

BESTMUN'24



JCC STUDY GUIDE

WRITTEN BY:
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Letter from secretary general:

As the president of the Beştepe College Model United Nations Club and the Secretary General of the fourth annual edition of BESTMUN, it is my utmost honor to welcome everyone to our conference. Speaking on the behalf of the BESTMUN team as a whole, despite the many challenges we were put under, we believe we were able to present you a wonderful conference.

My name is Ebrar Nazife Korkmaz, I am a junior student at Beştepe College. I have partaken in the previous editions of BESTMUN in different positions and what was once a distant objective became reality. I am more than honored to be the Secretary General for such a prestigious conference with an academic team with enough knowledge and confidence that could conquer a nation. Model United Nations holds a special place in my heart and it always will. Since I first began in 2021, my passion has only strengthened.

Of course, such a conference wouldn't be possible without the aid of a hardworking organization team. I would like to thank my Director General and my best friend Duru Benzer for supporting me evertime and enduring untimely tasks I gave and tantrums I had throughout the preparation period.

We began the thought process of BESTMUN'24 as soon as BESTMUN'23 ended and I'm glad we all share the same passion for this conference. To my deputy, Sarina Fidan, you're more than your title holds, a life saver in all periods of the conference.

The aim of this conference is to raise delegates and to provide them with a quality experience that will ensure their acceptance to future prestigious conferences. This conference will prove that Model United Nations is not an overly optimistic play-pretend, but a channel for young diplomats to pursue their goals. Indeed, it is a great way to improve yourself and learn diplomatic courtesy. I would like to thank; everyone who held my hand through the path which led to this conference, my predecessors in MUN who made today's conferences the way they are and finally, I would like to thank you for partaking in our conference. We stay united to overcome.

**Kindest Regards,
Ebrar Nazife Korkmaz**

Letter from under-secretary-general

Dear deputies of the Cortes,

My name is Aykut Küçükyıldız. I am a first-year master's student at Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University. I will be serving as the under-secretary-general of Joint Crisis Committee: Post-Falangist Spain.

In this committee, we will experience the time when the Spanish people attempted to transform their country from a falangist-totalitarian dictatorship into a liberal democracy. This transition was not an easy one, as people you are going to enact had to clean the remnants of 40 years. However, they managed to achieve their goal. I believe that as deputies of the Cortes, you are going to manage to govern your country in the time of a harsh turbulence as well. Together with our academic assistant Işıl Başkan and our crisis team, we will do our best for you to experience the process of establishing a regime from nothing.

I would like to also add that this committee has an experimental setting. It is a joint crisis committee. As the name implies, there would be more than one committee, however, one of these committees would be formed by the other one, and members of these committees will be subject to change.

As deputies of the Cortes, you will form cabinets, leave the chamber for your cabinet meeting, and if you get dismissed, you will return to your seats in the Cortes and the new cabinet will assume office, the office you just left.

Until the conference, you will receive e-mails from me providing further explanation on the committee and proceedings, therefore, I strongly advise you to check your e-mails every day until the conference.

Lastly, I would like to thank my academic assistant and dear friend Ms. Başkan for serving beside me for the third time. I would also like to thank our secretary general Ms. Ebrar Korkmaz, our director-general Ms. Duru Benzer, Our deputy secretary-general Ms. Sarina Fidan, and our deputy director-general Ms. Asuman Naz Gürsoy for giving us the chance of preparing this committee.

1. Spain under Falangist Regime

The Falangist regime of **Francisco Franco** was established following the Spanish Civil War, that took place between 1936 and 1939. During the civil war, the Spanish army led by Franco managed to seize the power in country by fighting against the left-wing coalition formed by anarchists, socialists, communists, and republicans. During the civil war, Franco and the “Nationalists” launched a terror regime to intimidate those who even have the slightest intention to oppose them, which would later become the general tendency of the Falange regime, until Franco’s death in 1975 (Lannon, 2002).

The first years of Franco’s rule was marked by the Second World War, which broke out precisely 5 months after Franco’s army ended the civil war by occupying Madrid and other remaining territories controlled by the Republican government. Although he was heavily supported by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy throughout the civil war, and he provided major support for Axis powers during the Second World War, Franco managed to avoid an official declaration of war which, unlike other fascistic regimes of Europe, allowed him to remain in power after the war.

In the immediate aftermath of the war, Franco was deemed as a remnant of Axis, and Spain faced with an isolation from international community, including prevention of membership to the newly established United Nations. However, this attitude, particularly from the West, shifted following the rise of the communist threat posed by the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc. For the West, particularly for the United States, Spain became a dam that would prevent communism from spilling over to Europe, thus, a rapprochement between the US and Spain took place in 1950s, and Franco began to pursue Atlanticism in foreign policy. In the meantime, the US also began to provide support for Franco in the form of economic aid and political pressure for the inclusion of Spain in international community (Tayfur, 2018).

Under Franco's rule, Spain became a more or less client state of the US, as the country was dependant on US foreign aid in economy as well as political influence derived from her close relations with the US. While the US tried to use her influence over Spain as a tool for bringing certain freedoms, which were aimed to flourish American interests in Spain, Franco tried to use American support to entrench his regime and the reforms imposed by the US, for Franco, were rather acts of appeasement directed to the US political elite (Tayfur, 2018).

a. The Falangist Ideology

The Falangist ideology was promulgated by **Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera**, who was the leader of the **Falange Española**. Falange Española was the first political party in Spain that, in the modern sense of the term, could be classified as a nationalist political party (Payne, 1964). Ideological basis of the Falange was mostly inspired by Mussolini's fascism. Similar to fascism, falangism defines the ideal society as one with a strict hierarchy from the top where the leader is located down to every single individual, who is obliged to serve for the "good of the country" (Primo de Rivera, 2021).

In his speeches and writings, Primo de Rivera declares falangism as opposing both capitalism and communism, the left and the right and places his ideology to a third place. He states that every single individual is obliged to work for the well-being of the state in collaboration with fellow citizens, thus rejecting the idea of class conflict. Similar to Italian fascism, Primo de Rivera introduced the concept of class cooperation that would integrate the society. The falangist ideology, in order to establish this coherence, relies heavily on a totalitarian regime that would monopolise the power of the state in the hands of a single person, which later became Franco (Primo de Rivera, 2021).



The flag of Falange Española

Falange Española was the political party established by Primo de Rivera in early 1930s in order to prevent the spread of communism into Spain. During the civil war, Franco declared the Falange as the mere political establishment of Spain, however, as the use of the term “political party” was prohibited, the Falange was addressed as the mere political organisation. Together with the army and the church, the Falange became one of the three pillars of Franco’s regime and, in a way, became the muscle of pro-Franco groups that crushed political opponents and formed an illusion of glory around Franco’s person (Preston, 2020).

b. Immediate Aftermath of the Second World War 1945-50

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, Spain found herself in a very non-desirable position. For the Allies, the victors of the war, and designers of the new world order, Spain was nothing but a remnant of the Axis, and Franco even though he did not participated in the war, provided extensive aid for Axis powers, going as far as supplying German garrisons in France in 1945 (Preston, 2020).

His actions in support of the Axis followed Franco throughout the second half of 1940s. In 1945, a decision was made to prevent Spanish membership to the United Nations at the **San Francisco Conference**, the founding conference of the UN. In response, although Franco

declared that Spain does not need an international organisation's membership to survive, he began to hope for a change in European politics in favour of the left. Thus, he would be able to persuade the West, specifically the US, for extending support to Spain (D. K. M. K., 1953).

However, the UN continued its condemnation on Spain with another resolution that called member states to withdraw their diplomatic missions from the country. The West obliged with this resolution, though it was apparent that there was a scepticism among Latin American countries, particularly Argentina. Right after the resolution passed, Argentinian dictator Juan Peron appointed a new ambassador to Madrid and concluded a trade agreement with Franco. Meanwhile, Spain launched a new foreign policy movement in order to cultivate support from countries that possess historical ties with Spain, namely Latin American and Arab countries. With this movement, Franco aimed to secure sufficient votes to revoke UN resolutions that condemned Spain. Even though this movement was not successful, and Franco even lost his most loyal ally, Peron, following Spanish failure to fulfil the requirements of the trade agreement, the developments in international realm began to turn the situation in favour of Franco (D. K. M. K., 1953).

In 1946, the US launched the **Truman Doctrine**, which foresaw the extension of huge economic aids to European countries and the House of Representatives voted for the inclusion of Spain into the aid programme in 1948. This decision was overturned by President Truman, though, the Pentagon began to perceive Spain as a valuable ally in struggle against communism. Despite President Truman's decision, European countries began to re-establish their commercial ties with Spain. Even France re-opened the border on the Pyrenees and allowed the passage of goods from both sides. In May 1948, both the United Kingdom and France signed trade agreements with Franco. The shift in the Western attitude towards Spain was completed in 1950, with the US decision to extend 62,5 million dollars of credit and the UN's decision to revoke its resolution condemning Spain (Pike, 1982).

In domestic politics, Spain was again in a turmoil. The interventionist economic policies of the falangist government had two main goals: import substitution and enhancement of industries which private investors refrained from entering. For the first goal, Franco raised harsh tariff barriers to prevent imports and subsidised companies within Spain which were producing goods that the country normally imported. The falangist regime also imposed measures on agriculture with the establishment of the National Grain Board and setting fixed prices, however, these prices were so low that half of the produced grain was being sold in black market. The economic policies of the falangist regime pushed the country even further back than pre-civil war years and nearly brought the economy into an imminent threat of bankruptcy. The economic situation proceeded as such until the late 1950s, when Franco replaced falangist officials of the Ministry of Economy with technocrats in 1957 (Shubert, 2005).

In this period, Franco faced opposition within the country, and even within his own political elite as well. In Basque region, a problematic region of Spain which seeks independence based on its different ethnic origin from the Spanish people, left-wing guerrillas launched attacks on regime forces. In response, Franco sent the Civil Guards to terrorise the region and end the guerrilla organisations. The Civil Guard launched a scorched earth strategy, burning entire villages to prevent guerrillas seeking shelter and help. Also, Civil Guard members would dress up as guerrillas and would ask help of villagers, when the villagers approached them with sympathy, they would be detained or executed. Soon, locals began to fear to establish contact with guerrillas at all (Preston, 2020).

Despite being exiled, former Republicans also exercised influence over the workers to a certain extent. In 1946-47, the falangist regime faced with a series of strikes in industrialised regions like Basque and Catalonia, and also in Madrid. The response of the regime to these strikes were again terror. Cities where the workers launched strike were flooded with soldiers

and Civil Guard. Employers were ordered to fire striking workers, and those who did not comply with this order were arrested (Carr, 1999).

On the other hand, monarchists who were a part of Franco's political elite were also displeased with the falangist regime. They perceived the falange as a vulgar organisation and sought the re-establishment of monarchy. In the meantime, the heir to the throne, Don Juan, also made remarks regarding the re-establishment of monarchy. The final stroke of monarchists came in 1946, when 458 people within the political elite signed a letter to Don Juan, expressing their wish for the re-establishment of monarchy. Franco responded this letter with purging all signatories from their offices and harassing them using the Civil Guard (Preston, 2020).

Under the falangist regime, every aspect of one's life was under surveillance and authority. The priest, the governor, the mayor, the military governor were authority figures of the regime who made themselves and the power they possess extremely visible to everyone. Under this constant surveillance, any sympathy towards the republic or any other source of power and authority than Franco would result in complete exclusion from the society, basically, the state structure was designed to starve opponents to death (Carr, 1999).

c. Years of Atlanticism 1950-1975

The early 1950s witnessed the end of the Spanish isolation in international realm, as the United States initiated a rapprochement with Spain and extended foreign aid, moreover, the West gradually began to understand that Franco could not be deposed in short term, therefore, his integration into the international community would be beneficial for struggle against communism. In 1951, although Spain was still not included in Marshall Plan, a recovery plan specific for Spain was launched by the US and under this program, Spain received nearly 200 million dollars of credit from the US. Another step was taken in 1953 with the signing of the Pact of Madrid. With the Pact of Madrid, nearly 2 billion dollars of American foreign aid and

investment poured into the country. Furthermore, the US established military bases in Spain which meant a military collaboration between Spain and the US (Tayfur, 2018).

However, the huge sums of aid and investment were coming with strings attached, as the US began to apply pressure on Franco to lower tariff barriers, dismantle protectionist measures for national capital and allow foreign capital to invest in Spain. In the meantime, Spanish financial elite, and industrial elite, two main groups who controlled the Spanish economy, began to form connections with American capitalists (Tayfur, 2018).

In the meantime, the political environment has also changed. Among the political elite, Franco successfully neutralised the Don Juan threat with the proclamation of the Succession Act of 1948. Although the act did not dictate any timeline for restoration of the monarchy, Franco demanded his son Juan Carlos from Don Juan, for the former to be educated under his supervision. 10 years old Juan Carlos, who will later be the King, was brought to Spain to be educated in military academy. On the other hand, in order to balance the power of Catholics and monarchists, Franco used the falange. In 1951, he reshuffled his cabinet and gave the falange three seats (Radcliff, 2017).

In this period, the main drive of the Spanish politics and economy was the American effort to integrate Spain into the new world economy through abolishment of international commercial restrictions and allowing foreign capital to flow into Spain. For Franco, the necessary measures for this end were desired as a way of enhancing the economy to further consolidate the regime. Meanwhile, Spain became more and more dependent on the US for her economy, which manifested itself in the issue of Moroccan independence (Tayfur, 2018).

The Moroccan independence movement actually began in French Morocco, not in Spanish part of the region. While the French colony was pursuing oppressive policies to assimilate the people of the colony, the Spanish colonial administration, in a stark contrast with the policies of both the central government in Madrid and the French, was rather liberal in its

approach towards the Moroccans. However, as the independence movement rose in the French part, it soon spread to the Spanish Morocco as well. When the independence movement broke out in 1953, Spanish commander in Morocco and Franco were rather permissive towards the movement, as they allowed the movement to form bureaus in Spanish part and smuggle arms from Spanish part to the French part. However, when France shifted its attitude and recognised independence of Morocco in 1955, Spain had nothing to do but to recognise the independence as well. In 1957, newly-independent Morocco demanded lands that were under Spanish possession, which led to border clashes. During these clashes, the US declared that the Spanish army is not allowed to use American weapons against the Moroccan forces (Tusell, 2007; Tayfur, 2018).

In 1959, the Franco regime turned into another strategy, named “autocratic development” which foresaw the cultivation of consent for the regime by compensating the lack of political freedoms with better economic conditions. The application of this strategy began with the reshuffling of the cabinet in 1959. In this reshuffling, Franco completely eliminated the falange from the ruling elite and replaced them with technocrats. The new technocratic administration carried out the reforms expected by the US and began to integrate the Spanish economy into the global capitalist market by lowering tariffs and eliminating limits on capital that could be invested in Spain by foreigners (Radcliff, 2017).

Although the economy was under the process of liberalisation, the state continued its interventions. The government still was one of the major investors in the market and many companies were either completely or partially owned by the state. Moreover, the government continued to exert its control over the market to favour the financial elite, which was one of the main supporters of Franco during the civil war. Newcomers of the financial market were discouraged with legal barriers and the position of the big five¹ was further entrenched.

¹ Biggest five banks of Spain: Bank of Bilbao, Bank of Vizcaya, Bank of Hispano-Americano, Espanol de Credito, Banco Central.

This period also posed a major shift in Spanish politics with the emergence of a new political opposition, independent of pre-civil war groups or Republicans in exile. In late 1950s and 1960s, Don Juan began to embrace the unifying role of monarchy and tried to establish ties both with the left and the right, while avoiding any kind of association with the falangist regime. In late 1950s, three major opposition movements emerged and even participated in politics to a very limited extent. The first one was the monarchist Union Espanola, the supporters of Don Juan. The Popular Liberation Front was another major group which found major support among university students. Although the PLF had an internal debate regarding the use of violence, it never exercised any violence. Later, the PLF joined with the Socialist Workers' Party. Many other groups like Christian Democrats, Christian Democrat Left, Union of Democratic Forces were also formed in this period. The common trait of all these opposition movements was their pro-European stance. In 1962, all the opposition groups came together in Munich, which brought the violent response of Franco to the whole opposition. As soon as the delegates of the Munich conference return to their country, they were forced to choose between confinement in Canaries or emigration (Tusell, 2007).

However, the new opposition movement and the incompatibility of economic growth and totalitarian regime brought a new instability to Spanish politics. The Spanish intelligentsia grew tired of the dictatorship and aligned themselves with the opposition. On the other hand, Franco's physical health was not allowing him to actively participate in politics, as he was used to. Furthermore, raising social challenges, like lack of infrastructure in rural areas or lack of educational infrastructure paved the way for the emergence of a new opposition within the society (Tusell, 2007).

The Franco regime, particularly "bunkers" who supported totalitarian policies within the elite, responded these social demands with violence and repression. Throughout the 1960s, the falangist terror began to oppress those who voice their social demands. The falangist terror

was answered by ETA, a terrorist organisation working for the independence of the Basque region, with an assassination campaign aiming the political elite of the regime (Radcliff, 2017).

Furthermore, one of the main pillars of the regime, the army was not pleased with its situation. Although the higher command enjoyed privileges of the regime, lower-rank officers had to work in other jobs to meet their needs. Officer salaries were much lower in 1970s and the young officers were disturbed with the situation. In early 1970s, the church also began to disassociate itself from the regime. These two developments, along with aforementioned challenges to the regime, brought the regime gradually closer to collapse. The collapse of the falangist regime was triggered by the death of the leader Francisco Franco (Radcliff, 2017).

2. Death of Francisco Franco and Transition to Democracy

Spanish transition to democracy was a movement which was initiated by Franco's self-appointed heir Juan Carlos, who became the King of Spain after the dictator's death. His transition effort was commenced with two major appointments: Adolfo Suarez as the Prime Minister and Fernandez Miranda as the President of the Cortes. The death of Franco also facilitated a great social mobilisation, which demonstrated itself in early 1976 when Arias Navarro, the prime minister appointed by Franco prior to his death, did not satisfy the reform expectations of the people with his promises. In January 1976, workers located on the industrial belt surrounding Madrid launched a strike, which was a great strike unprecedented in Franco's rule. Even sometimes the government lost the control of certain towns to the workers. However, since there was no bloodshed, the workers were negotiated into ending the strike (Tusell, 2007).

Although Suarez was a man who took part in Franco's regime as an official, he was the one who governed the transition to democracy. In 1976, Suarez convinced the elites of the Franco's regime, the falange, and lastly members of the Cortes who were appointed by Franco himself for the transition. In the meantime, the social mobilisation was still ongoing. Later that

year, 100 thousand people gathered in Madrid chanting “bread, work and liberty” while ETA assassinated 26 people in 1976 (Radcliff, 2017).

In exchange of acceptance for Suarez’s ground rules, such as the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, Suarez legalised most political parties and trade unions. The most ground-breaking of these reforms was the legalisation of the Communist Party (PCE) in April. Suarez declared that elections would be held in June 1977, and he joined with his own party Union of Democratic Centre (UCD) (Radcliff, 2017).

3. Current Situation and Problems

a. Economy

Following the Oil Crisis of 1973, Spanish economy, like many other European economies, suffered from lack of fuel which manifested itself in logistical chains and energy production. As Spain has little to no hydrocarbon resources, the country is highly dependent on imported oil, which increases the vulnerability of the country. However, a new trend is emerging in the world as Northern European countries are constructing wind turbines to produce energy without using hydrocarbons. On the other hand, some European countries, such as France or the United Kingdom, produce nuclear energy without any need for hydrocarbons.



Spanish railway network in 1975

Another damage made by the Oil Crisis was aimed to the logistical networks of Spain. Currently, the country does not have any electrified railway and all rail transportation relies on oil. However, electrification of the railway network would be a costly process which may also require major upgrades in electricity distribution infrastructure.

Furthermore, the turmoil caused by the transition period particularly agitated the industrialists in Catalonia, Madrid, and Valencia. Three of the four major industrial regions of Spain are still struggling with the aftermath of major strikes, losses of workers and sabotages. While the industrialists believe that the workers' movement should be contained in order for Spanish industry to work smoothly, workers raise their demands for further social reforms. On the other hand, certain companies like SEAT Automobiles based in Catalonia, whose products generate more revenue than semi-peripheral industries like textile or steel, express their need for qualified engineers and to attract them, pay salaries much higher than that disturbs the labour market, particularly for semi-peripheral industries.

Lastly, as a remnant of the falangist regime, Spain has a public spending much higher than her capacity. While the American aid was flowing into the country, the public budget shortage was being compensated. However, with the Oil Crisis, the US suspended foreign aid and now, Spain has to balance the budget by herself.

b. Army

Although one of the main pillars of the falangist regime was the army, the Spanish Armed Forces are not in a good shape. Especially in the last decade of Franco, military budget was decreased dramatically. The military equipment is outdated, mostly rusted, or broken, officers are not paid sufficiently, and most officers have to have a second job to feed their families.

Military academies are highly politicised with the turmoil that took over the country. Military students are divided along political lines. Communist, falangist and monarchist students often fight with each other and even sometimes disobey their commanders if they do not share their ideology. Furthermore, among officers in duty, there are many cliques and juntas discreetly working to seize the power. These groups are mostly falangist groups, though there may be certain groups who embrace left-wing ideologies.

Under falangist regime, the army assumed the duty of fighting with the “internal enemy,” while the US was providing protection from outside. American bases in Spain were used for this end, as it was claimed by Franco administration. However, the Pact of Madrid does not provide any specification for the usage of the bases, meaning that the US is legally eligible to, for instance, launch a nuclear missile from Spanish lands to the Soviet Union. And since Spain is not a NATO member, there is no guarantee for her under the Article 5 of North Atlantic Treaty.

Lastly, officers from Basque and Catalonia regions sometimes cause problems as they openly advocate for ETA and independence of their respective regions.

c. Falangist cadres

Despite the collapse of the falangist regime, many critical seats in bureaucracy are still occupied by officials of the former regime. There are no reports of abuse of power yet, however, particularly those in agrarian regions might return to their habits remaining from Franco's time.

d. Catalonia and Basque

Catalonia and Basque are two highly-industrialised and developed regions, that are mostly populated by local ethnic groups rather than Spaniards. Catalonia is populated by Catalans and Basque is populated by Basque people. These ethnic groups have their own language, own ethnic culture, and desire for independence from Spain. They were heavily agitated by the falangist regime as even the slightest implication of their existence was punished severely. The agitation of these peoples triggered the formation of Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) terrorist organisation aiming the independence of Basque. ETA is an organisation which adopts the strategy of urban guerrilla. In 1975, ETA conducted 26 assassinations. Right before the elections, there were reports of ETA militia active on mountains of the Basque region.

Currently, there is no information regarding armed activity for Catalan independence.

e. Foreign policy

Until the Oil Crisis, Spain was more or less a client state of the US, dependent on American aid in economy and military. With the Oil Crisis and the newly emerging political elite's antipathy towards the US, it is expected that the US would not seek close relations as in the Franco period. On the other hand, with the dismantlement of the falangist regime, a rapprochement with Europe could be expected, and Spain may even seek membership to the European Economic Community.

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