancipation of Women depends first and foremost on the abolition of imperialism.

On the contrary, to claim that the incorporation of women to the collaboration, management or direction of an imperialistic Country - as it is the case of Spain and France - is a step forward in the “feminist” empowerment of women, it is either dementia or sarcasm, and shows the enormous power of mental alienation of masses that there have the modern monopolies of ideological indoctrination. If the army of occupation of an imperialistic Country were eventually directed - majority or even completely - by women officers; or even if in that Country the Head of the State was occupied by a woman and the whole Government formed also by women-Ministers, as well as the Supreme Court and other magistracy, all this would not alter the fact that it is an imperialistic and criminal Country.

(The obscene imperialistic “feminism” of the recent champion-women of Falange-PsoE is tantamount to the imperialistic “socialism” that the Spanish and French national- communists and national-socialists did always maintain: in Nabarre, Cuba or “Algeria, an integral part of the French People”. The repression in Algeria, fully supported by PsF-PcF, did invoke the right of self-determination of the French People against terrorism; because, where there are no more People than the French one, “France cannot fight against itself”.)

No sake, most noble though it can be, can justify an alignment of democratic political forces along with agents or groups that hold the *fundamental* positions of the imperialism and/or reject its condemnation, as it has been described. The international right of self-determination of all Peoples is the fundamental right that they all have to their national

independence against/from *all form* of imperialistic subjugation and its derivative ones: of class, sex, religion etc., which are in their turn reinforced by the imperialism. Under a foreign occupation régime, the claim and application of the RSD (or on the contrary its rejection and denial) is the touchstone that reveals the democratic (or totalitarian) character of an ideological-political attitude.

7/ The right of legitimate defence is complementary of the right of self-determination.

The attacked and subjugated Peoples have also the right of legitimate self-defence, complementary of the RSD and also *recognized* by the United Nations' Organization (UNO) as a fundamental right that - against the impostors who instruct us about the HHRR "of an agreed exercise" - can be exercised "by all necessary means at their disposal", as it is established in several resolutions of the UNO.

A right without defence is not a right but a joke. Faced with the imperialistic aggression, the issue of "the means" that the attacked People can undertake in order to defend itself and expel the aggressor is merely a matter of strategy, not of morality. In this regard the criminal imperialistic aggression is the first, efficient and responsible cause for all the evils that may be caused as a response to it: "He who is cause of the cause, is cause of the evil caused". The criminals and terrorists are the imperialists and their instigators and accomplices, not the Resistance fighters against them; who - completely aside from the nature of their actions - are repeatedly described by the UN as "fighters for freedom and self-determination", and protected by the Geneva Conventions. Therefore, they are the acts of aggression and the alien domination against the subjugated Peoples, which the imperialism does drive, the real threats and main obstacles to the strengthening of *the international peace and security*, according to the UN, *and not the fight against such acts*, once and again legitimated in their Resolutions. Let's take a look at some of them, from among an overwhelming abundance that the persistent endeavours of the imperialistic reaction in favour of their involution will never be able to conceal:

"*The General Assembly, [...] 3. Reaffirms the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of all peoples under colonial and racist régimes and other forms of alien domination and upholds the legitimacy of their struggle, in particular the struggle of the national liberation movements, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the organs of the United Nations;*" etc. [UNGAR 3034 (1972)]

In the Resolution about the "Basic principles of the legal status of the combatants struggling against colonial and alien domination and racist régimes", there is stated:

"*The General Assembly, [...] Reaffirming that the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, as noted in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, is a crime and that the colonial peoples have the inherent right to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial Powers and alien domination in exercise of their right of self-determination recognized in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-*

operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, 18 [Resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.], [...], *Solemnly proclaims* the following basic principles of the legal status of the combatants struggling against colonial and alien domination and racist régimes [...]: 1. The struggle of peoples under colonial and alien domination and racist régimes for the implementation of their right to self-determination and independence is legitimate and in full accordance with the principles of international law. 2. Any attempt to suppress the struggle against colonial and alien domination and racist régimes is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and constitutes a threat to international peace and security. 3. The armed conflicts involving the struggle of peoples against colonial and foreign domination and racist régimes are to be regarded as international armed conflicts in the sense of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, and the legal status envisaged to apply to the combatants in the 1949 Geneva Conventions and other international instruments is to apply to the persons engaged in armed struggle against colonial and alien domination and racist régimes. 4. The combatants struggling against colonial and alien domination and racist régimes captured as prisoners are to be accorded the status of prisoners of war and their treatment should be in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of 12 August 1949. [...] 6. The violation of the legal status of the combatants struggling against colonial and alien domination and racist régimes in the course of armed conflicts entails full responsibility in accordance with the norms of international law.” Etc. [UNGAR 3103 (1973)]

Similarly: “*The General Assembly*, [...] 4. *Condemns* the continuation of repressive and terrorist acts by colonial, racist and alien régimes in denying peoples their legitimate right to self-determination and independence and other fundamental human rights and freedoms;” etc. [UNGAR 32/147 (1977)]

It is therefore criminal and terrorist the inhumane treatment inflicted to the combatants fighting against alien domination and racist régimes that, captured as prisoners, are denied legal status under the Geneva Conventions and other International Instruments that should apply to persons involved in armed struggles against colonial and alien domination and the racist régimes, “even if that Party is represented by a Government or an authority not recognized by an adverse Party”. (Article 43 of the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts [Protocol I], of 8 June 1977.)

In the “Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, there is stated:

The General Assembly, [...] *Noting with profound concern* [...] the continuation and intensification of the arms race as well as acts of aggression, foreign occupation, the threat or use of force, alien domination, foreign interference and the existence of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid, which remain the main obstacles to the strengthening of peace and security [...], 3. *Reaffirms* the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples

under colonial and alien domination to achieve self-determination and independence and urges States to increase their support and solidarity with them and their national liberation movements and to undertake urgent and effective measures for the speedy completion of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other resolutions of the United Nations on the final elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid;” etc. [UNGAR 32/154 (1977)]

The fight against colonial domination can be done “by all means possible or available, particularly the armed struggle”:

“*The General Assembly, [...] Reaffirming* the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, national sovereignty and territorial integrity and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples as imperatives for the full enjoyment of all human rights, [...] 2. *Reaffirms* the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, particularly armed struggle;” etc. [UNGAR 33/24 (1978)]

“*The General Assembly, [...], Reaffirming* the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, national sovereignty and territorial integrity and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples as imperatives for the full enjoyment of all human rights, [...], *Reaffirming* the obligation of all Member States to comply with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the United Nations regarding the exercise of the right of self-determination by peoples under colonial and alien domination, [...], 1. *Calls upon* all States to implement fully and faithfully the resolutions of the United Nations regarding the exercise of the right to self-determination by peoples under colonial and alien domination; 2. *Reaffirms* the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, including armed struggle; 3. *Reaffirms* the inalienable right of the peoples of Namibia, of the Palestinian people and of all peoples under alien and colonial domination to self-determination, national independence, territorial integrity, national unity and sovereignty without external interference; [...]; 10. *Strongly condemns* all Governments which do not recognize the right to self-determination and independence of all peoples still under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation; [...]; 14. *Demands* the immediate and unconditional release of all persons detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle for self-determination and independence, full respect for their fundamental individual rights, and the observance of article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, [Resolution 217 A (III)] under which no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment; [...]; 20. *Requests* the Secretary-General to give maximum publicity to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to give the widest possible publicity to the struggle being waged by oppressed peoples for the realization of their self-determination and national independence;” etc. [UNGAR 35/35 A (1980)]

The right of independence from the imperialism has always been a customary and inherent fundamental right of the Peoples; at least of Peoples capable of exercising the right of

legitimate defence, inseparable of the RSD. All the peoples, dependent and independent, assert their inherent rights of self-determination and legitimate defence against the imperialistic aggression, subjugation, occupation and colonization. Moreover, the demand of the United Nations to the imperialistic States asking them to refrain from any violent action directed against the fundamental right of independence of Peoples, is complemented with the permission for the latter to seek and receive support to this purpose:

“The General Assembly, [...] Bearing in mind that the preservation of colonialism and its manifestations, including racism and apartheid, and the attempts of some colonial Powers to suppress national liberation movements by repressive activities and the use of armed force against peoples are incompatible with the Charter and the Declaration [on the Granting of Independence etc.], [...] 7. Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and urges all States to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements in colonial Territories;” etc. [UNGAR 2189 (1966)]

“Every State has the duty to refrain from any forcible action which deprives peoples referred to above in the elaboration of the present principle of their right to self-determination and freedom and independence. In their actions against, and resistance to, such forcible action in pursuit of the exercise of their right to self-determination, such peoples are entitled to seek and to receive support in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.” Etc. [UNGAR 2625 (1970)]

The moral perversion inherent to fascist, nationalist and imperialistic propaganda is only surpassed by the abjection of the so-called representatives of the occupied People when - yielding under the pressure of the fascist monopolies that disseminate intoxication, disrepute and slander - they forget or exalt the crimes of imperialism, and try to convince the oppressor that “the Basque people is a peaceful and hardworking people who should beg for forgiveness and repair the evil caused” to the imperialism, the fascism and their local agents. In no subjugated People: whether it be still colonized or already liberated, its purported representatives had fallen so low. No *free* Country has recognized - much less exalted - the material and ideological agents of an imperialist régime of occupation, which violates all fundamental human rights. The fact that the indigenous Collaborationists and Accomplices have come to forget the massive and multi-centennial crimes against their Country of origin, and that they have asked for forgiveness, exalted, compensated and rewarded with public money to their perpetrators and material and ideological heirs, shows the degree of abject submission which can be reached down the path they have chosen.

“The sometimes spontaneous violence of the revolt becomes insurrection or civil war when it has a cause or points to a really political objective. Depending on the outcome, its description will be changed: always criminal at the starting point, the finally victorious insurrection will in hindsight be the origin of the new lawfulness. The violence against the constitutional law shares the ambiguity of all historical events: admirable or hateful according to preferences. Instead, the crimes of common law are those whose qualification does not change, no matter what the vicissitudes of the struggles between the political parties may be. The murder does not turn to be a meritorious act except on condition of having a political sense.”

The Spaniards do condemn the Moncloa executions and magnify as patriotic heroes and martyrs the criminals, bandits and terrorists - beneficiaries, instruments and minions of the Inquisition - who, by attempting against the Bourbon Government and the revolutionary French Protectorate during the Peninsular War (1807-14), were attacking the national and international positive law as established by the Governments of France and of Spain in the Second Treaty of San Ildefonso (1796), the Treaty of Aranjuez (1801), and the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau (1807).

The French do condemn the executions carried out by the German occupation forces: acts in compliance with the general international law and with the agreements of the Armistice of 22-June-1940 *proposed and accepted* by the French Government; and do call resistance fighters to the snipers, terrorists and gangs of delinquents that, infringing the international rules of war and the conditions of the Armistice, killed German military in uniform at Underground entrances or pavement cafés. In both cases the perpetrators of those attacks were never persecuted, and their victims: the members of the French-Spanish *Armée* mobilized against Portugal or those of the Wehrmacht, murdered by those terrorists according to national and international law, were not assisted or compensated, nor were asked for forgiveness, nor had commemorating monuments and plaques dedicated by the new Government.

In Germany the crimes of war, against peace and against humanity perpetrated by the National-socialist leaders led to the gallows to some of their authors (not so in Italy to the makers of Fascism); but their families benefit from allowances and pensions of their own State. Meanwhile the victims of the former are still - seated - awaiting for some form of recognition for the countless crimes committed in our Country by the Spanish Fascism and its auxiliaries: the *Aviazione Legionaria* (Italian Legionary Air Force) and the German Condor Legion. The reason is simple: Spaniards, French, Germans and Italians consider themselves different Nations and behave accordingly; instead the Collaborationists and Accomplices in the occupied Countries do not believe their own hypocritical propaganda, do not see the military occupation of their own Country and even ignore the Country itself, and quite naturally adopt the positions of the occupying Countries to the detriment of their own.

The aboriginal Collaborationists and Accomplices that accept such a revolting form of subservience declare thereby, once more, that they have adopted and recognized the occupying People and State as their own; that they do not believe in the reality of their own oppressed People and State; and that, in necessary consequence, they also deny their freedom and their rights of independence, self-determination and legitimate defence. They manifest so their moral, political and economic solidarity with the imperialistic and fascist régime; ask for forgiveness and honour to its responsible representatives; and describe as workers (syndicated by them) the agents of the occupation and repression, to which they compensate and indemnify at the taxpayer People's expense. This is the contribution of

Collaborationists and Accomplices of the régime of occupation to International Right and Policy: a never seen initiative, and never applied by the occupied Peoples throughout the History of Humankind, which have always argued that, as such, the assaulted agents and beneficiaries of fascism and imperialism *are not victims of anything nor have any rights:*

neither electoral nor any other political rights, and much less a right to be compensated by the Peoples victims of the imperialistic aggression.

If they had any sense of shame, or had left a shred of dignity, they would understand that it's up to the fascist henchmen and their masters the obligation to be ask for forgiveness. No People or State victim of imperialistic aggression, occupation and colonization has ever condemned its own resistant agents, even if they were persecuted as terrorists by the occupying State: sole real perpetrator "of repressive and terrorist acts [done] by colonial, racist and alien régimes in denying peoples their legitimate right to self-determination and independence and other fundamental human rights and freedoms"; nor has ever compensated or apologized to the occupying Peoples, States and forces; nor has ever proceeded to contrition, reparations and indemnifications towards the occupying forces; not even when the attempts against those forces - a consequence of the Terrorism and despotism of the occupying State and of the consequent despair and political incapability of the subjugated Peoples - did bring terrible reprisals against the civilian population, but has done just the opposite: it has always exalted and rewarded the exploits - real or imagined - in favour of national liberation. (The corresponding reparations have always been in charge of the occupying State; which, after being finally defeated and convicted of some of its crimes, makes sure - with its recognition and pensions to its agents' widows and orphans - the fidelity of its servers and eventually the continuity of its future criminal enterprises.)

If the countless victims of the aggression and tyranny that in this Country were left murdered in the mountains, ditches, cemetery walls, prisons, ramparts or bullrings; and if their families: victims of hunger, cold, exclusion, discrimination and exile, had heard or read that the Basque People would be presented as the nationalist, imperialistic, fascist and terrorist aggressor and oppressor, whereas the Spanish People was shown as the non- nationalist and non-violent unarmed victim assaulted by the "peripheral imperialism"; if they all had known that the assassins who brought death, terror and destruction to this Country in the name and imposition of the Spanish imperialistic Nationalism, as well as their heirs and their ideological followers, would themselves put on the pretence of being peaceful and non-violent democrats and set up as accusers of their victims, and that those claims would be disseminated and supported - with all their consequences - by the cliques that call themselves "democratic and Basque Parties", they would undoubtedly have not believed that it could be possible.

The fact that after eight centuries of conquest and occupation; after the fascist aggression to blood and fire; after the orgy of murders, deportations and imprisonments, oppression and repression of masses that once more ravaged this Country and founded the present totalitarian régime of absolute power, there can be however maintained publicly or induced upon anyone - no matter who - the affirmation that the fascist Spanish State is contrary to the violence; that its land, sea and air armed forces are non-violent (which amounts to say that they do not exist and that do not exist the People that they repress); that the problem of violence in this Country lies in the attempts and that the attempts are the only violence and terrorism, *without no constituent correlation* with the violence of the Terrorist State (which as it is pretended does not exist either even if the State subsists); all this, we say, indicates the unlimited

efficacy of the monopolies of violence, terrorism, propaganda and ideological intoxication of masses, which thus obtain the consequent collapse of the collective opinion and memory - and their conditioned blaming - as a result of the induced moral frailty or degradation of the People that endures them.

The most serious, painful and disgraceful thing - perhaps surprising and amazing for those who do not know the score - is that the whole of corporations of the “institutional path and the armed struggle” do actively participate in the consolidation and joint exploitation of the monopoly of propaganda; deprive the popular forces of any ideological reference and resource; persecute the freedom of expression (which would put in evidence the destitution and real content of their propaganda and of the “institutional and armed strategy”); assume and make redound upon the population the imperialistic and fascist version of “democracy”; deny the reality of fascism and imperialism; and nullify the right of self-determination of all Peoples, whose very concept they falsify so as to be reconciled and to obtain the willingness of their masters and lords. Without their ideological involvement, not even the same declared agents of the Spanish Nationalism would have believed it profitable nor possible to carry the imposture that far. Only the defection, the collaboration, the recuperation and corruption of the purported political class of opposition, which has exploited, led astray and betrayed the resistance of the popular masses, have made it possible such an ideological fraud, never before tried by a totalitarian régime. The totalitarian ideology has got an invaluable ally in the contradictions and “critical” phantasmagoria of its local auxiliaries.

8/ “The further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations [is] a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the UN.”

The colonialism is the imperialism of population: a People ousting, excluding and substituting another one from its own territory, usually under the protection of the military occupation of that territory by its own armies. The migrants - whoever they are - who, arriving in a host Country that does not have control of its own borders because of its being under imperialistic occupation, far from integrating with it do align themselves with the ideological and political positions of the occupant, are also objectively colonists at the service of the imperial-colonialist metropolis. In addition to the military occupation and colonization, which are the fundamental mechanisms for taking over a Country, in order to weaken it even more the metropolis also uses the political organization of the colonists, who are quickly framed by bigoted and aggressive Nacional-imperialists and Nacional-socialists organizations. They base their speech on the counterfeiting and recuperation of the reality and the basic sociological concepts in favour of imperialism.

The violations and displacements of population that an imperialist régime perpetrates: either in order to expel the native population of the attacked People, or to dislocate it through the creation or carrying of colonists in the service of the metropolis, are offences which constitute the crime of colonialism, condemned by the UN. They are also so the persecution and

substitution of the national and cultural characteristics of the attacked People, and especially of its language:

“Let’s congratulate on the Spanish epic deed in America. With it, Spain created a new race and gave the natives a culture and a language that they did not have [...]. The Spaniards, thanks to our being generous from the waist down, created miscegenation.” (Rafael Abella; Spanish historian and a member of Babel Forum; 2000.)

Consequently any “referendum or consultation” (fraudulently called “of self-determination” by the occupying Power) made under those circumstances of colonization and denationalization are null and constitute clumsy manoeuvres with which is aimed to consolidate “democratically” the imperialism. With such a pretence, any Country of a higher demographics could “incorporate democratically” another one of a lower population after having it previously attacked, conquered and de-nationalized through falsification and suppression of its own national features (achieved by the “National education” that the imperialism has imposed without possible opposition for centuries and upon entire generations from the early childhood, as it has happened in our Country under the domination of Spain and France), and finally dislocated by means of the own colony of population; thus creating the system of “votings and majorities” that the colonialist imperialism and the collaborationists in its service do call “democracy”. The idea that a referendum in these circumstances can be considered valid and democratic is grotesque; and the fact that members of the occupied Nation can consider it so and even demand for it (thereby assuming that the colonial situation and even its parties and organizations, which do politically organize the colonists and their occupation forces, are “non-violent and democratic” components with which “dialogue and negotiation” are possible) is a tragic sign of the alienation caused by the imperialism, based on permanent armed occupation and violation of HHRR.

“We must encourage the emigration of Spanish-speaking people to Catalonia and Valencia so as to ensure the maintenance of the Spanish feeling that it entails.” (Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, former President of the Spanish Government; 1983.)

In the “Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there is stated:

The General Assembly, [...] Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence, *Aware* of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of the freedom of such peoples, which constitute a serious threat to world peace, [...] *Recognizing* that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations, *Convinced* that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace, [...] *Convinced* that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory, *Solemnly proclaims* the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end of the colonialism in all its forms and manifestations; And to this end *Declares* that: 1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is

contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is a serious impediment to the promotion of world peace and co- operation. 2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. 3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence. 4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected. 5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations,” etc. [UNGAR 1514 (1960)]

We have recently seen some impostors (lavishly paid to serve the imperialistic domination on their own Country, to which they demand that it should beg the imperialism for forgiveness because of its Resistance) having the impudence to demand the UN that “peace should be declared a fundamental right”. It is clear that those brazen and shameless charlatans do guiltily ignore that international peace was established as a founding purpose of the UNO in no less than Article 1 Point 1 of its Charter signed at the San Francisco Conference (1945). And they do similarly ignore that this is a vain purpose, if an end is not put to the evil and criminal colonial-imperialistic domination over the Peoples by means of “acts of aggression, foreign occupation, the threat or use of force, alien domination, foreign interference and the existence of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid, which remain the main obstacles to the strengthening of peace and security” [UNGAR 32/154 (1977)], as in so many of its resolutions has been established. Yet, they will not be those traitors who take the bold step of denouncing the domination of the Basque People and State by the imperialism of France and Spain, since they are servers in the imperialistic payroll.

9/ The right to self-determination is the right of unconditional and immediate independence of the People attacked and subjugated by the imperialism.

The idea that the RSD consists in “voting and deciding in a referendum of self- determination among several options, all legitimate” (among which is the continuity of imperialism), as the imperialistic and social-imperialistic propaganda says, is a blatant falsification of the nature of that right, wrought by the agents of imperialism with the help of their indigenous collaborationists. The imperialism has nothing of legitimate but it is a crime, under international law; the very existence and also the eventual continuation of imperialism are contradictory with the RSD, which is its antagonistic. On the other hand the issue it’s about an original right of the People, and not about a right derived and conditioned by the imperialism so that the latter may establish the votings under the conditions created by the imperialism itself, which are also contradictory to the RSD. The imperialism has nothing to allow, or nothing to organize, or nothing to ask in the Country that it has occupied; it has only to just leave it: immediately and regardless of how much time has passed since its conquest.

The only possible way in which the right of self-determination or national independence of a subjugated People can be achieved is through the immediate and unconditional departure from it of the occupation forces and of the entire apparatus of subjugation of the occupying Country.

The unconditional and immediate independence against all form of imperialism is *the only necessary content of the right of self-determination*: a fundamental, inherent, inalienable, unconditional and immediate right of *all* Peoples. In the Resolution “Factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a Territory is or is not a Territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government”, there is stated:

“*The General Assembly, [...] 6. Considers that the manner in which the Territories referred to in chapter XI of the Charter [those ‘whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self- government’] can become fully self-governing is primarily through the attainment of independence, although it is recognized that self-government can also be achieved by association with another State or group of States if this is done freely and on the basis of absolute equality; 7. Reaffirms that the factors [referred to in the title of the Resolution and listed in its Annex, and to which we are going to allude below], while serving as a guide in determining whether the obligations as set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter shall exist, should in no way be interpreted as a hindrance to the attainment of a full measure of self-government by a Non-Self-Governing Territory;*” etc. [UNGAR 742 (1953)]

In the “List of Factors Indicative of the Attainment of Independence [indicated in its First part, which obviously precludes any ambiguity in this regard] or of Other Separate Systems of Self-Government [in its Second part]”; a List annex to that Resolution, is set forth In that Second part: “[...] 2. *Freedom of choice*. Freedom of choosing *on the basis of the right of self-determination* of peoples between several possibilities, including independence.” Etc. (Last emphasis added.)

All of which does, on the one hand, exclude any *reductive identity* of the RSD, that’s to say: *limited* (in line with its constant distortion at the hands of the imperialism) to a mere act of “choosing”, since that “Freedom of choice” *is a part* of the RSD on whose basis such choice is made; and does identify “the right of self-determination of peoples” with their *original right of independence* against/in front of the imperialism, which constitutes its real and unique nature. And, on the other, it does show that the right of self-determination against the imperialism or in an imperialistic régime is not the “right to decide”, nor the right of deciding, nor the freedom to decide; nor does it give an “option to vote, choose and decide on the independence” either. Most precisely, it is the right of independence itself, implied in the inescapable and unconditional abolition of the imperialism as a *previous condition* in order to be able to decide “freely and on the basis of absolute equality”.

Therefore an eventual and *subsequent* “association with another State or group of States” would only be valid if it was freely accepted by the formerly dominated Nation: “if this is done freely and on the basis of absolute equality”, according to the aforementioned Resolution. Which implies the *prior effective and real independence*, that’s to say: the total withdrawal of the military and police forces of imperialistic occupation and repression, of all its apparatus of subjugation and denationalization, and of all its colonialist Administration, as

a condition to freely exercise a certain option. And, in addition, the restoration and compensation of all the consequences and damage caused by the centennial and criminal imperial-colonial occupation. As a simple anecdotal data, there is no historical record of a People which, after having attained independence from imperialism, has decided to freely return to the imperialistic dependence.

Furthermore, and as it runs the *Principle VI* of the Resolution 1541 (1960), the “(a) Emergence as a sovereign independent State” is the first form in which “a Non-Self-Governing Territory can be said to have reached a full measure of self-government”. Any other possible option as regards the “Other Separate Systems of Self-Government” implied in the RSD, namely: “(b) Free association with an independent State; or (c) Integration with an independent State” already constituted, has as conditions - as it has been already exposed - *absolute equality and voluntary acceptance*: conditions totally incompatible with the imperialism.

So the imperialism *must be abolished necessarily before* taking any decision on the concrete form in which self-determination can be accomplished; which implies the prior and immediate *original independence* of the People: sole necessary and irreplaceable content of the RSD. Apart from that those decisions on “free association or integration” etc., freely taken in use of the *original independence from the foreign power*, do not suppress or disrupt the inherent and permanent RSD, *which is original and fundamental independence of the People in front of the imperialism*, neither do they obviously impede other subsequent choices different from those ones previously adopted.

The RSD is not nor does it imply the right of the Peoples to be questioned or consulted, nor the right or the obligation of anyone to ask or consult anything. For a start, the Peoples - dominant or dominated - do not have anything to say, anything to decide, anything to choose and anything to vote when dealing about the applicability, validity and contents of a fundamental, inherent, immediate, unconditional and inalienable right. On the Peoples’ independence against the imperialism there is nothing to decide. Without a prior independence from the imperialism there can be no place for deciding on anything.

For its part the imperialism has nothing to consult, nothing to organize, nothing to condition and nothing to recognize when it comes to the Peoples’ right of independence. To begin with, their independence from the imperialism precedes any eventual free and democratic decision on any other subsequent issues that may be arisen. And finally, the continuity and validity of the imperialistic régime: before, during, and “eventually” after such a hypothetical and “democratic” consultation, is contradictory to the democratic rights and to the RSD itself, which *does precede and condition* them all.

So as to refute - at length - another line of sophistry and paralogisms present in the inexhaustible (albeit despicable) ideological supply of the imperialism, we shall say that the idea of “imposition of Self-Determination” or “imposition of national Freedom” (or, in another line of its applications, “imposition of the Euskera” to Basques, comparable to the imposition of the Spanish to Spaniards or the English to English People etc.), is an aporia founded on a proposition contradictory in terms. What the RSD “does impose”, *on those who*

seek to circumventing or violating it, is national Freedom. Should it be necessary, the Freedom and Self-Determination are “imposed” on the imperialists and fascists who fight and crush them, not on those who are deprived of them as well as of their own language. It’s the imperialism that, while submitting the subjugated Peoples, does impose upon them the “non-being” in which consists the deprivation of their identity and alienation inherent to the foreign domination, and that is to be fought by them so as to recover their own “being”; which obviously does not imply imposition but liberation and dis-alienation.

Self-Determination is not an option: it is a fundamental, inherent, inalienable, unconditional and immediate right. It is not the capacity *to choose* the Independence: it is the effective capacity of Independence. Correspondingly, the Independence from/against/in front of the imperialism is not an “option” of the RSD: it is *identical* to the RSD. The RSD does not give *possible access* to Independence: *it is the right of Independence itself*. The RSD does not *perchance* lead to independence: it is the independence itself. Independence constitutes Self-Determination.

The Freedom of Peoples and Nations is the sole object of the right of self-determination: inherent right of immediate independence against the imperialism. Without conditions or delays; without traps or falsifications.

10/ The “national question” is the issue of the policy and right of Nations.

People (not population or “citizenship”), territory (not colonial administrative demarcation), and freedom and RSD (not foreign domination) do integrate the Nation and found its State.

The national issue of the subjugated and colonized Peoples is only a species of the national question in general. The denial of these Peoples and/or of their freedom and RSD; of their historical features, memory and continuity that shape them as Nations established on their own territory; eventually of their own States freely and historically constituted: occupied and annexed by means of aggression and violence; as well as of the crimes committed against them all in this enterprise of terrorist and imperialistic expansion, is the characteristic of the fascist totalitarianism and the task of its legists and ideological agents, whether foreigners or indigenus.

“[W]e conceive that nations are essential elements of the world community. The world represents only so much culture and intellectual vigour as they are created by its component national groups. (The idea of a nation should not, however, be confused with the idea of nationalism. To do so would be to make the same mistake as confusing the idea of individual liberty with that of egoism.) Essentially, the idea of a nation signifies constructive cooperation and original contributions, based upon genuine traditions, genuine culture, and a well-developed national psychology. The destruction of a nation, therefore, results in the loss of its future contributions to the world. Moreover, such destruction offends our feelings of morality and justice in much the same way as does the criminal killing of a human being: the

crime in the one case as in the other is murder, though on a vastly greater scale. Among the basic features which have marked progress in civilization are the respect for and appreciation of the national characteristics and qualities contributed to world culture by the different nations; characteristics and qualities which, as illustrated in the contributions made by nations weak in defence and poor in economic resources, are not to be measured in terms of national power and wealth.” (*Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*; Chap. IX: “Genocide”, Section III. Recommendations for the future; Raphael Lemkin, 1944.)

In the broad sense the nationalism: free, oppressive or oppressed, is the way of being of the Nation. The Nation is the active and constituent agent of nationalism and of internationalism: without Nations, there is no inter-national relations or possibility of inter-nationalism. Both components: Nation and nationalism, are constitutively correlated and inseparable, and cannot be destroyed - partially or totally - separately. The nation without identity does not *and cannot* exist; no more than a body without dimensions.

“The use of force to deprive peoples of their national identity [which includes acts of hostility directed against historical monuments, works of art or places of worship which constitute the cultural or spiritual heritage of Peoples] constitutes a violation of their inalienable rights and of the principle of non-intervention.” (Resolution 2625 [1970] of the General Assembly of the UN, in which is approved the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.)

In the strict sense, nationalism is the extreme, aggressive and oppressive way of being of the Nation, which consequently constitutes itself as an imperialistic Nationalism. The imperialistic Nationalism produces the *war of conquest*, becomes established by means of *aggression*: “unlawful form of the use of force”. [UNGAR 3314 (1974)].

“War is essentially an evil thing. Its consequences are not confined to the belligerent States alone, but affect the whole world. To initiate a war of aggression, therefore, is not only an international crime; it is the supreme international crime differing only from other war crimes in that it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole.” (Judgment of the International Military Tribunal for the Trial of German Major War Criminals that followed World War II; Nüremberg, 1946.)

If by Nationalism we understand the denial of other Peoples’ rights, and the propaganda and faits accomplis against their freedoms and - in the first place - against their right of free disposition, then Nationalism is certainly incompatible with freedom, human rights and democracy. Now then, in this sense the “Basque Nationalism” does not exist. On the contrary the French and the Spanish nationalism do exist in that sense, and they have been, for centuries, at the top of world imperialism. If they are not so any more, it is not because French and Spaniards have ever voluntarily resigned that position but the “guilt” of it is up to other “nationalisms”, which have in their turn become stronger than them.

But if, quite to the contrary, by “nationalism” is understood the defence of the subjugated Peoples, of their liberties and – in the first place – of the right of free disposition: first of

human rights and prerequisite of them all according to International right, then any free and democratic society is founded, ideologically and politically, in this way. That is: if those who want to liberate their Country, their Nation and their State of imperialist domination are also “nationalists”, then those who invade the Countries and States of other Peoples, denying them the fundamental right of national free disposition, are Nationalists in the highest degree.

In other words: if “nationalism” means any kind of factual or ideal affirmation and incorporation of the own national realities, then everybody is “nationalist” and it cannot be seen how it could be otherwise. “The international culture is not anacional”, confirmed Lenin, who had never known anyone who spoke “socialist” instead of Russian, German or other current languages, and he no doubt didn’t expect to find it, and with good reason.

Lenin said and repeated that it was necessary, in any situation, to make the difference between “the nationalism of the oppressed nation, and the nationalism of the nation that oppresses”. (Of course the French or Spanish nationalist “left” is not Marxist-Leninist: we would split our sides out of laughing if they claimed it. They are located, from the beginning, on the side of the Nationalism of the Nation that oppresses, and against the “nationalism” of the oppressed Nation.) Imperialism, in the Leninist sense, is not perhaps the highest stage of capitalism; but imperialism, in the strict sense, is certainly the extreme degree of Nationalism: the imperialistic Nationalism. Nationalism and totalitarianism in general are conceptually and sociologically inseparable.

The inter-Nation, the inter-nationalism supposes the Nation. All “anti-nationalism” is correlatively nationalist: one cannot deny a Nation or a “nationalism” without affirming and opposing against them another Nation and another Nationalism. In condemning “nationalism”, French and Spanish Nationalists do condemn in reality the nationalism of the others, which is an obstacle to the imperialistic Nationalism of themselves. French and Spanish Nationalism is incompatible with any inter-nationalism, because it is postulated as a model-Nation whose role is to rebuild the world in its image. The French Nationalists, the same as the Spanish Nationalists, do reject in theory and in practice the right of free disposition of the Peoples; yet without human rights there is no democracy. Especially there is no democracy, but imperialism and fascism, there where it is denied the right of self-determination of Peoples: first of human rights and precondition of them all.

The classical terminology on this issue does therefore present first of all “the offensive nationalism of the oppressive Nation”, which raises *a posteriori* in the attacked “the defensive nationalism of the oppressed Nation” and entails, correlatively, the defensive struggle in face of the aggression against the threatened or violated national freedom. In view of the confusion produce by the use of one same term for designating two antithetical realities, and given that the opposition to the *imperialistic Nationalism* arouses the *national Resistance*, in this exposition we will use these two last denominations, clearly unequivocal, so as to designate their respective concepts and avoid misunderstandings. (Being obviously aware of the specific negative and pejorative import of the term “Nationalism”, and that in this field the confusion is always ideologically profitable for the imperialism, it is not surprising that the independence movement in Scotland has avoided it in the creation of its “Scottish National Party”.)

Evidently *one* nationalism does not divide - since it is not possible to divide by one - nor is opposed to anything either: both to divide or to oppose at least there must be two. (As we shall see, not only the falsity: also the absurd is a fundamental component in the ideology of the imperialism.)

The international right of self-determination of all Peoples implies the existence of distinct Peoples with distinct rights; whereas the “right of imperialism” consists in the denial of it all and in the affirmation of the “right” of the dominating People to annex the dominated Peoples and impose on them its own imperialistic positive law. England is not Germany nor France; the English are not at the same time Germans nor do they have “the same” rights then the latter of the French: they have *similar rights to them in their own Country*: England, and nobody in one’s sound mind would dare to claim that there lies any “superiority, discrimination or insult” in affirming it. (This kind of ideological rubbish only has course and virtuality amongst the subjugated and alienated Peoples; sometimes under the action of their own and purported “political class”, as it is our case.) To pretend otherwise would be to deny the existence of England, Germany and France as different Nations: *different* Peoples with *different* rights, even though similar *within* their own States.

That is exactly what the Pnv-Eta group agents do here when, adopting the ideology of the Spanish and French Nationalism, do affirm that in our Country the *official and self-proclaimed* Spaniards or French have legitimate right to be and assert themselves as such; that they are Basques, and consequently that the Basques are Spaniards or French. It is simply the denial of the existence of the Basque People and State, and the affirmation of the right of Spain and France to occupy them and make them disappear as such, that’s to say: as a *different* People with *different* rights, guaranteed by its own State, the Kingdom of Nabarre, *in compliance with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of all Peoples and of independence and integrity of their freely constituted States*, as it is recognized in the Charter of the United Nations.

In addition, if things are as they say, those who in Urdiain or Ahetze call themselves Basques are simple imposters, usurpers and thieves of nationality. The Pnv will have to apologize to Nabarrese, Souletins and Labourdines for having said once that they were Basques, rather than having excluded them without ambiguities - in accordance with the legislation of the prevailing Spanish and French Nationalism that they recognize as democratic - from the particular “Basque people” that the jeltzale pretend to be defending; the same as it publicly apologised to the official and self-proclaimed Spaniards for having said that they were Spaniards and not Basques.

It is not the existence of Nations with a natural desire to emerge as independent States, or to restore them, what constitutes “one of the more important sources of international conflict” (J: Crawford), but their repressive denial and the opposite affirmation- continuity of Empires. The nationalist-imperialistic propaganda tries to hide that the existence of a Country in freedom does not produce resistance: neither violent nor non-violent; and it pretends that the problem is being created by the Nations that are fighting in defence or pursuit of their independence against the imperialism, and not by the imperialism itself. However there is no defence without a previous attack, nor defensive “nationalism” without aggressor

Nationalism, nor oppressed People without oppressive People, nor anti- monopolistic violence of attempts without prior monopolistic violence against which one could attempt. On the contrary the violence of the aggressor is original, unconditional and unilateral; depends solely on its free and voluntary decision. The actual or virtual imperialistic aggression: *original and permanent*, is an eminent violence, first condition and cause of all international violence; yet for the imperialism it is not legitimate the defence but the aggression, it is not lawful to fight the crime but to perpetrate it.

The pernicious tendency of the “great” Powers’ “international right” towards the preservation of the *status quo*: founded on uncountable crimes against the smaller Peoples and States but espoused notwithstanding as a “beneficial peaceful form” of imperialism, “even if it is” in violation of the indefeasible RSD of all Peoples, has already caused terrible consequences to Humanity. The affirmation of the RSD allows - even if it be in a defective form - peace and coexistence between Nations and States; its denial does never allow them.

When, forced by the crisis created by the subjugated Peoples, the imperialistic leaders claim that “we don’t have a problem of independence; we have a problem of coexistence”, they are completely distorting the reality: the “coexistence” hypocritically preached by the imperialism consists in the submission to its domination. Those who in theory and in practice deny the freedom and right of independence or self-determination of all Peoples, do destroy the only possible foundation of democratic coexistence, peace and order; do build instead the bases of violence and war; and do establish and maintain the bases of the order and disorder of violence among Nations. Without a real solution for the national question there are not firm and long-lasting coexistence, peace or tranquillity but interim periods between one conflict and another. “If the right of self-determination of Peoples is emptied of its content, there gets removed the foundation from which the friendship among Peoples can be developed.”

The identification of the struggles of Peoples for their national independence with “violence and terrorism”; and the correlative identification of the imperialism and the *status quo* product of imperialism with “pacifism and non-violence”, do - without further ado - involve: the liquidation of the principle of the Peoples’ freedom and independence, and of their right of self-determination and legitimate defence; the abolition of the crimes against the HHRR and the impunity of the criminals against the former; the criminalization of struggles for national independence, subjected to increasingly extreme forms of actual terrorist repression; and the return to the classic “international right” that the imperialistic and colonialist Great Powers did establish with their iniquitous affirmation of the legitimacy of the “doctrine of discovery”, the “right of conquest”, and the *jus ad bellum, jus in bello, jus post bellum*. This is: the affirmation of the absolute and terrorist right to the expansion and rapine through the war, in the war, and in the post-war, under the simple condition that one of them feels in a position of being able to impose it.

Unfortunately the imperialism promotes the ignorance and contempt of the other Peoples, foundation for the imperialistic Nationalism, and in line with the immediate, imaginary, romantic, abstract, mystical, dogmatic, essentialist, constructivist and retro- activated ideological production of their own Nation: eternal, sacred, one and indivisible as if by divine

Decree. “France is not God”, admitted a “critical” - albeit nationalist - Christian commentator of the history of France. But “Spain is a divine fact”, “a thing as if from God”, according to the Spanish theologians, who do not fear blasphemy or heresy while they are serving the Empire as a supreme and absolute value. Civil, military or ecclesiastical prophets and witnesses have not missed nor are missing to certify it.

The exasperation, attacks, insults and xenophobic and racist hatred against the dominated Peoples, perceived as a hindrance to the assertion of their own distorted and perverted (thus becoming miserable) national consciousness, are involuntary but revealing forms of recognition. In fact Spaniards and French do perfectly know quite well that the Basques (and others) are not Spaniards or French, without which they would not try by all means to finish with them. This conviction does poke and intensify their hatred and rage against our occupied Nation, whose permanent rejection of the Spanish-French domination is for them an unbearable fact, only explainable - in their disgusting blindness and arrogance - as the illness of an entire People. (The analysis of the “bad, miserable or painful conscience” inherent to the bad faith of the imperialism of Spaniards and French; that is, of the consequences of the clash between their authentic national consciousness, and the artificial one as “Imperial nation”: a fiction ideologically created and functionally distorted, cannot be shown in this moment except as a mere heading.)

Never ever did the Spanish and French Nationalism know or recognize the legitimacy, the well-founded reality of Peoples’ resistance, nor their existence as such Peoples, *in none* of the Countries they decided to conquer, submit and destroy. Even after their respective defeats, after centuries of wars, occupation, plundering, persecution, murder and genocide, it has taken fifty years for France to admit that in Algeria there even was a war (much less of independence!); it took seventy five for Spain to recognize the independence of Peru; and the Netherlands succeeded in winning their independence from Spain after the so-called Eighty Years’ War. These predatory Nations and States: constituted for centuries in despotic- asiatic, absolutist and totalitarian internal régimes; equipped with permanent military, naval and (nowadays) air armies; which by demographics, geography, resources and other factors have aimed also for centuries to the universal domination as a “national mission”; and that were especially gifted for banditry, looting, murder and terrorism of masses, do still remain particularly addicts to violence as a unique, immediate and definitive treatment and solution for the international problems that they themselves have caused and are still causing.

The insatiable appetite of domination over Peoples and lands of the Spanish and French Nationalism obeys to predatory instincts and impulses consolidated and enhanced by many centuries of internal and external despotism, and goes beyond rational or utilitarian considerations. The resulting history, which they feel so proud about, is the history of the greatest continental and trans-continental criminal enterprises and organizations of fanatic malefactors, thieves and murderers in all the History of Humankind.

The Spanish and French Empires have been founded and preserved by means of violence, terror and violation of all human rights; and their institutions drip the blood of their countless victims. The Peoples who endure their multi-centennial imperialistic Nationalism are living witness to their monstrous, hideous crimes. Ending with the witnesses is the only way - and a

supplementary reason – that they have left so as to dismiss responsibility and culpability; to relegate towards an “irrelevant past” the foundation of contemporary reality; and to erase the most evident traces of the abominable, unforgettable, unforgivable and indelible original sin that their reality has been constituted upon.

The Spanish and French Nationalists are unable to see the subjugated Peoples as anything other than simple material destined to be assimilated by their dominant Nationalism. Both of them are nations that need to deny the rights, the independence, the dignity and finally the very existence of the People they seek to annihilate, as a means of actually ending with it. Being unable to see that in them this is not a “error”, and advocating furthermore the “dialogue” so as to make them admit the existence of the Peoples that they do deny as *another more means* to destroy them, is what constitutes the real error that reveals the incapability of certain “leaders” to understand (let alone deal with) the human reality of imperialism; an error similar to what in savage wilderness would be trying to convince a crocodile that it should not devour its prey.

As a result, the centennial submission and identification of French and Spaniards with their respective absolutist and despotic régimes of government - which are the only ones that they have known all through their whole history - has crystallized nowadays in the acceptance of their current neo-fascist system of military occupation against the annexed Peoples and States, which they see as a “natural and democratic” régime. That acceptance is for them all the more “natural” and feasible since the régime reconciles the application of what they call “democracy” - something that they cannot tell since they have never known it - for themselves, and of fascism for the others.

It is made easier in the first place by the fact that, due to the incapability and corruption of the Spanish pseudo-opposition (integrated by national-socialists, national-communists and national-imperialists of all hues), but first and foremost thanks to the incapability, corruption and betrayal of the indigenous collaborationist bureaucracies, the régime of military occupation on the subjugated Peoples is disguised and comforted by all of them before the whole world as “legitimate, non-violent and democratic”. (In our case the so-called “autonomous governments of Euskadi and of Navarre” constitute, especially, the façade of the framework of collaboration and corruption built to hide the imperialistic reality; a set-up that allows the falsification and presentation of that reality “before the People and the World” as “democratic” etc.)

And in the next place it is also made easier by the fact that, just as the current wars of the imperial-colonialism are obscenely and hypocritically presented by its propaganda as painless and aseptic “surgical bombings and missions for the preservation of peace”, in the same way, given the indigenous collaboration, the neo-fascist régime can apply its repression in a cynically selective and “surgical” way directed only against the resistant sectors of the subjugated Peoples as if they were specific “anti-social sectors that violate the [imperialistic] law”; being so that it is always all the attacked People, as a whole, the object of the respective “missionaries and missions” of repression. In fact it does so while receiving the indulgent understanding: thoughtless, stupid or bought, of other Powers in principle not imperialistic but that have accepted keeping “dangerous liaisons” with fascism. In the Basque Country the

terrorist repression and the systemic and widespread torture (and not merely “more than exceptional but no-systematic”, as it is hypocritically presented) has been up to today and since always an undeniable reality, inseparable from the imperialistic-fascist domination of *Francespain*.

This is so: with an unprecedented shamelessness of reporters and reported, as they report to the European Imperialistic Union - for the peace of their hypocritical or perverted minds - on the quality of the jails in which they plan to “democratically” lock the Resistance fighters who are struggling for the independence of their Peoples. Yet, against their aberrant argumentation and morality, the fascism does not depend on the specific degree or form of implementation of the political imperialism, that’s to say: on the more or less declared, brutal and revolting aspect that the former adopts in order to *de facto* preserve the latter. They are - both - absolutely the correlative contrary to the Self-Determination or Independence of the Peoples that Spaniards and French are actually subjugating by means of an elaborated and adapted system of fascist imperialism, whose camouflage as “legitimate, non-violent and democratic” constitutes an imposture that those Peoples must urgently expose along with its revolting ideological-political agents, who have no qualms about presenting themselves even as “socialists” or “Basque nationalists”.

The Spaniards do despise and detest the French. The French do despise too much the Spaniards so as to detest them. They even come to believe that they love them, and that they are loved in turn: a usual syndrome of the races, peoples or classes of lords and aristocrats towards those who they consider their inferiors, slaves and servants. Spaniards and French can eventually confront among them for various reasons but they are all Nationalists, in the worst sense of the word. (The rare exceptions are individual ones.) This decisive condition determines their behaviour; it’s thus that their common goal: the liquidation of the Basque People and its State, the Kingdom of Nabarre, has forced and continues forcing the Spaniards and French to overcome their mutual distaste and to collaborate.

The nationalist imperialism is afraid of, does despise and abhor all diversity and any differentiated entity: it is uniformitarian, exclusivist and “universalist”, by way of spreading the own Nation to the whole Universe. Where the imperialism and colonialism pursue limited ends of subjection, exploitation or pillage, such an original situation of limited or relative imperialistic conflict can eventually either reach to a term of expiration, or become a total and absolute conflict along with transformation of ends and means, exorbitant of a relative conflict.

The *relative imperialism*: economic, cultural or political, is the limited form of international domination. It is necessarily doomed, in a more or less long term, to abandon its domination or to become an *absolute imperialism*: whether it adopts the purposes of this one by themselves, or accepts them as the only way to preserve the imperial domination in the face of the infeasibility arising from its primitive form. The strategy of liquidation, the destruction and genocide arise in this case as a means of consolidating a previously established – expensive, unstable and precarious – domination faced to the subsequent end towards an absolute imperialism.

The absolute imperialism leads to a *total imperialism*. The absolute imperialism is defined by the unlimitedness of its ends: the destruction of the People that it attacks and its replacement by its own one; the total imperialism, by the unlimitedness of its means of action, which do not admit restraining rules: it uses without limitation all available and useful means so as to reach its goal of submitting and destroying the Peoples.

Unlike the relative and partial imperialism, the absolute and total imperialism (supreme form and stage of the imperialism), whether original or derivative, does not aim to the mere limited - temporary or permanent – subjugation, to the cultural or economic domination, or to the despoliation and exploitation of the attacked, occupied and dominated Peoples and States because of their being contradictory with its designs, but it aims to their destruction as Peoples. Its pursued aim is the liquidation of the State and national, racial, linguistic and cultural otherness, identity and existence of those Peoples; and their substitution by the invading People by means of the final solution and the genocide. It does not confine itself to reject or persecute; it does not merely try to reform the “nationalism” or some characteristics or objectives of the occupied Nation: it does completely deny it and tries to put a definitive end to it. The destruction of the others is its inherent and consequent objective.

The absolute imperialism involves an irreducible conflict that makes it impossible and illusory any arrangement and transaction in order to put an ending to it. It leaves no other alternative but the emancipation or the destruction of the attacked People. In both cases the imperialism also disappears as such, because there cannot be a dominator without a dominated one. For the subjugated People it's all about an existential conflict: a struggle for its own survival, which has been imposed on it without no possible alternative.

It is not the simple political independence, *but the very existence of the subjugated People*, what the – whether original or adventitious – absolute imperialism aims to liquidate. If it ends with that existence, it also does at that same time end with its own domination and with the “inevitable march to the independence” of the subjugated People; because the People that no longer exists cannot already suffer nor achieve anything, neither earlier nor later. If it aims to survive, it had better hurry up.

The Spanish and French imperialism in the occupied historical Territories of the Basque People is an *absolute imperialism*. It involves the colonization, exclusion and assimilation; the destruction of all sign or foundation of identity; and the theoretical and practical denial of national freedom and international right, of all fundamental human rights and, first and foremost, of the right of independence or self-determination of all Peoples: first of human rights and prior condition of them all and inseparable from the inherent right of legitimate self-defence. It is also a *total imperialism*: it uses without limitation all means available in order to submit and destroy the other Nations. The resistance, in actions or in words, has to face up to the monopolistic violence and Terror of State, which does kill, imprison, torture, steal, exclude, persecute and gag those who dare to resist its dictates. “All conquerors, whether Mongols or Spaniards, have brought death and pillage” to the subjugated Peoples. The extermination, the political liquidation of Peoples by means of violence is the most direct way to kill them.

Along with the imperialistic Nationalism, the racism is the theoretical and practical affirmation of a fundamental relationship of superiority and inferiority among some races and the others, established as an instrument intended to justify the subjugation, oppression and exploitation of the inferior by the superior ones, as it is claimed in each case. Racism has nothing to do - quite the opposite - with the assertion and defence of the own racial, cultural and national personality, within the concert and respect of all the Peoples settled in their respective territories and States, and not in those of the others.

“Gentlemen, we must speak more loudly and more honestly! We must say openly that indeed the higher races have a right over the lower races. [...] I repeat, that the superior races have a right because they have a duty. They have the duty to civilize the inferior races. And is there someone who can deny that there is more justice, more material and moral order in North Africa since France has made its conquest?” Etc. (From Jules Ferry’s address to the Chamber of Deputies, relaunching “the expansion of French civilization”; 1885.)

However the reality had been quite different: “The French, in a few years, have committed more cruelties than the Turks in two hundred years”, said the deputy Roger to the Parliament already in 1834. And as early as 1847 Tocqueville reported: “Around us the lights have gone off, the recruitment of men of religion and men of law has ceased; that’s to say, that we have made the muslim society much more miserable, more disorderly, more ignorant and more barbaric than it was before it knew us”. [Report on the draft law to the extraordinary credits requested for the Algeria, 1847.]

According to Y. Person “It’s significant that it was the same notable of the III Republic, Jules Ferry (who has given to the secular education - that he himself had organized - the orientation of a systematic cultural genocide) the one who has embodied the commitment of France in the late 19th century colonial imperialism. At the time when the British imperialism, eager primarily of economic exploitation, was returning to a certain respect for the personality of the Other, France was resolutely dedicated to destroying all the cultures that there could be found on so broad a sector of the planet as it was possible”.

And however still in 1884, in Albi (a landmark in the “expansion of French civilization” since the beginning of 13th century, as it can be remembered), Jaurès said: “France has managed to earn the love of all colonial peoples”. “We can say to these populations, without deceiving them, that we have never done any evil to their brethren voluntarily; that we’ve been the first ones in extending to the coloured people the freedom of the white people and in abolishing slavery; that there where France is still established, it is loved; that there where it does but only pass, it is missed; that everywhere its light shines: it is benefactor.” Apparently the humanist, sociologist and historian Jaurès, either believed all he wanted to believe and ignored everything he wanted to ignore, or did not recede to any lie. Again, once more, the colonialist romanticism forms a very significant part of the national-imperialistic romanticism in general.

More or less closely involved or linked with the purported racial superiority, the same theoretical and practical affirmation of superiority-inferiority is held in the fields of

linguistics, culture, economy, human rights and policy. The Spanish and the French, fanatically and criminally imposed at all cost on Peoples throughout the world, are among the most destructive languages of other languages. “The supremacist linguistic nationalism is that ideology of irrational exaltation of the [own] national language presenting it as inherently superior to the languages of other Nations.” (*Errors and horrors of the Spanish linguistic imposition*; J.C. Moreno Cabrera.)

For the French colonialists it was urgent to spread a “basic French” for the overseas colonies, which might be sufficient for “these peoples who are children”, as the humanist Jaurès said in 1884 at his famous conference in Albi. After all, for them the Arabic or the Swahili were nothing else but the “patois” of the African colonies; just as it was also so the “childish Euskera”, which the Spanish charlatan Unamuno referred to.

“The mission of the National Education is to put an end to the regional languages.” “Our work is helping the minority languages to gently die.” (Morvan.)

“Of those who claim to be Galician, Catalans, Basques... rather than Spaniards, you should always be mistrustful. They usually are incomplete, inadequate Spaniards, from whom nothing great can be expected”. (Antonio Machado; *Notes and memories of Juan de Mairena*; 1936.)

This is how French and Spaniards, in adopting the repugnant dementia which leads them to their identification with the racist and imperialistic enterprise that it took historically the criminal Nationalism of France and Spain, do claim to have given the “barbarian peoples and nations of odd languages” “a race, a culture and a language that they did not have”; therefore, as they imagine, unless they had appeared in those Countries, those Peoples would have been left abandoned to their purported own degradation and to keep barking or snarling and eating grass...

Yet, the reality was not at all like that. “The cultured classes of the Inca or Aztec Empires were decimated by the invaders coming from Spain; and the Indian masses, deprived of their traditional culture, did vegetate for centuries without reason to live, treated as sub-humans by the victors who became the privileged class of the colonial society”. “The conquerors destroyed civilizations that neither could nor did want to understand, without even being aware of committing a crime.” “In less than one hundred years the conquerors coming from Spain had liquidated the beautiful american races. No one will be able to imitate an ideal like that.” It was the culmination of the absolute horror, of the cruelty without limits, and of the gruesome crimes that have always characterized the baneful association of the Catholic Church with the Spanish State; of the clerical bigotry with the imperialistic nationalism.

Moreover: “The list of commonly accepted causes of poverty is by no means complete. We regularly attribute some role to the slow rate of transfer of technological knowledge. [...] We also attribute something to war, rapine, predacity, and civil disorder. The Fourth Crusade, Genghis Khan, and the brothers Pizarro showed that, in the hands of highly qualified practitioners, these can have an enduring effect on income. The communities which were the

principal objects of their attention have been poor ever since.” (*Economic Development*; John K. Galbraith, 1965.)

“It’s necessary to create an atmosphere of terror, we’ve got to create a feeling of domination by eliminating without scruples nor hesitation anyone who does not think like us.” (General Mola in Nabarre, March-1937.)

The nationalist passion and the imperialistic racism do blind their own agents. A result of centuries of French absolutism and Spanish asiatic-despotism, the totalitarian idolatry of their own immovable and all-powerful imperialistic State: fanatically conceived and imposed as beginning and end of all moral, of all policy and of all right, does condemn and block all progress and put the oppressor and the oppressed Nations in tow or behind History’s back. The narrow-minded obstinacy of France and Spain in order to preserve, by means of violence and terrorism at any cost, the Empires that violence and terrorism at all costs allowed them to establish, has brought - also for themselves - consequences that only the nationalist extremism can allow to ignore. It is the imperialistic Nationalism of the “great” Nations and “great” Empires: great gangs of fanatical thieves and murderers on a continental and trans-continental scale, which has bloodied and butchered the world.

The so-called “national question”: an integral part of the general issue of the class struggle that the imperialism establishes at an inter-national level, can be ignored, denied, distorted, secluded or avoided for some time; but, to the astonishment and indignation of the institutional Nationalism-imperialism in any of its forms (included of course the social-imperialistic Nationalism of purported opposition, which shamelessly presents itself as “socialist”), it always remains and reappear unless the genocide, the extermination and the destruction of the People that is enduring them are total. Apart from it, understanding and explanation of the international relations are impossible.

11/ Just the same as the Peoples themselves, the States that they freely constitute are inviolable.

The right of self-determination or independence of all Peoples, and that of legitimate self-defence, are complemented in the UN Resolutions with the right of integrity of their States: “No territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal”. [UNGAR 2625 (1970)]

Above its electoral rituals, a State is a democratic one because of its being founded on the effective Self-Determination of its People and the validity of the rest of the HHRR, and is maintained by the free adherence of its subjects to its legality that is licit and democratic inasmuch as it reflects People’s real power; which indeed makes the State also homogeneous and efficient (out of democratic) in a natural way. By contrast, and despite that camouflage, an State is a totalitarian and imperialistic one because of its being founded on the violation of the HHRR and in particular the Self-Determination of the subjugated Peoples, and is maintained by the coercion of its subjects under its “legality” that is illicit, iniquitous and

anti-democratic inasmuch as it conveys those Peoples' subjugation under the power of despotism and tyranny; all of which makes the State heterogeneous and unworkable (out of imperialistic and fascist) also in a natural way.

“The act by which a People is a People is the true foundation of society.” Its *Right of Self-Determination is the same thing* as its *Right of effective Freedom or Independence*. So, a really democratic State is necessarily founded, *already from its real and primary constitution, on the effectiveness* of the Independence, Free Disposition or Self-Determination of the People: first of fundamental HRR and precondition of them all; which makes that in this State: really and not falsely democratic, the eventual *formal recognition* of the RSD, should it occur, be something merely declarative or optional, something *redundant* with respect to the reality, which is already fully democratic and of Self-Determination completely aside from the fact that such a recognition be formulated or not *in its formal and secondary Constitution*. If Self-Determination is real and effective from the real and primary constitution of the State, there is not the least need to affirm, in its secondary Constitution, *the right* of a Self-Determination that is already existing and prior to it.

On the contrary, and correspondingly, an imperialistic State is necessarily founded, *already from its real and primary constitution, on the violation* of the Independence, Free Disposition or Self-Determination of the subjugated Peoples. The domination over the Peoples is the crucial fact upon which is established the genesis or real and primary constitution of the imperialistic State, and which determines its nature: not only antidemocratic but also criminal; which spares us the trouble of making further inquiries on its secondary and formal “Constitution” since it consists, strictly, of conscious and deliberate falsification and concealment – even grotesque, as it occurs in the Preambles and assumptions of the significantly abundant Spanish and French “Constitutions” – of the own imperialistic reality.

“*The General Assembly, Faithful* to its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, *Mindful* of the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, [...] *Recalling* its resolutions 2588 B (XXIV) of 15 December 1969, 2787 (XXVI) of 6 December 1971, 2955 (XXVII) of 12 December 1972, and 2963 E (XXVII) of 13 December 1972, as well as resolution VIII adopted by the International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran in 1968, [...] *Disturbed* at the continued repression and inhuman treatment inflicted on peoples still under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, including inhuman treatment of people imprisoned because of their struggle for self-determination, *Recognizing* the imperative need to put an early end to colonial rule, foreign domination and alien subjugation, 1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable right of all people under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, 2649 (XXV) of 30 November 1970 and 2787 (XXVI) of 6 December 1971; 2. *Also reaffirms* the legitimacy of the peoples' struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle; 3. *Calls upon* all States, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and with relevant

resolutions of the United Nations, to recognize the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence and to offer moral, material and any other assistance to all peoples struggling for the full exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence; [...]; 6. *Condemns* all Governments which do not recognize the right to self-determination and independence of peoples,” etc. [United Nations’ General Assembly Resolution 3070 (1973).]

“*The General Assembly*, [...] 1. *Calls upon* all States to implement fully and faithfully the resolutions of the United Nations regarding the exercise of the right to self-determination by peoples under colonial and alien domination; 2. *Reaffirms* the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, particularly armed struggle;” etc. [Ib. 33/24 (1978).]

When the agents of the imperialism in charge of spreading the ideology of illusion – while talking always alone thanks to their media monopolies of ideological intoxication of masses protected by their monopoly of violence, which penalizes the opponent through their fascist criminal code – “argue” saying that “the right of self-determination does not exist, because it is not provided for in our Magna Carta [which is the way as the Spanish Government spokeswoman, minister Celáa, has the audacity to call the “Constitution” of the second francoism] or in any other Constitution of comparable [‘democratic’, she is supposed to imply] States”, they either show their ignorance by talking about what they don’t know, or speak it in bad faith; without forgetting that both things can be compatible and that in them they are actually so and do strengthen to one another, because in fact those agents do believe and express what they want to believe. That’s why, when they continue stating that “There exists only this right in the case of colonized or harassed Peoples”, thus dismissing, as if it would not affect them, precisely everything that is at the base and in the real constitution of Spain and France, it is clear that in them honesty and probity are issues that are out of place and absolutely subordinated to their national-imperialistic priority: be it assumed either cynically, or as a result of their own alienation and insanity due to the effect of their own propaganda.

(On their part the agents of the imperialism responsible for applying the ideology of reality do not build up big ideas in this regard, as a retired Civil Guard official – responsible for the tortures to members of the resistance of our Country – has calmly admitted on television, in the same week of the above minister’s statements: “Naturally that there are [tortures], we are not going to invite them to coffee”. As it is evident, in a squad of summary execution/murder or a in torture chamber there is very little place left for building up illusions about “our Magna Carta” and the rest of revolting fabrications daily transmitted onto the defenceless Peoples, under centuries-old domination and harassment, by the phonies and/or insane agents of the imperialism in charge of spreading its ideology of illusion.)

The fact that the imperialists say that in Spain and in France there is not RSD is not surprising, since it is tantamount as to formulate with other words the same begging the principle in which both States are based from the very beginning of their historical gestation, namely: the affirmation of the respective nation as one and indivisible, transcendent and

immanent by definition or by divine appointment; the denial that the Basque People and its State the Kingdom of Nabarre exist or have ever existed (except as simple components of Spain and France that existed before them), and much less that they have been or are subjugated; and the affirmation that the Basques (if such a thing exists) are simply and seamlessly Spaniards or French whose language is the Spanish or the French and whose nation is Spain and France. If all that is true, it is also undeniably certain that in Spain and in France there is not RSD. Yet, undoubtedly all of that is completely false; and it is why, after having submitted and militarily occupied our State, and having annexed it to their respective Empires, the only way in which this imposition can be carried out in practice is by means of a fascist régime of military occupation. It “simply” occurs that these imperialistic and fascist States its agents and indigenous accomplices, since 1789, are calling them “Nation”, “Revolution”, “New Regime”, “Liberalism” and “Democracy”.

In short: if Self-Determination is (is *really* effective in the real and primary constitution of the State, apart from the fact that it be *formally* recognized or not), Imperialism is not (does not exist) and therefore there is no need of RSD; but if Self-Determination is not (is been violated, from the very moment in which the Peoples were attacked and their Territories and States annexed), then Imperialism is (exists) and accordingly *the Right of Self-Determination* there does necessarily arise as a fundamental right of the subjected People, which is its agent, against the imperialism which is its patient subject. The affirmation of Self-Determination as a reality already effective in an imperialistic State is a contradiction in terms sustained on the counterfeiting and denial of reality: a task that carry out the agents of the imperialism in charge of spreading the ideology of illusion, “in opposition” to those responsible for establishing the ideology of the reality that corresponds to the action of the agents (judges and henchmen) who apply its monopoly of violence. The question cannot be simpler; but those who don’t want to understand, will never understand, as it occur to the agents (either cynical or fanatical) of the imperialistic Nationalism.

Just as the imperialism and its intellectual agents try to falsify the nature of the RSD, by hiding or denying that its sole necessary content is the unconditional and immediate independence of a People subjugated by the imperialism, they similarly try to distort the UN Resolutions that protect the integrity of States democratically constituted, in order to implement such protection also in favour of the imperialistic States. With total shamelessness and cynicism they affect to ignore that it is expressly provided against “any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States *conducting themselves in compliance with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples as described above*” etc. (Ibid. Emphasis added.) Therefore it is not been protected there “the territorial integrity or political unity” of the imperialistic States, since they are not conducting themselves in conformity but in violation of that principle:

“An acquaintance of mine states that it’s a constant in Spain’s history the need to bomb Barcelona every fifty years”. (M. Azaña, President of the II Spanish Republic.)

“There is no security in any land without certainty of punishment. There is no protection for life, property, or money in a State where the criminal is more powerful than the law.

“The law of nations is no exception; and until it has been vindicated, the peace of the world will always be at the mercy of any nation whose professors have assiduously taught it to believe that no crime is wrong so long as it leads to the aggrandizement and enrichment of the country to which they owe allegiance.

“There have been many times in the history of the world criminal States. We are dealing with one of them now. And there will always be criminal States until the reward of international crime becomes too precarious to make it profitable, and the punishment of international crime becomes too sure to make it attractive. (From the address of Prime Minister, Mr. David Lloyd George, 14-XII-1917.)

The imperialistic State is a criminal State; and its leaders (however the many dignities and honours that they mutually may attribute or recognize between themselves, and no matter what may be the façade, the rhetoric and the ceremonial which they do themselves conceal with) are international delinquents, killers and wrongdoers, perpetrators co- perpetrators or beneficiaries of the greatest offences that morality and law can record: crimes against the laws of war, against peace and against humanity. Its protection, as well as its creation, is based on its criminal and genocidal armed gangs and permanent armies; which, through aggression, terrorism and countless and atrocious crimes, established on such means its real and primary constitution, basis for its subsequent formal and secondary “Constitution”. Therefore, in no way could such protection be based on the Charter of the UN and in the International Law, which constantly condemn those crimes as imprescriptible.

On the other hand an imperialistic State cannot invoke territorial integrity against the “separation” of a subjugated People, because – no matter whether the latter has not renounced to its own State or has never had any – “The territory of a colony or other Non- Self-Governing Territory has, under the Charter, a status separate and distinct from the territory of the State administering it; and such separate and distinct status under the Charter shall exist until the people of the colony or Non-Self-Governing Territory have exercised their right of self-determination in accordance with the Charter, and particularly its purposes and principles. [UNGAR 2625 (1970)]

Whence it follows that in such cases the “secession” is, more than non-existent, impossible: no one can separate himself from a whole of which he has never been a part.

The RSD of Peoples: right of unconditional and immediate independence against imperialism, first of HHRR and prior condition of them all, presides over *and subordinates* the whole issue of violence, peace and policy in general. Without the freedom of Peoples and the independence and security of their States freely constituted, world peace, human rights and democracy are only words in the panoply of ideological mystification updated by modern Nationalism, Totalitarianism and Imperialism. We will expose next some notable examples of this ideological distortion and falsification.

12/ Democracy: the political power of the People.

After the Second World War all Countries of the world present themselves as “non- violent and democratic”, including of course the fascists and imperialistic ones: no one admits being “non-democratic”, and even less “anti-democratic”. As for violence, the fact that the imperialistic and fascist States: armed to the teeth and holders of the greater means of destruction ever accumulated and protagonists of the greater hecatombs of History, do notwithstanding pretend to be “opponents of all violence coming from where it may come”, shows the shameless capacity of logical-terminological destruction that characterizes these days. Since the “great (national-imperialistic) French Revolution” up to today, the most remarkable ideological feature of modern and contemporary despotism is that totalitarianism, dictatorship, terrorism, warmongering, aggression, imperialism and colonialism appear disguised and clad in “liberty, equality, fraternity, pacifism, non-violence, human rights and democracy”.

In particular the “democratic and pacifist” ideology: universally proclaimed since the Second World War, does nowadays force any totalitarian régime to recuperate the name and the concept of *democracy*, and its correlates, so as to cover up and justify itself with them. “The more reactionary, aggressive, violent, repressive and terrorist is the policy of the imperialistic States, the more does itself carefully camouflage behind pompous phrases about freedom, democracy and ‘the free world’ etc.”

The current camouflage of totalitarian régimes behind the facade of “legitimate institutions” established through rituals and forms of a “democratic” appearance is now a required procedure; which the imperialism covers with ease and with the accomplice satisfaction of everybody under the sole condition that those who are taking the rap accept to collaborate in their own destruction and make it easier by recognizing those “institutions”, remaining silent (if not making their apology) or committing more or less gross mistakes. A “political class” strategically ruined and corrupt, composed of incompetent or unscrupulous individuals that - stripped of all real power - do believe or pretend to be participating in real policy when they are mere figure-heads of it, is the necessary condition that makes it possible the indefinite maintenance of the subjugated Peoples in their sad plight. In any case the slander and defamation as “terrorist”, spread through all the worldwide circuits of fascist propaganda, is the “scheduled protocol” that is applied against all the Peoples that are enduring the Terrorist aggression of the imperialistic States and Governments and that - even if doing it weakly - do resist against it exercising their right of legitimate self-defence. For these criminals who hypocritically pretend to be “aggrieved”, any action of democratic resistance and opposition, all defence of fundamental human rights - and in particular of the RSD - is “terrorism”.

The Democracy is the political power of the People and is based on *the effectiveness* of HRR. Now then, a People under imperialistic domination is deprived of its power, is kidnapped and subdued under State terrorism; therefore where there is no popular power and the HRR - and above all that of self-determination - are denied, there is no place for Democracy: there is only imperialism and fascism. The “polls, votings and elections” that occur under an imperialistic régime, and that it presents as “democracy”, are a clumsy trap in which the Peoples - generally weakened by the centennial colonization of the metropolis,

undermined and frailed by the grand-terrorist aggression and by the intoxication of fifth-columnists (colonists, renegades and traitors), often ignorant of their own rights and for a greater security previously silenced - have allowed to be locked up as a result of the disability, stupidity, defeatism and/or the corruption of its “political class”. The imperialistic “democracy” is a contradiction in terms: it does not and cannot exist; and the situation of oppression hidden behind such a falsification leads nowhere except to the liquidation of the HHRR or to a permanent conflict against them.

A democratic consultation, option, decision or vote involve - upon other issues - the free and democratic entity of the legal active subject of the right, and the free and democratic forms of its exercise: conditions that do not have any place under the imperialism and are contradictory of it. On the other hand they involve, surely enough, not only the formal right to its realization but also the social, economic and cultural conditions for an effective access to communication and information; circumstances that, being essential for any free decision-making, are all the more non-existent where all information has been replaced by the official propaganda, and the faintest attempt to spread the objectivity is likely to receive so official as immediate sanctions, well established in the Penal Code of the imperialistic fascism in terms of sedition/rebellion. Therefore they require first and foremost the prior achievement, without conditions or falsifications, both of the right of national freedom, free disposition or self-determination of the Peoples (“first of all fundamental human rights and precondition of them all”), that is: of their independence from imperialism, as well as of “the right of the States constituted on the right of free disposition of Peoples” to their integrity and independence. It is to say that they do imply, not follow, the ending of the imperialism: the validity of the imperialistic régime before, during, and “eventually” after so hypothetical and “democratic” consultation is contradictory to the democratic rights and to the RSD itself, which *do precede and condition* any democratic consultation.

The “free will” expressed under occupation, as well as the “free confession” under torture, does not have the smallest value as a democratic basis; actually it does not and cannot exist. The democratic vote implies the prior exclusion and abolition of the imperialistic régime of occupation, that is: the effectiveness of Self-Determination, the independence from the imperialism. The free vote cannot lead to the independence: it supposes the independence, because there is no free vote without prior independence. Self-determination *is* the independence from imperialism, and it does necessarily precede all “consultation”. Under an imperialistic régime of occupation the “right to decide” in freedom is not possible.

Summing-up and in short, if there is Democracy there is no Imperialism: the fundamental HHRR - and in particular the right of independence, free disposition or self-determination of Peoples, first and precondition of them all - are in full *force and observance*; therefore there is no national oppression or problem and no *fundamental* objection can be opposed to that régime, which, if needed, can be reformed with small corrective measures. Whereas if there is Imperialism, then there is no Democracy: its appearance as such is fraudulent; is a mere disguise that cannot hide that the HHRR and in particular the RSD of Peoples - and the Peoples themselves and their States - are being persecuted and denied, and the régime is incurably criminal, despotic and totalitarian. There is no possible loophole: either the

imperialistic occupation or the Democracy is to be denied; both things cannot exist at the same time.

The free “general election” in an occupied and colonized Country are impossible; they are a sheer mockery, a farce that the movement of national liberation of the subjugated People should always denounce and confront through the boycott. The only possible way in which a People dominated by the imperialism can exercise the democracy consists of previously getting the expulsion of the occupying forces and the liquidation of the imperial-colonialist domination, it is: the national independence. Democracy does not “lead” to independence; it’s the national independence that allows and makes possible Democracy.

13/ Blocking of Democracy and Fundamental Human Rights in Spain and France.

It is not Democracy which does found, allow or guarantee the respect for the HHRR; quite on the contrary, it is the respect and observance of the HHRR which does found, allow, guarantee and *constitute* Democracy. Where HHRR (and specially the right of self-determination or independence of all Peoples, which is the first of HHRR and prior condition of them all) are denied or violated there is not Democracy, there is despotism, totalitarianism and fascism: ideological-political instruments used by the imperialism - on the basis of military occupation and ideological falsification - in order to remain and continue with the exploitation of the subjugated Peoples. Democracy does not *and cannot* exist under an imperialist régime; its first condition of possibility is the abolition of imperialism by the unconditional and immediate independence of the subjugated Peoples.

The imperialism establishes the class struggle at an international level; it is a cancer that is based on the criminal alliance between the army, the aristocracy, the Church, the great bourgeoisie and the people of the occupying Country (all of them united in a reactionary “Sacred Union” and in the demagogy of their common imperialistic and chauvinist Nationalism that they now call “populism”), formed for the exploitation of the Nations and States that they have dominated by means of a régime of military occupation and oppression, necessarily fascist, which inevitably affects also the oppressing Nation itself. Such is the situation of Spain and of France, historically bogged in that design of imperialistic domination that still lingers upon the Basque People and State and upon others: “The first condition of the regained confidence is the unity of the Nation. [...] To make live together all the French without distinction around the same values, those of the Republic: Such is my imperative duty. [...] wherever we live - whether in the Hexagon or Over-the-seas - [...] we are France.” Etc. (From the investiture speech of French President Hollande; Mai-2012.)

In France and Spain, any attempt to create new “regenerationist” Parties - able to overcome the morass of the traditional fascist and corrupt establishment - is immediately blocked by the imperative of assuming as a first starting point the imperialistic “unity” of what they call “the Fatherland”, in other words: that the occupied Nations are of their own property. Which does

inevitably impose on them an eternal return to the old recipes of ever: charlatanism and *ideological falsification* by means of grandiloquent counterfeited and empty formulations that conceal their imperialistic Nationalism and replace the authentic democratic content, impossible under it; and electioneering and political recuperation - in favour of the established power - of the social sectors critical and opposed to it but lacking real democratic will or capacity due to their imperialistic or social-imperialistic Nationalism. Yet, all this is a cover for *their sole fundamental strategy*, without which all of them are nothing: military occupation, which allows police-administrative-judicial repression, prison and seizure of assets of the Resistance fighters; all of which they, at the height of their insane perversion, do jubilantly declare it to be “democratic”. And it is so by definition, since it is consistent with the evil imperialistic legal system that they themselves have established against the subjugated People; legal system that they have previously had the caution to establish as “democracy” thanks to the suicidal collaboration of its incapable and/or corrupt aboriginal “political class”. What need is there already in invoking papal Bulls and rights of conquest, if Peoples can now be kept subjugated by means of fascism and make everybody call it “democracy” thanks to the collaboration of a despicable “political class” consciously or unconsciously recuperated at the service of the imperialism? Finally if none of those tricks is enough, and those “new leaders” - puppets who act as “political managers” of the real power - are unable to stop the movement of emancipation to the subjugated Peoples, then the masks are abandoned, free way is given to the action of the Army or the police forces of repression and back to square one. And in addition the culprit of it will be the subjugated People because of “not abiding by the [imperialist] law, without which [imperialistic] coexistence and democracy are not possible”:

“I have never been what they call pro-Spanish or jingoistic, but I am outraged at these things; and if these people are going to dismember Spain, I prefer Franco. With Franco we could understand ourselves, or our sons or whoever. But those men are unbearable.” (M. Azaña; President of the second Spanish Republic.)

“I’m not waging war against Franco in order that a stupid and provincial separatism may sprout us in Barcelona. In no way. I’m waging war by Spain and for Spain. By its greatness and for its greatness. They are wrong those who otherwise do presume. There is only but one nation: Spain! Before allowing nationalist campaigns that lead us to dismemberments that I in no way accept, I would rather give way to Franco without any other condition except that of his getting rid of Germans and Italians. The Decree of Franco, abolishing the autonomy of Catalonia, had passionate adherents among the Republicans.” (J. Negrin; Prime Minister of the Government in the II Spanish Republic and member of the PsoE.)

If these and other similar things were said by the Spaniards “of Left-wing” when they practiced the class struggle and the civil and international war in 1936, it can be deduced what they think, say and practice now that all political contradiction has disappeared and the internal class struggle has been “abolished” by the architects and the newcomers of the “transition”, achieved for the benefit of the nationalist reconciliation and sacred union, and of the national-imperialistic front:

“[...] President Puigdemont and Vice-President Junqueras, today more than ever, become the main cause of the fracture and tearing of the whole Catalan society. And all that for nothing,

because nothing is to embark on a path that leads to a dead end; that is sowing division and social and political fracture; and that is violating the principles upon which sits the social and democratic State of right and the rule of the law. [...]; yet, before any questioning of the territorial integrity of Spain there is no nuance: the mere idea of a Spain without Catalonia and vice-versa is that of one maimed Spain and Catalonia”. Etc. (From the speech of P. Sanchez, Secretary General of the PsoE, in support of the abolition of the “autonomy” of Catalonia decreed by the traditional Francoist party; 27-X-2017.)

Faced with the increase and exasperation of the Resistance, the imperialism is forced either to abandon its domination, or to hold it by means of State terrorism. The torture is an institution inseparable from despotism, and does by itself reveal the terrorist nature of a political activity or régime; despite this it is usually ignored by all the social classes and States that support the imperialism, which in this respect obtains from them all a “comprehensive” solidarity that they will never be able to deny. The imperialism does not only destroy the dominated Nation: it corrodes and destroys also the internal democratic potentialities of the dominant Nation and its accomplices. Obviously, without abolition of the imperialism and the Peoples’ independence there is no possible freedom or democracy: not for the oppressive Nation either. “A People that oppresses another People cannot be free.”

14/ There is no political domination without ideological domination.

The ideology is the determination of the social behaviour by means of the ideas. “The ideologies do not truly attend to deepen the knowledge but only to determine the will.” In the history of social conflicts the ideology appears initially as an invention of the Strong to reinforce and expand their power (affirming a divine origin to Kings’, emperors’ and tsars’ sovereignty); an invention subsequently reviewed by the Weak to found and comfort their claim for emancipation.

The ideology of the dominant Nations and States is the dominant ideology. Their ideological-moral system, *absolutely subordinated to the National-imperialistic priority* of their own Nation: one and indivisible as something established in a dogmatic, mystical and quasi-religious form, manipulates and falsifies principles, concepts and terms so as to explain “naturally” the imperialistic reality in order to induce the corresponding ideological delirium *in the whole population* (albeit with their own characteristics in each case depending on the patient’s position within it: either as a member of the oppressive Nation, or of the oppressed one); a delirium which makes the presence of the imperialistic reality to be seen and accepted in a quite natural way even as if it was a “moral” reality, or else had been established in a form as ineluctable as the presence of mountains and rivers.

In every totalitarian society, but even more so if it consists in an imperialistic domination over subjugated Peoples and is therefore based on the violation of the international right of self-determination of all Peoples, first of fundamental human rights and precondition of them all, “Aggression has become moralized”:

“Aggression has become moralized, and morality has become a form of violence. [...] In this way an unjust society causes and defines crime; and an aggressive social structure which is unjust and must create aggressive social disruption, receives the moral sanction of being ‘law and order’. Law and order is one of the steps taken to maintain injustice. [...] There is no way out for our sort of society: an unjust society must be violent. Any organization which denies the basic need for biological justice must become aggressive, even though it claims to be moral. This is true of most religions, which say that justice can only be obtained in another world, and not in this. It is also true of many movements for political reform. [...].

“What ought we to do? Live justly. But what is justice? Justice is allowing people to live in the way for which they evolved. Human beings have an emotional and physical need to do so, it is their biological expectation. They *can* only live in this way, or all the time struggle consciously or unconsciously to do so. That is the essential thing I want to say because it means that in fact our society and its morality, which deny this, and its technology which more and more prevents it, all the time whisper into people’s ear ‘You have no right to live’. That is what lies under the splendour of the modern world. Equality, freedom and fraternity must be reinterpreted in the light of this – otherwise real revolutionary change is impossible.”
Etc. (Edward Bond.)

Our ancestors the Euskarians lived in these same lands thousands of years before the Romans invaded them, finding them already here and calling them Vascones. They did not evolve over thousands of years as Euskarians-Vascones with their own language and culture, which is ours, in order that those Romans or their successors: Hispanic-Visigoth- Spaniards and Gallic-Frank-French, no less imperialistic than the former, would endeavour in making them disappear saying: “You have no right to live”, and trying to turn them under coercion into Spaniards or French. However the obscene work of the agents of these cannibal imperialisms: historians, legists, ideologists, ecclesiastics, propagandists etc., consists in creating the falsifications, myths and absurdities, the begging of principles and ideological fictions that, hiding the really criminal process of construction of their fraudulent “nations” (by means of unholy Crusades, unjust wars and horrible slaughters), may establish instead an immaculate constitutional conception for them. The counterfeiting and retrojection of history serves to create its founding myths, while the key-ideas of the sociology and the moral are emptied of their real content and re-filled with the garbage produced by the imperialistic ideology: by-product that the monopolies of propaganda and ideological intoxication of masses - annexed to the monopoly of violence - and their army of fanatical mercenaries do next disseminate through the mass-media in a permanent session on a defenceless population, stunned and without true leaders in the service of the People. Thus, the cardinal concepts of nation, nationalism, inter-nationalism, terrorism, racism, pluralism, freedom, equality, fraternity, democracy, liberalism, socialism, self-determination, human rights, tolerance etc.: essential to pose in their proper expression the central sociological- political conflicts, are falsified by means of systematic and obsessive media campaigns of psychological warfare, brain-washing and ideological conditioning of masses, and they pass to mean what in every case is useful in order to serve and hide the dogma of France-Spain’s bloody imperialistic Nationalism: “the one, indivisible, democratic and non-violent Nation” by begging the question. It is not

possible to overcome the imperialism while admitting and starting from the postulates, mental categories, terminology, ideology and morality of the imperialism.

Tiresome though it may be, this imposes on the militant of the Resistance an inescapable task of overcoming - through study and assimilation of the democratic criticism of the imperialistic ideology - the alienation created by the imperialism. The endearing idea that this criticism should and could be done in a brief, agreeable, simplified and even simplistic way, and that it will thus be and can be assimilated by the reader or auditor in a comfortable way and - as if it were - almost by infused science, is a sign of the success reached by the huge and destructive task performed by the imperialism; which has eventually printed even among the Resistance fighters so profound a footprint that it leads them not to be aware of the damage that this ideology has achieved among its patients, and of the corresponding demands involved in its overcoming. It is the mission of the imperialistic ideology reducing its patients to the level of feeble minded people, unable to get a totalizing perception of the reality, in order to turn them into docile dominated subjects. On the contrary, it is the arduous task of he who exerts the democratic criticism - in conditions of absolute disadvantage and under the illegality of the fascist criminal code - raising them to the level of lucid, conscious and free people. From there the wish of personal liberation - which should start being a mental liberation - will determine the attitude of every one, who obviously will use of this criticism in the grade determined by one's own vital need; but the anti-imperialistic criticism must be done in its entirety (sometimes inevitably in all its complexity, before the deliberate mess and confusion that the imperialistic ideology creates in matters in itself simple) so that it can meet the needs of all.

Encouraged and enhanced by the new world order of hegemony, the Nationalism does brutally adopt nowadays all the resources of the modern imperialistic ideology: semantic manipulation and confusion, conceptual perversion and ruin of the formal logic, falsification of history and mystification of sociology, policy and right; techniques with which the ancient oriental despotism and absolutism are updated and enhanced. Paralogisms, essentialism, constructivism, ignorance, dogmatism and obscurantism; falsification and destruction of the historical memory and collective conscience of Peoples; mythology, theology, teleology and retrojection of history; brain washing, ideological indoctrination and intoxication of masses, and creation and conditioning of positive and negative reflexes by means of predetermined primary stimuli: they are essentially ideological mechanisms in the service of the imperialism, which are ensured by the monopolies of communication, education and propaganda founded by the terrorist monopoly of violence.

15/ "Separation of powers, Law and Constitution, State and rule of law, universal suffrage, dialogue and negotiation": fraudulent ideological justifications of the imperialism.

The policy - even more the imperialistic policy - is the determination of the condition and behaviour of the subjects by means of violence. Once its domination has been established, the

ideologists of the imperialistic régime - in their task at the service of the concealment of reality by means of the ideology of illusion, spread by the monopolies of indoctrination and intoxication of masses - do affirm that violence and policy are incompatible; it's about false tales of love and peace that, in the service of the Mighty, they invent so as to weaken the simple people.

In their turn the indigenous puppets in the service of the imperialism, unable to face its reality and in a permanent political stance recuperated by it consisting of rituals and gestures: "elections" and false debates etc. *always within the premises of the established imperialistic power* (which implies its recognition as a democratic régime), do contribute to the spreading of those vain illusions by all means that the monopolies of propaganda put at their disposition, ignorant (or perhaps knowing it and aiming too to parasitize them) that the Peoples who do not find out about the world in which they are living, are a helpless prey of their predators. With this pattern of behaviour, starting from the recognition that they grant to the imperialistic régime as "legitimate, non-violent and democratic", all truly democratic policy is impossible: we have to endure the imperialistic one disguised as "democratic" etc., which is the only existing one, while constantly verifying the total impotence of making any other because, being so that *policy consists always and necessarily in strategy*, they do never get out from the imperialistic strategy. Their pathetic appeals to the unity of democratic classes are absolutely futile, when not hypocritical, given that such a unity can only be based in a strategic function. Now then, the incapability of these puppets to even imagine a democratic policy does ensure that an anti-imperialistic strategy and unity are impossible thanks to them.

The reality is that violence and policy are not incompatible; they are not even properly compatible either: violence is *constitutive* of policy. Policy consists of actual and virtual violence, which determines the behaviour and ideas of those who are subjects to it. "Violence is the specific means of policy", not a simple accessory.

Policy and non-violence are incompatible: without violence, there is no policy. A non-violent policy is a contradiction in terms, a vacuous attempt to any formal or general logic, a hypocritical denial of the most apparent reality, whose consequences do always suffer the weak and the helpless. It is not possible oppose a violent policy to another non-violent one: a policy could be opposed to another one or not; but it cannot, without formal contradiction, be opposed to violence.

The violence can be exercised in defence of fundamental human rights, in which case is legitimate or lawful as it happens with the right of legitimate self-defence; or on the contrary it can be carried out in violation of those rights, in which case it is illegitimate or unlawful and it is then described as aggression, as it is the case with the violence of imperialism and fascism. The rights in general, and in particular the fundamental human rights, do naturally involve (virtual or actual) violence, since a right without its defence against aggression does not have any sense.

The *democracy* (= power of the people) is also a "cracy", and does not therefore consist in non-violence: it consists in violence, the same as any political power or régime. It is

impossible to distinguish between despotism and democracy by reference to the use or non-use of violence. The distinction between democratic and despotic policy, as far as their respective resource to violence is concerned, is established:

a) Qualitatively by their purposes: when they are democratic, the violence is exercised in defence of the fundamental HHRR; and when the purposes are despotic, it is exercised for the destruction/violation of those rights; and

b) Quantitatively by the differential doses: respectively controlled or uncontrolled, which occur in both of them.

The ideologists and agents of the imperialism do exhort to renounce to violence so as to “adopt the rules of the democratic play”. But the democratic “play” - like all policy - is violence, and its rules are rules of violence: they are created and imposed by means of violence. The political power that hides this is showing with it that it is a power not only violent but also illegitimate and undemocratic, otherwise it would not need to deceive their victims: when violence is legitimate and democratic, it does not need of deceit or concealment.

Fully aware that - aside from its respective purposes and doses - the undeniable material identity common to *any act* of violence is a problem for their proclaimed affirmation of the “intrinsic evil of all violence”, with which they hypocritically try to cover themselves, the ideologists and “philosophers” at the service of the imperialism have unfolded the term designating the violent act, in order to induce in their patients the illusion that the differentiation of terms corresponds to a differentiation of realities. For the ideologists of the imperialism it is not enough therefore to proclaim that there is a “good violence, which is what we do”, and a “bad violence, which is what others do”: this would correspond to a first and little elaborate level of ideological trickery; to which anyway they always can return and in fact do return when the ideological struggle makes it necessary. (Or: when they perceived that the level of brutalisation of the population does not require further elaboration.)

A higher level of specialization requires therefore a twofold term so as to designate purportedly different realities. Actually they claim that the violence of the imperialism is so good that even it is not nor is called “violence”: is “force”. As they say, “the police don’t use violence, they use force; that’s why they are called the security forces” (Sabater); “the Government will pursue terrorism with all the strength of the rule of law”; “in Corsica the Government of the Republic will oppose to the violence all the strength of the rule of law” etc. So as to leave no doubts about the “force” that they are talking about, “the Marseillaise”, protected by penal law, continues inciting the French to soak the soil with the impure blood of the others. (The Spaniards, with the particular refinement that characterizes them, have enough with the insults and rants that follow the incitements of the type: “Let’s get after them, oe, oe!”) The only violence is always that of the others, which is and is called “violence” or “terrorism” and is always bad and evil, since by a constitutive definition it is and is called “violence” or “terrorism” what the others do against the own established power. The permanent repetition of this through the mass media at their service ensures the effectiveness of the trick and the stupefying of their patients, as well as probably also that of

their own agents; which makes them more effective, because the conscious and cynical liar is not so resolute and determined: nobody performs better his task of deceiving or repressing the others than he who is himself deceived or has been taken to fanaticism without being aware of it.

Obviously not all violence falls within the scope of policy, neither does all this one - even if it intends so - reach to a strategic level; yet all policy: whether democratic or not, is violence. In particular, the policy of the imperialism and fascism consists of the exorbitant, unilateral and unlimited violence of the great strategic concentrations of power, established in violation of fundamental HHRR and maintained mainly by the thermo-nuclear weapon or under its protection, according to the established system of satellites and vassal States of the “great” Powers.

An auxiliary, equivocal and narrow meaning of “policy” - disseminated by the imperialistic ideology in its service - does confine it solely to the action of the Executive organs, present the Legislative and Judiciary branches as “apolitical”, and reduce the issues of imperialism or fascism, and democracy, to a mere matter of “State separation of powers”; yet, an eventual “separation of powers” within the imperialistic State does not solve any of those issues. Indeed, the separation of powers has as a condition of birth and applicability the contradiction of forces in the social struggles, and in the imperialism there is a class struggle at an international level, that’s to say: oppression and exploitation of Peoples and States under/by other Peoples and States.

In an imperialistic régime the “separation of powers” is, in fact, “the unitarian functional network of the totalitarian power”: it’s the régime as a whole that is imperialistic, not only a part of it. Under such conditions its Legislative, Executive or Judiciary bodies do spontaneously and fully coincide on the treatment to be applied to the democratic forces of the occupied Peoples. In this respect the differences and contradictions between those internal bodies are a reactionary fable and an apologia of the fascist régime of occupation: the judges do not need lessons or pressures from anybody to participate in the suppression of the Freedom of Peoples and the HHRR in general, as it has always been confirmed. Any attempt in opposing, within an imperialistic régime, “the judiciary power to the political power” is a theoretical and practical absurdity.

“[These] actions [of the Spanish Government] in Catalonia do challenge the ideological freedom, that of information, the political pluralism, the equality before the law, [...]... in an escalating repression only possible in a law-lacking State that aims to its immutability through a joint action of its powers, ignoring the separation between them: something essential for being considered a democratic one.” Etc. (*A State without law*; editorial in a “Basque patriotic” press, 21-IX-2017.)

Yet, quite on the contrary, the imperialistic power is the imperialistic power, that’s to say: incompatible with democracy, and it would remain being so with “juridical base” or without it, with internal “separation of powers” or without it, with “independent” judges or without them. The affirmation of the internal “separation of powers” of the imperialism, as a purported democratic guarantee, shows the “incapability” - real or from bad-faith - of our

Country's "moderates and radicals" to understand the imperialistic policy as an *international issue* that is not reducible to the "centralism, the Jacobinism or the lack of internal separation of powers" of the occupying State, to which they nevertheless do endeavour to reduce it. All these formulations imply the abandonment of the concepts, principles and fundamentals of freedom and democracy, replaced by *the formal and internal assumptions* of the totalitarian régime within which they continue locating and understanding all political reality, including the inherent right of independence of the subjugated Peoples. Thus, against their persistent ideological-strategic incapability, it is necessary to once and again reaffirm that *international policy, international right, and international separation of powers* are the instruments that allow *the sole* political and juridical guarantee against imperialism.

"The form of expression according to which they are not persons who do govern, but norms and laws", is a misleading way to solve the problems. "A norm is never set by itself (this is a fantastic way of talking) [...] as if it was fallen from the sky." It is not the laws which do rule but those who make and impose them: the humans make the law.

In terms of morality, like in terms of legality, every State manufactures what suits to it: "it is moral and legal what there suits the German People". "Hans Gerber, an academic jurist, described the new spirit of German law after 1933: 'National Socialism insists that justice is not a system of abstract and autonomous values such as the various types of Natural Law systems.' Each State -Gerber continued- 'has its own concept of justice'." (Richard Overy.)

Democracy and imperialism do mutually exclude each other; and "the legality", "the law" of the positive right of an imperialistic régime is not only imposed but iniquitous. Against the fictions driven by the imperialistic ideology, whose function is to stupefy and misdirect the dominated Peoples (which are constantly disseminated between them even by their own and purported "intellectuals and political class"), it is necessary to put in evidence that the positive right is a *political order*: is the determination of the condition and behaviour of the subjects by means of *the monopoly* of (actual or virtual) violence. Thus the laws, the juridical order and the institutions created in an occupied Country by an imperialistic régime - or by an "autonomous" puppet régime of management and collaboration to its service - are not only a pure product of the imperialistic criminal violence but in addition its own and fraudulent self-justification. Against such manipulations, "the act by which a People is a People is the true foundation of society".

Once an imperialistic Country has achieved to be imposed on another Country *in a total and indisputable way* by means of *the monopoly of violence and the military occupation of its permanent armies* (which is its real and primary constitution), and to establish in this way the new frontiers of its imperial "Nation-State", it does next generate its own imperialistic laws and "legality" for all that area: "the laws that the victor lays onto the defeated"; that's to say: its *positive right* and its formal and secondary "Constitution" imposed through its "Parliaments, Chief Justices and Supreme Courts"; a global set-up that do obviously rest on the basis of the previously established monopoly of violence. So gross and evident self-justification by begging the question does not seem to cause them the slightest intellectual and moral uneasiness but, quite on the contrary, they present it as the height of "logic" and "justice":

“There is no alternative. The only thing that can – *and what’s more should* – be done in a situation like this is to turn to the law precisely to get the enforcement of the law.” (M. Rajoi, President of the Spanish Government, in his speech prior to the intervention of the “autonomy” of Catalunya, 27- X-2017.)

Therefore the imperialistic “legality” - and “morality” - is just the adequacy to the norms and rules laid down by the imperialistic domination. The application that its agents make of its “legality” is called “justice”: it is the “justice” of the imperialism; which, like its “democracy”, is based on the violation of fundamental human rights and above all of the RSD. They are those robed offenders against HHRR (some even call themselves “judges for democracy”) who, backed by the violence and imprescriptible crimes in which is based their real constitution, do cynically or insanely interrogate and accuse the members of the national Resistance against the subjugated Peoples’ domination of rebelling against it: “Are you a proponent of violence? Do you accept our Constitution?”

From some nominally nabarrist sectors we are being instructed in the same direction: “It’s no good affirming that ‘we were conquered’ so as to obtain as a result ‘so, we have right’”, they tell us. “It’s no good”. For whom “it’s no good”? We know that the HHRR “are not good” for the imperialism; which, after being founded on the violation of them, do legislate in consequence and then invokes this legality that enshrines by begging the question its own imperialistic régime and institutions. Is that what they mean? So these nabarrists (?) do teach us in order that we “can understand” the perfect fit of the imperialism and its positive right in the established *status quo*; in other words: those who do not understand it, want to make us see the ideological trap which we are constantly affirming the imperialistic order is based upon. As for “the rest” that we are also constantly affirming, that is: 1/ the indefeasible validity of the Basque People’s Fundamental Rights and above all of its RSD, first of HHRR and precondition of them all; 2/ the continuity, validity and timeliness of its State the Kingdom of Nabarre, unlawfully annexed and abolished by means of imperialistic violence and its afferent legality; and 3/ the timeless wrongfulness of the imperialism and also of its imprescriptible crimes of war, against peace and against humanity; about all those “trifles” what do our nominal nabarrists say? “That approach is pure idealism (Platonism), onanistic solipsism”. The farthest thing of ‘realpolitik’ that we can imagine”; this is their answer. In short, what these new re-discoverers of a kindergarten realpolitik come and tell us is that we’ve got no other alternative but starting from the recognition of the French-Spanish imperialistic and colonialist régime of military occupation of our Country - as well as of its intellectual and material criminal agents - as “legitimate, non-violent and democratic”. But this is not new! It is exactly what the imperialists have always said and keep saying: here and in every place where they managed to put their nasty claws to kill and steal.

Nor should it be necessary to dwell too much upon tricks of the type: “We must establish a dialogue but starting from the respect for the Constitution and law”. Firstly it must be said that the dialogue implies the recognition and respect of the other; that’s why - strictly speaking and unlike policy – the dialogue does necessarily exclude all violence and is incompatible with it. Therefore where the dialogue is really possible the imperialism does not exist; instead the dialogue is impossible where there is an imperialistic political régime,

established and maintained by means of war, occupation and fascism. As it is obvious, if the imperialism and fascism were capable of dialogue then they wouldn't be the imperialism and fascism and there wouldn't exist any imperialistic problem to solve. But unfortunately the imperialistic nationalism of France and of Spain exist, and they are - *not by accident but by its essence and its existence* - incompatible with the non-violence, dialogue and freedom, with the love, peace and harmony that do at all times preach the hypocrites and pharisees of its propaganda services. Their objective is not precisely the dialogue but the liquidation by all means of the subjugated Peoples and States, whose existence they do not recognize nor have the slightest intention of recognizing. Leaving aside the professional humbugs who affirm which they do not believe in and thrive on it, the spreading among the subjugated Peoples the idea that it might be possible the dialogue with those criminals implies whether a transitory mental loss or a characterized dementia.

Of course they understand all this in a different way, and it's so that for the imperialism and fascism the "dialogue" has as a pre-condition the acceptance and recognition of the military and colonial occupation régime, of its monopoly of violence, of "its right, laws, justice and institutions", and of the annexation of the subjected Peoples to the dominant Nation. In particular the "institutions" that they talk about consist in institutional violence, have nothing to do with persuasion and dialogue, and their real aim is to close all the paths for a peaceful and democratic arrangement; not just through a genuine dialogue (which we've already seen cannot exist in the established conditions of imperialism and fascism) *but even* through negotiation. We must remember - in the end - that all their laws, and especially their "Constitution", have been imposed through innumerable and horrendous crimes.

The negotiation (which is not the same thing as "doing business") is an expression of the rapport of forces and therefore a component - now yes - of policy; however it's not possible any negotiation with he who holds the monopoly of violence and is not willing to stop using it to liquidate the opponent. In fact, it is precisely for getting the liquidation of the opponent for what the monopoly of violence is kept. The "dialogue and negotiation" offered by the imperialism and fascism do simply imply the submission, exclusion and liquidation of the subjugated Peoples: "starting from there, the dialogue" etc. is possible. However, as it is obvious, "starting from there": "starting from the respect" of such methods there is nothing left about which to dialogue and negotiate; there are only left the submission and liquidation of the subjugated Peoples, the acceptance of their postulated non-existence as such Peoples holders of an infeasible right of self-determination, the liquidation of their own rights and state institutions, and the acceptance and forgiveness of the imprescriptible crimes and robberies constituent of imperialism.

It is true that to be able to oppose against something one must needs eat and live, and that without an inescapable degree of submission to the established order (with its inevitable consequence of a forced payment of taxes etc.) one cannot eat neither live nor, therefore, resist. Yet, undeniably, it is impossible to establish a strategic base for a national/popular liberation starting from a full collaboration with the imperialism: from its recognition as a legitimate régime, and from the acceptance towards its "Constitution", institutions and laws as democratic ones. It's evident that, *in this way*, it is not possible to fight and oppose to

totalitarianism because the régime and its legality are made so that it is not possible. “The Constitution was drafted so that it was not possible.”

In the same vein, the armed and unarmed aboriginal institutionalists do prudently “warn” us of the threat and danger of military intervention: “The Constitution still maintains the possibility of a military intervention”, they say while hiding that it’s about the constituent violence of the imperialistic and fascist régime that did emerge from the war of 1936 and from all that preceded it: a violence that has always been there and has never ceased. This leads the Pnv and its satellites, including the Eta, to the crazy claim of “reforming, developing and democratising” the formal “Constitution” through the deletion of its Article 8 (or any other), “which gives its power to the Army”. They cannot and do not want to see that the Army does not receive its power from the eighth Article but that, quite on the contrary, it’s the power of the Army that founds the Article 8 and, with it, all the formal and secondary “Constitution”. The guns of the Army do found, first and foremost, the real and primary constitution: a direct result of the wars that the Army won and that the others lost, *and a necessary premise* of the formal and secondary “Constitution”. Without the power of the Army there is no a constituted “Constitution” nor a constituent constitution, and in such a case the Pnv-Eta group would not have an imperialistic political régime to “reform, develop and democratize” not to abolish either. Because the sole solution of the imperialism is not its reform but its abolition; yet the “Basque radicals”, perversely and stubbornly fortified against reality, remain determined in their recognition of the régime as democratic and therefore in its - according to them - possible “democratic reformation”: something absolutely incompatible with its imperialistic and fascist nature, and thus they do so far qualify expressly as “counter-reformation” any reaction thereby it reaffirms itself as it is.

Obviously without “the cannons: a very important part of the Constitution”, their authority, domination, “Constitution” and the “apparent” ideological constructions of their legal bodies and political groups are nothing. Those “authority, domination” etc. are therefore established *in violation* of the RSD, of the fundamental HHRR and of the legitimate original legality and Institutions, which are thereby repealed and the previous reality declared non-existent on the basis of the imperialistic and fascist political totalitarianism; all of which its legists and propagandists do pompously present with falsifications that pretend to be flawless truths and which they refer to as “the rule of law”, “the equality of all the people before the law” etc. All this ideological rubbish remains even more hidden under a coarse and redundant *petitio principii* (one more) that they sublimate with the formula “State of law”: a stale, worn-out, equivocal and multi-purpose ideological resource, as prevalent in the fascist propaganda as the self-proclaimed “democracy”, and as empty as itself.

Let’s see: in its residual and official version, the so-called “State of law” that fascists and imperialists do constantly invoke boils down to the “rule of law”, that’s to say: of *its* law. But the law of the State does not found or legitimize anything; starting with the State itself, which has produced it *a posteriori*. Once it has been constituted, every State enacts its laws and therefore any State is a “State of law”. We’ve already pointed to the “robust” conception of the National-Socialist “rule of law”; as much could be said about the Russian Soviet “rule of law” and its own protection through the legislation of its Penal Code and most particularly

it's Article 58:

“Who among us has not experienced its all-encompassing embrace? In all truth there is no step, thought, action or lack of action under the heavens which could not be punished by the heavy hand of Article 58.” (A. Solzhenitsyn.)

“[T]he philosophy and the theory of law have in the data of the epoch of reference one of their best fields of contrast. The Nazism is a real *experimentum crucis* for those disciplines. And even the moral tranquillity of their scholars may be shaken by that reflection, if we stop to consider the performance of the philosophers of law under that regime. The words of [Ilmar] Tammelo express the problem in all its harshness: ‘An especially acute objection against the jus-philosophical doctrines lies in the affirmation that the legal philosophy played the role of a harlot, insofar as it served to hide oppression, degradation and even mass murder. Among the philosophers of law – he continues – there have been contortionists that have bent their ideas to the political order of the moment [...], in order to provide it with a philosophical imprint’.”

Indeed it is the nature of the State: democratic or totalitarian, what it does matter to know (and not its self-invocation as a “rule of law” State that in itself does not mean anything), if one intends to establish its true character. In the final analysis - and important though it may be - it is not the respect for “the forms of the law” what shelters the individual and guarantees his legal protection: the much vaunted “principle of legality” formally established in the positive right of a “State of law”, *but the respect for the Fundamental Human Rights*, which the imperialism and fascism do violate by their mere existence. From the courts of the Inquisition to the Council of Troubles (“Council of Blood/Bloedraad”), from the Committees of Public Health and the Acts of Defence of the Republic until today's courts, for the totalitarian State “of law”: whether monarchical or republican, the HHRR are in reality the rights of conquest, dismemberment, exclusion, colonization and annexation, which do prevail first and foremost and through which it installs the sociological “universe” to which nowadays the “universal suffrage” is “granted”; a “universe” from which there can be deducted next the colonial “democratic majorities” aimed at crushing, segregating, dividing and destroying the Peoples.

(Malorossiya, or Tabarnia etc. are examples of the mechanism aimed to divide and dominate the subjugated Peoples through the exploitation of the imperialistic nationalism of the colonies of population planted by the colonialist metropolis within a subdued People; colonies that refer themselves to a fake “referendum of self-determination”. In such cases these colonies, after having been evicted or displaced by the predatory State which has denied them a future of prosperity in their lands of origin, do give utterance to their alienation in accepting to be used in this way – along with the renegade natives – as fifth-columnists and solvent agents against the Peoples and States that have welcomed them, and do therefore become new instruments that reinforce the aggression/domination of the fascist imperialism. In the cases where, despite everything, the democratic integration of these initial colonists as adopted sons and therefore full members of the colonized People is produced, the fury against them of fascism – which calls them traitors – has no limits. In any case, as it has already been explained, they are the subjugated Peoples as a whole the holders of the right of self-

determination or independence *against the imperialism*. The “claim” of the RSD by fractions of these Peoples: artificially created by the imperialism – through military occupation, subsequent plantations of population and national alienation – precisely so as to destroy those Peoples and consolidate its domination upon them, is a complete ideological sham created on the falsification of the RSD. On the other hand, and as it is evident, the first condition for the exercise of self-determination is the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the imperialistic forces of occupation and the entire apparatus of subjugation: without the prior removal of the conditions that create and make it possible the imperialism, there is no possibility to decide freely about anything.)

Its “rule of law” is its imperialistic ruling law; and its “dialogue within the law”, the submission to the rule of its despotism. Once all this has been admitted, “the respect for the forms of the law and the principle of legality” are but cynical “guarantees” built starting from and upon the violation of the HHRR in which the totalitarian State is based. The subjection to “the State and rule of law”: falsehoods that are presented as unquestionable magical formula and with which the imperialistic agents do permanently hammer (through their monopolies of brain-washing and ideological intoxication of masses) into the population as if they were a revealed truth, something “indisputable, neutral, natural and aseptic”, are but clumsy mystifications which hide behind them the subjection *to the law of the Spanish/French State imperialistic rule*: an instrument that - the same as its language - “is always companion of the Empire” and that this régime imposes by means of terror and monopoly of violence in which its “legality” is founded, guaranteed “by the land, sea and air Armies and by the Guardia Civil”, according to a recent and sincere declaration made in this connection by the corresponding Minister.

As for the trite aphorism about “the equality of all the people before the law”, apart from being a sarcasm daily debunked by reality and in plain sight of everybody, it is also another cynical ideological forgery when it is claimed by an imperialistic and fascist régime. The subjects not only must be equal before the law; they must above all be equal *before making* the law: equal to make it, and afterwards equal to suffer it. The democratic rights are not only to be founded “before” the law but before making the law: they do not consist in suffering the law all alike *but rather in being able to constitute it* in accordance with the fundamental HHRR. The “equality before the law” that the fascism proclaims is non-existent through all the records.

This is how the law of the French-Spanish imperialism “that makes all equal”, that’s to say: that forces to be French and Spaniards those who are not so, is an iniquitous law since it has been imposed on the dominated Peoples in violation of their fundamental rights of nationality and personality, and has been constituted upon the imprescriptible crimes with which the imperialism has established its own laws after having abolished the States, Constitutions and Laws of those Peoples:

“To those of the ‘differential fact’ is addressed our notification of the fact that they have been vanquished by the force of the weapons, and that if they want to be brothers of the other Spaniards we will impose on them the law of the victor; because we the fighters, in finishing

the War in Catalonia, do consider also finished for ever the differential facts.” (General Alonso Vega, Newspaper *Arriba España*; 1939.)

Already abandoned as useless the original justifications of the imperialism based on the “divine right” of the concessions obtained through Crusades and papal Bulls, (without ever having recognized nevertheless their ordinary and permanent illegality), and faced with the need to disguise the “right of conquest”: also invoked by the Hispanic Monarchy (or Catholic, after the papal bull *Si convenit* given in 1496 by Pope Alexander VI Borgia) against the Kingdom of Navarre and later against the constituent States of the Crown of Aragon annexed after the War of the Spanish Succession; afterwards by the Spanish Republic against the State of Catalonia; and more recently by the fascist regime of Spain against the *de facto* Government of Euskadi, the fraudulent legitimization of the French-Spanish totalitarian régime is performed in “modern” times by invoking firstly the “democracy” of the “universal suffrage”.

Yet, there is nothing less universal than the so-called “universal suffrage” within the frontiers imposed under an imperialistic régime: they determine the imperialistic “universe”, putting within it the dominated Peoples: declared “Spaniards” or “French” by force and through the criminal denial/liquidation of their own Nations by “right of conquest”, and leaving out the rest of the world. On the other hand in the Spanish imperialistic régime are “Basques” and vote as such only those who the régime determines that they are so, and in the terms and conditions that it determines, namely: the “Spaniards” settled in three Spanish “Basque” provinces (officially and fraudulently called “Euskadi” by the régime and the collaborationists), leaving out all the others, which are not Basques nor can vote as such. A similar treatment exists for the “Navarrese”. In French imperialistic régime there are not even such “Basque-Navarrese”: there are only plain “French”. For the French “republican-cartesian logic” it is unbearable anything different from the totalitarian and absolutist affirmation and deification of the imperialistic France.

Even so they claim “due respect to the régime that we’ve all given ourselves”. The unheard-of shamelessness of the ideologists of imperialism intends to so overlook the centuries of violence, wars, crimes, oppression and violations of all fundamental human rights: relentless methods that have brought us the régime they have mounted for us the others to suffer. The ambition of the imperialistic nationalism knows no bounds. The victory turns it insatiable. It’s not enough for it to have been imposed by the overwhelming victory of its weapons. It needs and aims, in addition, to be respected, loved and admired as if it were our own and most entirely free régime.

For the imperialists and their minions: kings, princes, dauphins and presidents, popes, prelates, priests and nuns, politicians, military, judges, philosophers and intellectuals, teachers, bureaucrats, officials and policemen, agents provocateurs and police- journalists/ talk show guests etc. (be they either fanatical bedlamites, victims of their own propaganda, or characterized cynics), as well as for the present inverted and perverted international model of the Great Powers and their satellites, all defence or claim of national freedom and of fundamental rights of self-determination and legitimate self-defence of the Peoples, and of their free expression and information, is inconceivable obfuscation, criminal banditry and

terrorism; all persecution and repression - through State Terrorism, its violence and criminal Code - of Peoples' freedom and resistance: armed and unarmed, political and ideological against the imperialistic totalitarianism, is legitimate "natural" and international right.

Yet this reality of terrorist violence of the imperialism is not always perceived by the dominated classes: "They come as they came with Canovas and Franco, now unarmed but with the same intention of attacking the Basque nationalism". "They want to achieve the same as Franco did, but now without weapons, with law and institutions, in this democracy which we live in, where all means of repression and communication are in the hands of the army." "We will achieve our ends not by violent means but by the vote; unless they come with the cannons"; "unless they come with the pistol". "If they mean to follow like this, it's better for us to withdraw from political life and let them bring the tanks in." Etc.

This "description" of the current *de facto* régime, established and maintained - as it is intended - "without violence, without weapons, without cannons and without tanks, with law and institutions, vote and dialogue", has as its only aim to hide once more the origins and reality of such a régime; to present violence, weapons, cannons and tanks as potential or exceptional, as an irrelevant past or - at all events - possible future, as a latent risk or threat: whether all this be consequence of the hypocrisy or of the alienation of its backers, the result is the same. Because the reality is that the armies, cannons and tanks came here long ago and never did they go out: on them is founded the present régime of military occupation from France and Spain. These absurdities imply the denial of the reality of imperialistic violence; they stubbornly hide and deny the essential role of violence in imperialism and fascism.

Such propositions can be only explained by the ideological level which the dominated classes have been reduced to. After forty years of media brain-washing and ideological intoxication of masses in a non-stop session régime, aimed so as to imbue in them the alienation of seeing as something "normal and natural" the "non-violent democracy" of the imperialism, a part of the population does not even perceive the constituent violence of the endured wars and of the armed occupation régime: initially established in this Country from eight centuries ago and maintained up to the present, and that the second francoism and its ideological agents have hidden behind the fiction of the imperialistic "rule of law".

16/ The colonialist "pluralism" is the denial of the democratic pluralism.

The assertion of "pluralism and coexistence" that proclaims an imperial-colonialist régime constitutes one more ideological trick, aimed to disguise its reality through the appropriation of these terms, of a positive import. These, after previously being emptied of their real content, are distorted and falsified in order to serve the purpose of subsuming the dominated Peoples and their original and inalienable rights: all of which are denied or subordinated in the totalitarian integration characteristic of the imperialism, imposed through countless also imprescriptible crimes.

Thus its Agents and Colonists, and the indigenous Renegades (all of them a part of the imperialistic Country: heirs, successors or beneficiaries of those who occupied their history in criminal enterprises of continental and transcontinental predation by their subjugating, denying, sacking and destroying Peoples and States through war and Terror, and by imposing over them their own identity; all of which they have never condemned and which they are proud of), do all of them claim to be natives of the colonized Country; demand respect for their colonial positions; give lessons of morality, democracy and non-violence; and preach repentance, pluralism and universalism – “apart-from-any-identity” – to the Peoples who were submitted and deprived from their identity by terrorism of war and occupation, and whose denial-liquidation these themselves still pursue. This is the real contents of what they obscenely call “to think different”: ideological garbage released without any possible answer by their media monopolies of ideological intoxication and mental conditioning of masses, annexes to their monopoly of violence. They call it so trying to mask the reality of the criminal totalitarian imposition, and to remove the residual resistance of the victims who escaped the bombing, the summary executions, the walks at dawn - to being murdered in the ditches, chasms, bullrings and walls of cemeteries -, the prisons of extermination and hard-labour camps, the exile and the repression; actual victims to which they thus expect to reduce to the condition of mental deficient patients now by means of psychological warfare and terrorism.

Maddened, and confusing - whether it formerly were in Cuba, Morocco, Indochina or Algeria, as it is now in Nabarre, Canary Islands, Galiza or Catalonia - their right to be Spaniards or French with the “right” of forcing to be so those who are not, they do denounce as an aggression the rejection that on this respect they receive by Peoples who never were, nor are, nor want to be Spaniards or French; consider their resistance to be liquidated in their “melting pot” as an incomprehensible, pathological and intolerable perfidy; insult, denigrate and slander (calling “Nazis”, “small homicidal peoples”, “intolerant”, “murders”, “terrorists” etc.) the Peoples who they massacred and continue massacring and whose existence cannot tolerate; and declare themselves pacifists and demand to the others the rejection of “all violence, whether it come from where it may come” except that coming from themselves, which as they pretend not even is violence.

Fascists and imperialists do present themselves as servers of non-violence and human rights; and pretend that they are being attacked and cry out their indignation by the persecution that they allegedly are suffering “because of the mere fact of thinking differently and defend their ideas with pen and word, opposing culture to violence”. But the agents of the imperialism do not confine themselves to “think differently” or to “defend their ideas without any more weapons than culture, pen and word”, as they want to make believe, nor does anybody persecute them for that reason. Quite on the contrary, after having established the political régime that suits them by means of war and the monopoly of violence and terror, they imprison, banish, torture, hang, execute and silence since centuries ago anyone who does not think and act like them. The “right” that they claim “for their pens and their words” is actually the monopolist, unilateral and absolute right - without possible deficit nor reply, marginal though they may be - to impose their own ideology, which they present as neutral, comprehensive and democratic but which is a complement to the political totalitarianism they

call democracy. Long time ago, in this Country “the free thinking and free communication of ideas” are reserved for the ruling classes of the Spanish and French imperialistic Nationalism, together with their local accomplices.

Thus the supporters of the imperialism do understand the “right of everyone to think differently, to communicate freely and to defend their ideas in democracy, with pen and word”. Without the monopoly of violence that they keep and that they have established by means of war, conquest, occupation, terrorism of masses and violation and destruction of historical and fundamental human rights, and without the media and institutional monopolies of propaganda that they hold, their ideas, their pens and their words are nothing.

Allegedly, the imperialistic régime does not expel anyone: it is “plural” and everyone has its place within it. Of course all colonialist imperialism and all fascism proclaim to be “plural” and they are so in their own way: they all include and consist of oppressor and oppressed, colonizer and colonized Peoples, otherwise they could not be imperialism, fascism and colonialism. Just in the same way, all hunting is also a plural task between hunters and game; and all fishing involves fishermen and fish, not counting worms.

Yet, unquestionably, there is no democratic pluralism where the imperialistic Nation: “one and indivisible” as a dogma and by begging the question, is established upon the denial and destruction of others’ Nations. There is no democratic pluralism if those who are not French or Spaniards are forced under coercion to be so; there is only imposition of the imperial-colonialist Nationalism of France and Spain; which the fascist cynicism calls “keep living together”. Certainly it’s fully evident that there is no pluralism if, as it is stated, “All nations are Spain” (statement of the Secretary-general of Falange-PsoE, and current President, thus shelving his initial “proposal”: “Spain, nation of nations”). Under those conditions there is only imperialistic “pluralism”, in which the French and Spanish Nationalists “are more equal and more plural than others”. It’s about a “pluralism in which there is a place for all”: not as different Peoples with their own right of self-determination, which is what they are, but as French and Spaniards, which is what they are not; and in which all the others are excluded and left out, who do not even have existence nor a right to it.

With regard to the part of the Country under French occupation, the French constructivist-absolutist idea of Nation, national identity and State being what it is, there is no other way-out for the annexed Peoples than their complete liquidation, and therefore their denial is total. Maybe the Spaniards try to dizzy and deceive their dominated subjects with their “pluralism”, “autonomy” and other similar crap; yet, certainly not the French. In fact, the “Revolution” had honestly classified the Basque Language (no such a People existing) as a foreign Language. The same honest and brazen sincerity had already been applied previously in the prohibition of the use of the Catalan Language by “Louis by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre”:

“[...] But since on the other hand this use is revolting and is in some way contrary to Our Authority, to the honour of the French Nation” etc. (*Official Interdiction of the catalan language*; Edict of Louis XIV of France and III of Nabarre, 1700.)

It's not that French and Spanish Nationalism excludes but - more radically - it does expressly and constitutionally deny the very existence of the Peoples which it has subjugated. There only exist the Spanish People and the French People. The others, "having voluntarily renounced their own identity and adopted that of their conquerors", have disappeared as Peoples. Their former components are *part* of the French People and the Spanish People. What does not exist cannot be excluded: an elegant and radical solution to hide the reality when this is problematic. French and Spanish Nationalism is not therefore an "exclusionary nationalism" since it "includes all" the French and the Spaniards. It "only" excludes all who are not so. But the ideological denial of the real and tangible existence of other Peoples, that is: the liquidation of the Peoples by the imperialistic Nationalism, is the supreme form of exclusion of Peoples by the imperialism. "All peoples have the right to a Homeland"; it's their only way to survive. The homeland and the existence of Spaniards and French are not at risk of liquidation; that of their victims, yes.

The colonialist "pluralism" denies the Peoples as such and therefore as active agents of an international and infeasible right of self-determination, and affirms them instead as objects of imperialistic "right" and property: it is the eternal dialectic between master and slave. Conversely, the democratic internationalist pluralism denies the "right" of imperialists and colonialists to taking over another People's Country, while affirming the right of self-determination or independence of all Peoples against their imperialistic subjugation and their *totalitarian integration* with the oppressor. The internationalist pluralism does only expel the colonialists from the occupied and annexed States; whereas the colonialist "pluralism" *destroys* the subjugated Peoples and expels them from the concert among Nations and from the face of the Earth.

The imperialists' "coexistence" is to make us live as they want to; their "pluralism", the right (that's to say: the obligation) of all to be Spaniards or French; their "rejection of violence coming from where it may come", the fascist and imperialistic monopoly of State Violence and Terrorism; their "democracy", the "right" that those who are not Spaniards or French – but that are forced to be so – have to vote where, when and what those Governments want them to; their "freedom of expression" is to say the same things than their masters; and their "freedom of organization", to join the Organic Democracy imposed by General Franco: adapted and perfected by the international fascism and the National-socialism.

Summing up: "the 'Constitution', laws, freedom, democracy, coexistence, tolerance plurality, human rights and non-violence", of which the fascists and their minions do non-stop talk about and which constitute the fundamental national-imperialistic ideological disguise adopted by the second francoism, are despotism, oppression and monopoly of violence, terror and mental conditioning of the popular masses.

17/ The votes do not “lead” to freedom; it is the national independence which allows freedom and free voting.

As already indicated, imperialism and democracy do exclude each other: if there is imperialism, there is no democracy, with or without deficit. Indeed “votes, elections, consultations and referenda” - which are the cheating rituals that the imperialism presents as “democracy” - do not *and cannot* “lead” to freedom: if previously there is no freedom, “the votes, elections” etc. are not free; and if already there is freedom, then it is not those votings which have led to it. The fetishism of the polls can do nothing against the reality of imperialism, because “the votes, elections” etc. do already imply a *previous* political power, which does establish and determine them *under its own conditions*. Only the establishment of a *homogeneous State*: founded on the Peoples’ national Self-Determination and Independence and therefore democratic as a *previous condition*, does provide the general conditions of freedom basic for the exercise of “votes, elections” etc. The necessary condition for democracy is national independence. (This, for the adepts to Nirvana and the Kingdom of Perfect and Pacific Bliss, may seem to be a limited objective; yet it is the only solution founded on the respect for HHRR. At the current stage of human development its only alternative is imperialism and fascism.)

In a political régime whatever it may be, whether *de facto* or *de jure*, the power is already necessarily established *before* the “elections”; and it is this power that fixes the frontiers, constitutes the Government and establishes the order, as well as the citizens who can or cannot vote and the rules under which this should be done, besides being the power which implements the use or the monopoly of the mass-media. In a totalitarian régime, they are certainly not the votes, elections, majorities or minorities which do found the political power; it is the political power that - in use of its monopoly of violence - does found, produce, determine and condition the voters, elections, majorities and minorities; includes and excludes voters, candidates and alternatives; continues on power despite everything after those totalitarian “elections” and decides on their consequences, which in an rule-of-law of imperialistic-régime-of-military-occupation are those that we have in sight.

A People subjugated under an colonial-imperialistic régime generally has no force and does always lose that kind of “elections”; and should it perchance have strength enough so as to win them, then there are no “elections” unless they can be rigged. The Spanish and the French imperialism, *which have subjugated this Country by means of violence and terror and not through referenda*, have destroyed by those means all traces of our own and legitimate institutions and - therefore - of democratic elections, which are impeded by the annexation and then replaced by their totalitarian “general elections” for the formation of their formal juridical monopolies that they call “General Courts” and “Congress of the French Parliament”. It’s precisely those legislative bodies of the imperialism that enshrine the “democratic legitimacy” of its misdeeds, that is: the non-existence of the Nations and States that it has criminally subjugated and annexed, and their “voluntary” incorporation and disappearance into the gobbling bosom of the predatory Nations and States. To participate in those imperialistic juridical monopolies is to accept the legitimacy of all their false and criminal assumptions.

In a State annexed under an imperialistic régime of military occupation such free elections or votings are not possible; their *prior* condition of possibility is the national independence, the immediate and unconditional abolition of the imperialism by the prior withdrawal of its forces of occupation and colonization, and the restoration of that free and independent State.

18/ The annexation of a State is a criminal offence: the State continues to exist in spite of it.

Ex injuria jus non oritur: “Unjust acts cannot create law”. This is a fundamental principle that determines the *non-acquisition of a legal right*.

A State is a legal person on the international plane: indeed the highest-ranking legal person: “States are the most important legal persons in international law, and the only persons full and equal in their rights under international law”. Just as the getting rid of a physical person is a crime that does not prescribe in penal law, the attacking and making disappear of a State is an imprescriptible crime under international law. However a State, even occupied, abolished and annexed by the imperialism through the violence of its aggression and afferent legislation, does not disappear for that reason and the annexation by the occupying State is legally void and criminal. The institutions of a subjugated People and its occupied State continue to exist despite their abolition by the imperialistic “legality” - established by means of conquest, colonization and *totalitarian integration*, and therefore void and null - as long as that abolition continues to be challenged by a Movement of National Resistance. Along with the crimes which have suppressed them, the fundamental rights of Peoples and their States are also imprescriptible.

The application of the above-mentioned juridical principle did found the policy of the U.S.A. since 1932, giving rise to the so-called Stimson-Welles doctrine about the non- recognition of international territorial “acquisitions” or annexations that were executed by force. This *doctrine of non-acquisition* was applied by the Department of State both to the Japanese annexations of that moment as well as to the Soviet ones executed in 1940 against the Baltic States; even despite the fact that in those States there had been held referenda favourable by 90% to their annexation by the USSR State (after Soviet military occupation, of course); and since then it was basically maintained always.

Then the anti-colonialist commitment: mainly prevailing between “We, the Peoples of the United Nations” signatories of the Charter of San Francisco, did strongly manifest itself in 1961 with the Goa case (an integral part of India that Portugal had seized in 1510); in which, now under the impulse of the Soviet Union and the uncommitted Eastern States, were confirmed with more precision the premises that had already been established with the crisis of Suez in 1956 caused by the colonial-imperialistic aggression of France and England.

The widespread and righteous perception within the UN in the face of those conflicts, namely: that the Western imperialistic Powers’ annexations, executed by means of *original and permanent aggression*, suffered from a timeless illegality, and that it was in spite of the

specious justifying theories provided for that purpose by their legists of service and of their no less contrived “constitutional” designation as “provinces of the Homeland”; that those annexations had never been admitted but only suffered by the annexed Peoples and States because of their military weakness; and that the vindication of that illegality and of its reversion do not decay because of the elapsed time since the initial aggression, all of this led to an overwhelming resolution: the action brought in the UN by the Portuguese Government against India due to its military take-over of Goa was resolved just on the following day of that act with the condemnation of the Government of Portugal in a resolution approved by a vote of 90 to 3 (Portugal, Spain, South Africa), with France and Bolivia abstaining.

“*The General Assembly, [...] 1. Condemns the continuing non-compliance of the Government of Portugal with its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and with the terms of General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV), and its refusal to co-operate in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories;*” etc. [UNGAR 1699 (XVI), Dec. 19, 1961.]

The “right of conquest”, frequently invoked by medieval and modern States as a complementary, last or supreme justification for their predatory annexations, had thus been formally erased by the postulated International Law of the UN. The former traditional formula: “the Law of Nations”, had been replaced by the right of free disposition of self-determination of all Peoples that had become widespread since the First World War; even though numerous misunderstandings would not be resolved therewith.

Even though for their part the States of the European Imperialistic Union (EIU) sought to shield the *status quo* in Europe through a commitment established to this effect in the Helsinki Final Act of the CSCE (1975), a commitment that they ideologically tried to clothe of legitimacy by calling it “inviolability of frontiers and States”), yet the position of the USA - also signatories of the Act - was contrary to that planned *freezing of the frontiers established as a result of the imperialistic aggression*, and they continued to refuse recognizing the soviet annexation of the Baltic States. So, when in 1991 the Baltic Peoples proclaimed the continuity of their own States, the USA did immediately recognize them. It should be recalled that the Declaration of the Council of Lithuania in 1918 had precisely consisted in just proclaiming *the restoration* of its own State: the Grand Duchy of Lithuania prior to the Lublin Union of 1569, ignoring all the “reunions” - whether imposed or not - that had come afterwards and invoking in addition the right of self-determination. Likewise, the RSD was invoked for the reunification of the two German States in 1990; a RSD *that remains being in force for the others*. Also for the Basque People: which resisted both the Roman Empire as well as the Visigothic and Arab-Moslem aggressions; which defeated the Carolingian Empire; and which has come to the 21st century in spite of the Empires of Spain and of France. Neither Rome nor its Roman-Vatican Church: blessing the Crusades and genocides of its Favourite Daughters Spain and France against the subjugated Peoples, against the Kingdom of Nabarre and against the Government of Euskadi; nor Brussels and its EIU: supporting them nowadays unreservedly, will ever be able to turn the Country of the Basques into a feudal land that can be delivered to imperialistic and fascist dominators.

In the first place the undeniable will of national freedom tenaciously maintained by a People, that's to say: its permanent vindication of the right of self-determination (regardless of whether it might not always be well expressed: something that should not be reasonably required from a People under centennial imperialistic oppression and colonization) is a data politically decisive for the purposes of the constitution/restoration of a State of their own. It may not be idle to repeat at this point the ideas that we have already formulated above in point 4 of this work: the Peoples do resist, therefore they exist. They are not Peoples only because they exist; they are so and exist because they resist: the resistance is their mode of existence. Its Resistance itself makes that "a People is a People", identifiable under the imperialistic aggression, occupation and terrorism. Etc. In this connection the author Thomas D. Grant writes:

"It may well be that popular indication of will to statehood has begun to develop into a prerequisite for statehood; third States indeed treated it as a prerequisite for recognition. As authoritative a source as the Restatement (Third) of Foreign Relations Law identifies as an element of statehood the claim to be a State. 171". [...] "171 *American Law Institute, Restatement of the Law (Third): The Foreign Relations Law of the United States* (American Law Institute Publishers, St. Paul 1987) Section 201, Comment f."

And in the next place there is also the will of *restoration* of the subjugated People's own historic State, and in any case *the absence of any legal union* of a State or a Non-Self-Governing Territory with the State of the Empire occupying them, according to the doctrine of the UN that we've already exposed. On these aspects the mentioned author points out:

"'Military occupation', the *Restatement* indicates, 'whether during war or after an armistice, does not terminate statehood [...]. An entity's statehood would be terminated if all of its territory were lawfully annexed, but not where annexation is in violation of the United Nations Charter.' The view that States could continue in spite of substantially diminished effectiveness indeed antedates the Charter – the view firmly installed in United States practice in the first half of the 1940s in connection with the Baltic States. This, then, is the basis in international law as developed by United States practice: that a State might undergo a restoration after a period during which its status was in some respect compromised. A number of claimants to statehood in the past have made 'restorationist' arguments. 76" [...]

"76: Representatives of the Irish Free State argued, for example, that Ireland was never an integral part of the United Kingdom and thus was not seceding from the United Kingdom and did not require recognition as a State independent from the United Kingdom. Hudson Meadwell, 25 *Review of International Studies* 317, 376-80 (1999). On the Irish case, see also Heinz Klarer, *Schweizerische Praxis der völkerrechtlichen Anerkennung* 319 (1981). Norway, too, on the ending in 1905 of its 1814 union with Sweden made restorationist arguments. See *Note of Christian Hauge, Chargé d'Affaires of Sweden and Norway, to the Secretary of State of the United States*, 12 July 1905; *1905 Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 854-859. ('The recent events in Norway... have in nowise created any new State of sovereignty. It is not a case of a new State springing into existence, nor has here been any splitting up of or separating from any sovereign entity.') [...] Restorationist logic lay at the heart of claims by representatives of Chechnya in the 1990s that Chechnya had never as a

matter of law been part of Russia or the Soviet Union”. (Thomas D. Grant; *United States Practice Relating to the Baltic States, 1940-2000: 4.4 Restoration and United States Practice*.)

And then what to say when that “popular indication of will to statehood”, constantly maintained throughout the centuries and reaching up to the present, is in addition accompanied with the undeniable existence of a State historically constituted and maintained for more than a thousand years, as it is the case of the Basque People and its Duchy of Wasconia-Aquitaine and subsequent Kingdom of Pamplona/Nabarre? (See our aforementioned work Notes on the historical evolution of the Basque People and State.) We continue reading in the cited author:

“The special legal status of the three Baltic States as entities never legally absorbed into the USSR gave them an advantage in the process of independence. Rather than having to assert statehood anew, they could argue that their departure from the USSR [the same as from the Russian- Tsarist Empire as they had already done in 1918] was simply a matter of restoring an independence never legally extinguished. The view that the Baltic Republics were not new States but rather States ‘restored’ was expressed by a number of writers. It was also reflected in diplomatic practice. [...] Recognizing the other eleven non-Russian republics of the USSR, though less tense, was also a matter requiring careful deliberation. By contrast, the independence of the Baltic Republics was achieved smoothly and early, and moreover most States took the view that recognizing them would have been superfluous. The Baltic Republics had been recognized upon attaining independence from the Russian [Tsarist] Empire some seven decades before, and had never lost that independence in the eyes of international law. The European Community Foreign Ministers, in welcoming ‘the restoration of the sovereignty and independence of the Baltic States’ did not use the term ‘recognition’. US President George Bush also emphasized the return to independence, rather than the achievement of statehood anew, saying that the restoration of Baltic independence was ‘the culmination of the United States’ 52 year refusal to accept the forcible incorporation of the independent Baltic States by the USSR’. The French government similarly saw no need to recognize the Baltic States as ‘new’ states in 1991, because France, like most western countries, had never recognized their annexation. And the Baltic Republics themselves, according to Cassesse, did not express their breakoff from the Soviet Union in 1991 as an exercise in self-determination but instead emphasized the illegality of the July 21, 1940 annexation. According to Starke and Shearer, ‘States may... *re-emerge* after their sovereignty has been suppressed’. [...] In 1990-91 the three States successfully reclaimed their independence, which was acknowledged by most other States as a resumption of full statehood, *but no as the creation of new States*.

“Though writers differ as to the importance of the view that the Baltic Republics were not new States, the view is widespread, and many writers (perhaps the majority) identify the Republics’ unusual status as a significant and facilitating element in the process of their independence.

“It may well be that it is this very status that Aslan Maskhadov would like to prove Chechnya too possesses: a territory never incorporated *de jure* into the Russian [either Tsarist or

Communist] Empire, and thus a territory not requiring recognition as a new State. If Chechnya could be proven to possess a status like that of the Baltic States, then the international community in treating Chechnya as a State would not effect any change in legal statuses. It would not alter the legal status of Chechnya, and, more importantly, it would not alter the legal status of any part of the territory of Russia. [...] Recognizing Chechnya, if Chechnya is a new State, would collaborate in the stripping away of territory legally part of Russia. By contrast, recognizing Chechnya, if Chechnya never lost its statehood (*i.e.*, was never legally incorporated into Russia), would leave Russian sovereignty undiminished. [...] The Baltic States were never legally part of Russia [or of the Russian Empires]. Thus, their re-appearance as international actors in 1991 did not, in legal theory, take anything away from Russia.” Etc. (Thomas D. Grant; *A panel of experts for Chechnya: Purposes and Prospects in light of International Law*; IX Finnish Yearbook of International Law, 1998.)

As it is known, the imperialistic reaction that broke out prevented Chechnya from consolidating its initially achieved independence. The heroic People of Chechnya, despite an exceptional determination and passion for freedom, has paid it very dearly the brevity of a situation which only occurs - when it does - once each century. This gave the political class of the “Ancien Régime” time and place to reconstitute the frail totalitarian structure typical of the “transition and conversion” (in this case, from the USSR to the “Russian Federation”), which was reinforced by the sordid fiddling between the protagonists of the solved (?) Cold War and the new hegemonic worldwide order or disorder. Supported by an ideological range running from the nationalist communism to the fascist nationalism, the resulting terrorist and genocidal appalling repression –permitted and blessed also by the great, medium-sized and small Powers – showed in itself the unprecedented solidarity of the new worldwide imperialistic block against the freedom of Peoples, and what can be expected from an insufficient armed resistance; with even more reason when it consists in any of its western caricatures.

So, these same ones continue still today being the fundamental principles to face the imperialism: 1/ *affirmation of the right of self-determination of all Peoples*, with demand for an unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the occupying forces of the imperialistic occupying State as a precondition for its realization, and 2/ *restoration and continuity of their freely constituted States*, while abolishing the annexations executed by means of imprescriptible crimes: illegal and null and void. Or else, in the case that there is not yet a formally established State, permanence of the Colony or the Non-Self-Governing Territory with “a status separate and distinct from the territory of the State administering it” until its self-determination or independence.

It should be noted here that, after Ferdinand II of Aragon had usurped the Kingdom of Nabarre, no referendum, nor Act of Union, nor lawful formality was ever held *in Nabarre* in order to validate its “incorporation” as another more Kingdom “*in the crown* of the said kingdoms of Castile and of Leon and of Granada” etc. (Courts of Burgos, 1515, July the 7th. Emphasis added.) And even more: in those so-called “Courts of Incorporation” was present not a single national of the illegally annexed Kingdom.

The Kingdom of Nabarre was never *formally and legally* “incorporated” or “re-united” to the Kingdom of Aragon or to the Kingdom of Castile, as neither had been so its previously usurped peripheral territories, nor anything was ever said about a “United Kingdom”. As for the “Edict of Union” that the King Louis II of Nabarre got to pass establishing the United Kingdom “de France et de Navarre” in 1620, it was an act of treason to the laws, liberties and constitutional rights of the Kingdom, forced by the presence of the French army of occupation in Biarne and therefore void and null.

The UN “Goa doctrine” confirmed the rejection of the military aggression and occupation, and of any illicit act in general, as a source of rights; as well as the invalidity of any acquisitive or extinctive prescription that might be opposed to the right of self-determination of Peoples and of continuity of their States and territories historically determined in peace and freedom. As it is obvious, whether the fact that the date of the “territorial acquisition” and robbery was 1171 as in the case of Ireland (whose conquest was justified by means of the papal Bull *Laudabiliter* that the English Pope Adrian IV granted in 1155 to the English, and was confirmed by the successor Pontiff), or 1252-1283 as in that of East-Prussia’s conquest (also by means of Bulls, Crusades and slaughters ecclesiastically induced and blessed against the heathen native Prussians, “slaves of Christ”); whether it occurred in 1510 as it was the case of Goa, or in 1134, 1198, 1512, 1620, 1834 and 1936 as it occurred in the Basques’ Country and their Kingdom of Nabarre, this is something that cannot at all affect the pith and marrow of the question. “Get out from the criminally attacked and annexed States and Territories!” is the simple and unique fundamental norm of the act of self-determination in which the RSD is realized under the imperialism.

The enemies of the Basque People have never understood or forgiven the persistence of the Basques in the defence of their personality and freedom. The successors of those who had not kneeled before the medieval Holy Empires, did not kneel either in the way of the Holy League of 1511 formed by the Papal States, Venice, Hispanic Monarchy, Switzerland, Holy Roman Empire and England. And they did not so either when it was invoked the pretext of the needs for “holy wars”: whether those be against Muslims, Reformed or Reds. The oppressors did often believe that they had the game won; however they have realized more than once that the Basques will never surrender and that never will these ones waive their personality and freedom: even when - like in all occupied Countries - they do not lack traitors and renegades to their service who collaborate with the “supreme States”, cannibals of Peoples. As a result they once and again go into the utmost irritation that we’ve so many times endured. They are those States which, once they’ve consolidated the consequences of war, have put aside the fundamental principle *ex injuria ius non oritur* and try to put instead, as a source of democratic normativity, the contrary assertion: *ex injuria ius oritur*, “from the wrongful act there arises right”.

The international right of self-determination of all Peoples does not simply mark a difference or a sectorial innovation in International Law: it is the foundation of a General International Law incompatible with the imperialistic system. The international right of self-determination of all Peoples is opposed to “the crimes of war, against peace and against humanity; to the use of violence for depriving Peoples of their right to self-determination, freedom and

independence, or for breaking their territorial integrity; to aggression, war, invasion or attack by armed forces; and to any military occupation, even temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or to any annexation, territorial acquisition or special advantage resulting from the use of violence.”

This affirmation of the right of self-determination of all Peoples is the constituent basis of the so-called International Right, unceasingly formulated - though not applied - by the United Nations. Without having yet the multiplication and profusion of Declarations, Resolutions, Decisions and Conventions - sincerely or hypocritically repetitive, and deliberately and stubbornly flouted and betrayed - achieved so far the suppression and eradication of the imperialistic plague: shame of the “civilized” world and first source of conflicts and threats to the peace and freedom of Humanity.

19/ The Spanish “Transition”: an operation for the consolidation of fascism and the maintenance of the imperialistic unitary State.

The first condition for opposing the fascism is denouncing it as such, not participating in its institutions affirming that they are democratic. Recognizing them and participating in this way is recognizing the régime as a reality not only *de facto* but also *de jure*; which is tantamount to: denying that the régime be imperialistic, denying the occupied and annexed Nations and States, and liquidating any possibility of strategic build-up of opposition forces that allows to overcome this régime; all of which was the result sought in the Spanish intra-totalitarian transition between the first francoism and the second one. As a consequence the “opposition” *of* (not *against*) the régime did only but legitimize it and present it before the People and before the world with the “pluralist and democratic” facade that it wanted to show, denying or hiding what really lies behind it: the Spanish Army and its incurably criminal, illegal, imperialistic and fascist régime, established with the support of the Nazism-Fascism of the Axis Powers, consisting in the institutions and achievements attained by the francoism through the *civil and international* war of 1936-9 declared a Crusade by the Spanish ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and maintained since then:

“Spain is organized in a broad totalitarian concept by means of national institutions that ensure its entirety, its unity and its continuity. The character of each region will be respected, but without prejudice to the national unity, which we want it absolute, with only one language, the Spanish, and only one personality, the Spanish one.” (From a speech of General Franco; 1938.)

This was, exactly, the purpose with which was designed the intra-totalitarian transition between the first and the second francoism; an operation that was possible from the abandonment of all attempts of real opposition to the régime on the part of the Spanish republicans and leftist sectors (national-socialists and national-communists: from Falange-PsoE to the Pce), and from the incorporation of the Nationalism of the defeated to the imperialistic and fascist Nationalism of the francoism that had beaten them in the war and in the post-war period, in return for being admitted to participate in the structural prey of the

régime and in the management in the service of its real political class: the Spanish Army. They all were nationalists in a “natural” way; they always preferred “a fascist Spain rather than a broken one” (which they hoped to inherit someday in the integrity of its empire over the subjugated Peoples and States), and made it impossible any progressive overcoming of the fascism - possible only starting from its liquidation - and the establishment of a truly democratic system, because it would have necessarily had to be based on a real territorial distribution of power: something that for the Spanish and French Nationalism (all trends gathered) is simply unbearable.

Nationalism, the same as corruption, are “values of the left” rather than of the right-wing. With regard to the imperialistic and colonialist nationalism, the same as to corruption, the official “Liberal, Republican or Socialist left” has usually gone farther and is more doctrinaire, radical, destructive and innovative than the traditional right, to which it serves of help, resource, alibi and substitute for to remedy its own deficiencies and limitations. For the “conservatives” the history, the sociological constants, the preceding right, the founding pacts and the holy tradition, conveniently falsified, constitute or are said to be fundamental ideological and political values. For its part the constructivism “of the left” makes *tabula rasa* of the others’ Peoples, Nations and States; invents and imposes by means of violence and terrorism the own Nation-State or State-Nation.

The Spanish Nationalism is not a product of the Francoism: the Francoism is a product of the permanent Spanish Nationalism; which, whether monarchical or republican, they always express it as something natural. We’ve seen it for instance in Nebrija: not only when he acted just as an official apologist of the conquest of the Kingdom of Nabarre (*Belli Navarrensis libri duo*; 1545) but even also when he acted as Grammarian. (As for the French, to dwell upon their chauvinist Nationalism would undoubtedly mean to risk incurring in an understatement.)

Under these conditions the result was what it was intended to: once ended “in a natural way” the forty years of the first francoism, the operation aimed at keeping intact all its conquests, and in particular its unitary imperialistic State on the subjugated and annexed Peoples and States, was carried out with the so-called “Transition to democracy” that gave way to the second francoism currently reigning, which is already lasting as long as the first one and is based on the conservation of all the achievements and legacy of that one. So as to achieve this, the Spanish Falange had to fulfil its “historical mission in the universal” by colonizing and replacing the bureaucratic and squalid remains of the PsoE, whose former direction was excluded in the operation carried on in Suresnes, according to design and funding of the Western secret services. The PcE had no need of being colonized: it joined itself the new francoism; its bureaucrats and intellectuals did pass under the Caudine Forks of Madrid and Washington, and obtained the blessing and approval of the bourgeoisie, the capitalism and the francoist régime in power. As for the anarcho-syndicalist revisionists, they began to discover and express that, after all, nothing important did separate them from the “vertical Trade-unions” of the francoism. With the help of this incapable, corrupted and recuperated “opposition”, which collaborated on the trickery by pulling into the trash-basket those who had been murdered in the war and post-war, and made that feat profitable through its own

insertion into the management-repression-corruption system of the régime, the Spanish fascism and all its institutions: Army, Police, Judiciary, Church, Administration and traditional francoist Party, did overnight become “lifelong democrats”, and its social base was virtually expanded to the whole Spanish People.

There was and remains being an objective fully assumed by all the Spanish “opposition”, integrated into the neo-francoism as the other side of the coin of the traditional francoist single Party: national-socialists, national-communists and social-imperialists of old and new style and of sundry feathers, converted already all them as loyalists of the francoist monarchy and more or less comfortably installed in it. But this was only possible thanks to the stupid and/or bought complicity and participation in the fraud of the “Transition” assumed by the armed and unarmed institutionalists of the occupied Peoples and States. To get that those indigenous bureaucracies, corrupt and incompetent, would cooperate so that the Country - after having endured a terrible war against the Spanish fascist Nationalism - would accept to come back into the totalitarian integration of that same imperialistic Nationalism, taken now as “democratic”, in return for an equivocal “recognition of the personality of the different natural communities” (Munich Pact, 1962) of course within the “constitutional unity” of the imperialistic Spanish State, which was admitted even by the General Franco!, and for the achievement “one person, one vote” in the “general elections” of 1977-9 (that is: the great trap for a small Country, subjected to military occupation of the predatory neighbouring States gifted with demographics fifty times higher than its own one); all of this, unquestionably, was the great mission to be fulfilled by the different Spanish “oppositions”. These ones, in a complementary function of the official fascism, were permeated among the indigenous collaborationist bureaucracies, which thus were turned into puppets at the service the neo-francoism and responsible for integrating in it the undeniable Basque popular movement of opposition. Suffice it to say, so as to understand the critical importance of this operation for the imperialism, that this happened precisely in the same years in which, as we have seen, the major principles of self-determination and independence of Peoples were being recognized - not *constituted* - in the bosom of the UN, and was being produced the great wave of decolonization in the World.

As a result, this indigenous bureaucratic clique of unscrupulous individuals is thriving since then as a purported “moderate and radical aboriginal political class” in the service of the imperialistic régime, whose favours they dispute between themselves and present to the people as proofs of their good “management”, while the subjugated Peoples do endure unprecedented repression, prey and corruption. (Their recent proclamation of a “tax peace for 5 years between Spain and Euskadi” provides the last sample of their constant obsession for falsification and [self-]deception: the only means which allow them to anesthetize this Country while the steamroller of the totalitarian imperialistic integration moves inexorably on a People that they did deliver defenceless to its mortal enemies.)

Manifestly the Pnv-Eta bureaucracy has swallowed deliberately, with delight, whole, raw and unpeeled the ideological rotten potato of the “non-violent imperialistic democracy”, and has made a good part of the Country to swallow it. To this end, since the “Transition” and up to this day, the task of the “leaders”, ideologists and propagandists of that bureaucratic group has consisted in disguising from their forums and newspapers, daily and with ardour, what

had really happened at that time: the moratorium that they did grant to the second Francoism so that it could continue crushing - forty years by now - the People which they were claiming to defend, only that since that moment on this régime could do so with the “democratic” recognition that they granted to it before the whole world; and in “explaining” then the inevitable and disastrous results of it all as if it was an “involution” of a Francoism that (in spite of their own delirium before mere formal and secondary changes) had never ceased to be so. Not long ago, he who was *Lehendakari* [President of the “autonomous” Spanish administration in the Basque Provinces] at the time of that deception - supported by the Pnv and himself - requested for a “second transition”. “The involution has come to stay”, says even now (18-XI-2017) some “analyst-historian” in the “abertzale” press of reference, also nostalgic for a “second transition” that, according to him, “won’t come”. “Spain is a ballast, but our collective fate is tied to the State” [sic], says currently a Pnv chieftain without the least shame. “This crisis of Spain will lead us to consider the disconnection, given that following like this bring us no benefit”, he keeps on saying with all shamelessness, once his party has kept the Country for forty years in a complete submission to fascism.

The constant reality of the occupation régime, established and preserved by means of violence and terror; its immutable imperialistic and fascist essence; and its radical incompatibility with the freedom, democracy and right of self-determination of Peoples: first of human rights and prior condition of them all, are practically and theoretically denied by the agents, accomplices, collaborationists and official “opponents” of a system that they do not even dare to describe as totalitarian, fascist and imperialistic, or to do it without so many precautions and restrictions that those concepts disappear.

Nonetheless the “new” transitive régime: unitary, imperialistic and fascist, was constantly denounced as such. Against it, advocating the boycott to its totalitarian “general elections” and rejecting its recognition (*de facto* and above all *de jure*), there has always stood up an authentic movement of national resistance so as to achieve the elimination of the oppression and exploitation of the Basque People: an aim inseparable from its right of self-determination or immediate national independence, *and constitutive of the sole strategic system of accumulation of forces able to liquidate the fascism*. In this regard, see the denunciations of the unitary pacts of Paris (called “Union of Democratic Forces”) and of Munich signed by the dissident bureaucracy of the Pnv in 1961-2, as well as of the “Transition”; denunciations produced in *Lan-Deya* publications between the years 1964-77 (specially with the article “General elections again”; of May-1977), and also in *Iparla-1* (with the homonymous article “General elections again”; of February-1979) and successive ones, which did always obtain the attack of the armed and unarmed collaborationists.

As already indicated above, the democratic vote is founded on the validity and effectiveness of fundamental human rights, and implies the prior exclusion and abolition of the imperialistic régime of occupation, that’s to say: the effectiveness of Self-Determination of Peoples and their independence from the imperialism; yet, the “electoral strategy” developed by the collaborationism of the Pnv-Eta group under the imperialistic régime of the second francoism is inseparable from its denial of the imperialism as a reality, and from its recognition of the régime of occupation as democratic. It’s curious to see that the same ones

who argue this Country's weakness - demographic or another - in order to deny it all strategic virtuality, are nevertheless "unable" to discover the inanity of any pretension - *in which they make lie all their "strategy"* - to win by means of the "vote" in the context and conditions of the imperialistic régime. Apparently they are unable to grasp that the majority is something that can perfectly be fabricated, conditioned and qualified: nobody knows this better than the ruling classes.

Once a certain political power has been established apart from the fundamental human rights, there can be established - upon the formal and integrated procedure of "votes and majorities" - as many different and conflicting systems as lines can pass through a point. There can, above all, be built the more undemocratic totalitarian systems that can be conceived. Fascism, imperialism and genocide – the same as murder, cannibalism, (legal) abduction or rape of minors (and of adults) – are perfectly compatible with the totalitarian "elections, universal suffrage, law of the majority and the consequent democracy".

If - as it is claimed by the imperialistic ideology - the source of all legitimacy is the will of "the majority" (which it identifies as "democracy"), then any human group can "democratically" deny and destroy fundamental human rights and thus "democratically" reduce or liquidate any other People, if it can consolidate war, occupation and unilateral annexation with a displacement of populations and an *ad hoc* electoral geometry, previously created by the violence, which will allow it to win "referenda and democratic elections by a majority". Only the agents of "plurality and fusion", under the conditions and for the benefit of their own aggressor and dominant Nation, can ignore what this does mean for the smaller and even for the not so large ones. Whether it be Red, Green or Yellow March, the procedure is always the same.

20/ The Basque Movement of National Liberation standing in the need of building a Resistance of a strategic level against the Spanish-French imperialism.

The Basque People, subdued under the terrorist régime of fascist, imperialistic and military occupation of Spain and France, has never ceased to fight for its freedom and continues to maintain and claiming, as always, its right of self-determination or immediate national independence as well as the continuity of its State the Kingdom of Nabarre in all its territorial integrity.

In this respect it is necessary to denounce that the varied and multi-onomastic populist conglomerate of the Pnv-Eta group: purported "moderate and radical Basque political class", has already gone exceedingly beyond its initial collaborationist role with the fascist régime of the "transition". A régime accepted by the Pnv bureaucracy as if it was a democratic one in a shameful and elusive way by its participation in the preparatory agreements of Paris (1957-1961) and Munich in 1962 (precursor Act for the Spanish intra-totalitarian transition) after the death of President Agirre, and in an open and declared way by its participation in the Spanish totalitarian "General Elections" of 1977; and by them all since those of 1979. About

their participation in all those acts: illegal that of Munich and suicidal them all, they were duly warned; even though there was not any need of doing it given the inclusion in them of principles such as the affirmation of the unitary State of Spain, “common and indivisible homeland of all Spaniards”, based on the express denial of the Basque Nation and State.

As a final result, and after their obdurate refusal to rectify and keep to the national principles that those acts violated (not to mention their campaigns of attacks and slanders against those who denounced the régime as an imperialistic one, and the fraud of its “democracy”), it is already verifiable that this group is currently fully integrated into “the State”, according to their own terminology, that’s to say: the *Spanish* State that they recognize as their own, non-violent, legitimate and democratic, in whose political corruption and juridical monopolies/ colonial institutions they do unreservedly participate, hiding or denying before the People above all the imperialistic and fascist nature of the States and political parties of France and Spain, and denying or ignoring the own Nation, Institutions and State while they hypocritically do claim to defend them.

Unable to pose the unilateral and immediate nature of the right of independence, free disposition or self-determination of all Peoples, and forced to camouflage its forgery and abandonment behind an absurd and misleading constant verbiage, the “leaders of the Basque institutionalism” continue deceiving the People with their apparent maintenance of “the unwavering demand for compliance with the Statute”, which remains unfulfilled forty years after its “granting” and in which they pretend that “are included other sections such as the bilateralism or the recognition of the Basque nation” (Urkullu); all this after having recognized its identity as an aliquot part of the unique Spanish nation. As they do hypocritically or stupidly pretend, they try to “defend the Statute” in the face of the constant breaches by the fascists who – whatever their party may be – are acting as Spanish Government and whom they do invariably consider and accept as “democrats”; who, for their part, do ignore, prune and breach it, and only recognize and admit the current imperialistic unilateralism which *they all* call “democracy”. The practical consequences of this sign of absolute incompetence, stupidity and servility towards the imperialistic and fascist régime, comforted by those “leaders” as democratic and therefore emboldened and untreatable, cannot be - once and again - more disastrous for any subjugated Country.

The recovery of the national independence of a People subjugated under the imperialism is a revolutionary enterprise that inevitably requires the direction of a qualified and incorruptible political class. Every People has, to an important extent, the political class which is imposed to it, and not always the means to face up to it. It is necessary to bear in mind that the political organizations, the same as all, are living bodies that try to survive, grow, gain weight, reproduce and multiply apart from or at the expense of the others; consequently, to maintain a healthy democratic control over them is essential. Of course there are no political class or organization able to create a revolutionary situation where the fundamental social, political and ideological conditions to do so are missing; yet an authoritarian, incapable, indecisive, defeatist and corrupt bureaucracy, and a purported political class or vanguard that actually *do absolutely and relatively retard* even with regard to the conscience and exigencies of the spontaneous popular resistance, those such can quite well suffice by themselves to ruin

the most favourable of the ideological-political complexes already extant, as it is happening in this Country since half a century ago.

The unmasking and eviction of this bureaucratic band of incompetents and traitors is a precondition that the Basque democratic opposition has to face in its task of regeneration, inevitable phase in any undertaking of national liberation. The fundamental thesis that this group uses, consists of the falsification of the right of self-determination, which is replaced by them with something that they call “right to decide”, exercised under the imperialism and its conditions in the hope that the régime will accept it; all of which implies the negation of the reality of the imperialism through its acceptance and apologia implied in the fact of making it compatible with the purported democracy of that “right to decide”. The adherence to this thesis on the part of popular sectors of good will, lost by the action of the imperialistic monopolies of ideological intoxication and their native auxiliary agents, does not alter its real meaning: the “right to decide”, exercised under the imperialism and its conditions, is the right of the imperialism to decide by means of / as a consequence of / thanks to the aggression, conquest, occupation, annexation, colonization and genocide; is the falsification and denial of the Basque People’s right of self-determination or independence and the denial of its own occupied Nation and State; is the assertion of the right of the imperialism so as to determine the others.

The complete abandonment that this clique of bureaucrats makes of the fundamental positions: on Peoples’ national independence, the defence of all their resources and the rejection of any imperialistic exploitation, is replaced by a despicable opportunism that presents as a great triumph the eventual recuperation of a part of what the imperialism has stolen, therefore admitting as something “normal and democratic” that the looting and robbery can continue provided that they are limited and in accordance with a quota, “but not a farthing more”. However it’s not a farthing more or less, but nothing at all, which the occupied People and State owe to the occupying State. It is this State which is bound by law to reparations, restitution, return and indemnification for the damage caused. According to international right the full appropriation of their own economic resources is an inseparable part of the right of self-determination of Peoples, is condition and result of their national freedom.

The opportunism is the subordination or the abandonment of fundamental and strategic political and ideological positions, with the aim or the pretext of obtaining illusory, superficial, secondary or “tactical” benefits. From the point of view of its own interests, no partial, temporary or formal benefit justifies the abandonment of the political and ideological means and positions that a People has, because without them there is no possible democratic policy. Opportunism, adventurism, corporatism and bureaucratism are factors of a strategic liquidation that ends by destroying all effective opposition: not only the illegal but also the legal one, since there is no real political opposition without a strategic foundation. Once the fundamental and strategic positions and objectives have been abandoned or subordinated in pursuit of the secondary and “tactical” ones (or of a plate of lentils “but with chunks”, according to own and enlightening statement), the historical experience invariably shows that in such cases the result is the ruin of the former and the latter. The Peoples do mobilize

themselves for great causes, and in any case for freedom; they don't do it for a humiliating dish of lentils. The Peoples that lose their freedom and deplete their life forces into submission and collaboration do not have a place in History.

The corruption is the first function that draws together and lubricates the organs and the clientele of the "autonomous" Administrations, which have created social layers entirely dependent on them and ready to do anything to keep them. They benefit from the monopoly of violence and terror; from the monopoly of propaganda and from the ruin of the freedom of expression; from the political protection of their activities; from the official, unofficial or fraudulent financing of their Organizations through the corresponding monopoly of extortion, corruption and administrative sinecures; as well as from a huge clientele of "public" officials and from their network of "private" enterprises. The redistribution of the social product is carried out according to the usual scheme: by intersection and collusion of officials, politicians, private businessmen and a mafia specialized in the organization and the exploitation of the vein. The system of "revolving doors", which give way - after having exercised the "highest authorities" - to golden nominal missions in big Corporations, is only the most flashy and outrageous example of rewards in this system of institutional corruption. Once these "representatives" have shown submission to the established imperialistic and fascist régime: unique core competence that was needed in order to exercise their office and which they undoubtedly are proficient in, anyone can imagine the decisive contribution that such "big names" of "high policy" can make to the finance and industrial-commercial management in their new posts.

The oppressed Peoples can endure many things and continue resisting; but having an incompetent, corporatist, irresponsible, conceited, corrupted, undecided, defeatist, manipulated, infiltrated, collaborationist or accomplice political bureaucracy, framed in the auxiliary services of the imperialism as an ideological and political integral part of its structure of domination and occupation, this is a handicap that they cannot afford. The ideological and political eradication of the Pnv-Eta bureaucracy is a task of public health without which the restoration of the democratic forces is impossible, as forty years of organic, ideological and political disaggregation obtained at the hands of it have demonstrated. It is thanks to that gang as the native renegades and political and ideological agents at the service of the imperialism, *which do explicitly deny the existence of the Basque People and State*, have been notwithstanding presented to the People and invigorated as "democrats" and as "Basque Socialists" and "Basque Populars". Even the criminal Spanish and French imperialistic régime of military occupation on our country is non-violent, lawful and democratic for them. To get rid of the costly, disastrous and sterilizing tyranny of that - at a time - incapable, rotten and manipulated bureaucracy is the first condition for the democratic recovery.

The Basque People endured with remarkable firmness (mainly thanks to the spontaneous popular resistance, socially embodied, and to the strength and abnegation of its family cells: isolated and surrounded in an environment of unlimited hardship, repression and terror) an ideological siege of forty years in the general conditions of the archaeo-totalitarian, primitive and poorly considered régime of General Franco, which was also assisted by the infiltration

and offensive in our Country of the agents of Spanish social-imperialism in the service of fascism. (For those scoundrels: either declared or hidden fascists that - as it has been exposed - remain still active today, all about Basque People was criminal or “bourgeois”: from national independence to the Euskera.) But instead it endures very badly the much more powerful blows of the second francoism in which they all have been converted: the modernized, strengthened, assisted, adapted, renovated, deceptive and devious régime in which the imperialism has managed to transform itself with the support of the indigenous collaboration. A primitive People: rustic, childish, naïve, gullible, ideologically poorly armed, weakened in its sense of national identity and dignity, widely ignorant of its historic right and State, morally undermined and diminished, cornered, blamed and on the defensive, abandoned and - in the end - betrayed by its purported intellectual and political class, it resists badly the new ideological terrorism that accompanies the political terrorism: the avalanche of toxins, the massive doses of narcotic, psychotropic, analgesic, hypnotic, neuroleptic, anxiolytic, analeptic, psychotonic, euphoretic and hallucinogenic drugs that the modern monopolies of violence and propaganda make daily fall upon it. The armed and unarmed institutionalist bureaucracy: from the traditional or official Pnv to its corollary the Eta, is the Trojan pusher-horse of the fascist-imperialistic ideological intoxication in the occupied territories.

The political sub-class in functions of collaboration has bled and exploited this Country for fifty years. Half a century of “institutional democratic way and revolutionary armed struggle” has decimated the human, cultural and economic resources; obstructed and destroyed the conditions, means and sources of the political opposition; and concluded with all freedom of communication and critical expression, with all initiative and innovation, for the benefit of the ideological fanaticism, obscurantism, dogmatism, inertia and fascism. And if that wasn’t enough, “the institutional path and the armed struggle” do also allow to hide the reality of the régime, serve its propaganda, dose the “democracy”, cultivate vain illusions in an imaginary political world, and develop the corruption, cronyism and creation of social layers entirely dependent of the “autonomous” Administration and ready to anything so as to preserve it.

The result is the collapse of the democratic process and the paralysis without remission of the forces of freedom; the freezing of its expansion, limited to politically underdeveloped areas; and the inevitable demoralization of the invariably frustrated and betrayed masses: once and again reduced to expectations as false as disabling and catastrophic. The official opposition has disabled, demoralized and made look ridiculous the popular forces up to take them to feel the burden of guilt and shame of their national identity. The multi-format corporate and bureaucratic octopus of “moderates and radicals” has captured the social body between its tentacles, does insatiably devour its vital organs, consume its vital forces, and destroy beforehand all strategic virtuality.

Apart from the destruction of the social and political base of our Country, the unheard- of transformations: both of the Spanish Nazi-Fascist régime (which had been sponsored by the régimes of Hitler and Mussolini and established upon the genocide committed by them all against the Basque People that fought them with weapons in its hands) into a “democratic” régime whose single francoist Party after having been accepted in the European “Christian

Democrat International” thanks to the support of its founding member the Pnv did next expel it in the year 2000, as well as of the Basque People - attacked and massacred by the imperialistic neighbouring States and their allies for twelve centuries - into a “nationalist”, “terrorist” and “fascist” People (according to the propaganda of the second francoism that they accepted as “legitimate, non-violent and democratic”); all of it is the brilliant result to this day after fifty years of political-ideological monopoly at the hands of the bureaucratic corporations Pnv-Eta.

Leaving aside these local bureaucracies auxiliary of the imperialistic and fascist régime, the fundamental strategic position of the democratic Basque movement of national liberation is based, firstly and above all, on the affirmation both of the Basque People as holder of an original, inherent, indefeasible and inalienable right of self-determination or unconditional and immediate national independence; and of the integrity, continuity, validity and timeliness of its State the Kingdom of Nabarre: sole current State of the Basque Nation, which has never accepted nor recognized any other. And, secondly, in the rejection of the domination of the totalitarian States of France and of Spain: grand-terrorists, imperialists, colonialists and fascists, which led terror and oppression all over the world (a history which so proud they feel of) and which still keep their clutches of terror and oppression on the Basque People through pretences and falsification of “democracy”. The unconditional and immediate withdrawal of their forces and agents of military occupation and of all their apparatus of colonization is the first requirement of the democratic movement for national liberation; a requirement that determines the *total boycott* against any co-operation with the occupying States of our Country.

Against the imperialistic totalitarianism of Spain and France, and against their terrorist, colonialist and fascist régimes of military occupation aided by indigenous groups of agents provocateurs, renegades, traitors and collaborationists, the Basque People/Euskal-Herria will always affirm the democracy of its national independence, and the continuity and integrity of its State the Kingdom of Nabarre represented by its Provisional Government.

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