

For a lasting peace, for a people's democracy
December 24, 1954

Programme of the Communist Party of Spain In Struggle for Independence and Democratisation of Spain, and for Radical Improvement in the Spanish People's Living Standards*

Under the yoke of General Franco's fascist dictatorship Spain is experiencing one of the grimmest periods in its history.

The advent of fascism to power, helped by the fascist armies of Italy and Germany, was not simply the substitution of one bourgeois government for another. It was the replacement of one state form of class rule by the bourgeoisie, bourgeois democracy, by an open fascist terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary castes in Spain with the backing of foreign imperialism. The Franco ruling clique is an instrument of the big landowners, bankers and monopolists, who are linked with U.S. capital and rely on the high-ups of the army, repressive forces, Falange and the church.

The establishment of fascism in Spain not only paralysed the democratic development started in 1931 but also marked a great step backwards in the entire social, economic and cultural life of the nation.

The Franco regime brought the most ruthless repression and terror upon the working class, peasantry and other classes and social groups.

Civil liberties, the rights of the individual and representative bodies have been abolished. Freedom of association and assembly, freedom of speech and the press are nonexistent.

The national rights of Catalonia and the Basque country and the national aspirations of the people of Galicia have been suppressed.

The workers, who have been deprived of political rights and the right to strike, who are denied class trade union organisations to protect them, have to work long hours. For this they receive miserable wages while the prices of prime necessities steadily soar, making the life of the working people more and more unbearable. Compared with the years of the Republican regime purchasing power of wages has declined 3-4 times. Unemployment is mounting and spreading throughout the country.

Hundreds of thousands of working people live on the outskirts of the major cities in caves and miserable shacks. At the same time fashionable hotels are being built for wealthy tourists and the greater part of the state budget is allocated for military expenditure and the maintenance of the apparatus of repression.

Of the nearly four million agricultural workers in the country only just over 500,000 are in permanent employment, that is to say over 3 million working people in the countryside are subject to seasonal unemployment. As a result, life for these working people under the Franco regime is nothing but despair and utter poverty.

The tenancy agreements introduced in the years of the Republic were first abolished and later reintroduced with enslaving terms. Hundreds of thousands of tenants are now threatened with eviction from the land they cultivate.

* Adopted by the Vth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain

This situation, as well as the land exhaustion due to lack of fertilisers and melioration work, the scanty yields resulting from primitive methods of cultivation, and the ruinous policy of heavy taxation, all kinds of levies and compulsory deliveries, force the peasants to abandon farming, which cannot provide them with even the minimum means of subsistence, thereby giving rise to the mass proletarianisation of small landholders and tenants.

There are villages which have been totally abandoned by their residents, who have left for the towns and industrial centres in search of work. Very often they remain jobless.

Salaries of the teaching staff are meagre and teachers have to resort to other occupations in order to keep their families, occupations which do not correspond to their desires and inclinations. Many outstanding scientists and workers in the sphere of national culture and the arts are either in exile, or disparaged or oppressed by the Franco regime.

The living standards of office workers and civil servants, as well as of the workers, are among the lowest in Europe. Small traders and manufacturers, the middle classes have also been seriously affected by the disastrous consequences of the crisis in the national economy caused by the present regime. Even army officers have to look for other work in their spare time to supplement their incomes.

The consequences of this are felt not only by the working masses, by small traders and manufacturers: The monopolies either absorb or drive to bankruptcy the big enterprises too because the latter are unable to withstand the competition of the private and state-owned monopoly companies in which many members of the Government and high-ranking officials of the Franco state have a direct hand.

The consequences of the rule of fascism, of the absolute, undivided and uncontrolled terrorist rule of the big finance capitalists and landowners, are manifest in the exhaustion of the soil, in the decreased acreage of land under crops, in the scanty yields, particularly of grain crops, which year after year are lower than when the country's population was 8 million less. They are manifest in the drop in the head of livestock, in the crisis of industry, in the daily announced bankruptcies of small traders and manufacturers, in the appalling condition of the railways and transport in general; they are manifest in the declining home trade and curtailment and one-sidedness of foreign trade, in the devaluation of the peseta, in inflation and the astronomical growth of the state debt, in the general corruption of the state apparatus, in the degradation of culture and science, in the poverty of the masses and in the general ruin of the country. And though the roots of the economic and social backwardness of Spain are very deep and go back to the monarcho-landlord-bourgeois system prior to 1931, the responsibility for the present devastation and poverty lies primarily with the Franco regime which, with the help of foreign imperialism, established its bloody rule in the course of the war against the people, a war in which over a million were killed and many towns and villages destroyed, some lying in ruins to this day.

Franco Regime— Tool of U.S. Imperialism

The Franco regime which seized power with the help of foreign bayonets was unable to retain power without outside support. With the approaching defeat of Hitler Germany, Franco began looking for the support of U.S. imperialism—the most savage and aggressive imperialism in the capitalist world, which had played an important role in the establishment of the Franco regime.

Since the end of World War II the home and foreign policy of the-Franco Government has been more and more subordinated to the military and predatory plans of the Washington ruling circles. These plans envisage the colonisation of Spain and its conversion into a U.S. strategic

military base.

This policy resulted In the U.S.-Franco pact of September 26, 1953, undeniable proof of the anti-national nature of the Franco regime.

For dollars and U.S. support of their regime the Franco clique are bartering away Spanish territory, Spanish bases and the sovereignty and independence of the country.

The conclusion of the US.-Franco pact turned Spain into a strategic base for the Yankee imperialists. The Spanish army has been subordinated to the command of the U.S. General Staff which is adapting it to its own aggressive designs. The whole country is being covered with a network of U.S. air and naval bases as well as military installations, including depots for atom bombs and other weapons of mass destruction.

The controlling positions in the country's national economy are increasingly falling into the hands of the U.S. monopolists. Allocations for the construction and maintenance of U.S. military bases and installations in Spain add to the unproductive expenditure of the Franco state, thus causing, in addition to other hardships, increased taxation and levies, rapidly growing inflation and subsequent increased prices, which have a catastrophic effect on the living standards of millions of workers, peasants, intellectuals, small property holders and people deriving a modest income from rents. The so-called economic articles of the pact provide scandalous privileges for the U.S. monopolies in the sphere of imports and exports and in other spheres of the economy.

Military and economic penetration of the country by U.S. imperialism is supplemented by an intensive ideological campaign. In order to enslave the country an attempt is being made to crush the national aspirations, to pervert the moral and cultural sources of love for the homeland and its independence, to vulgarise the consciousness of our youth by disseminating pessimistic and decadent literature, by carrying out propaganda for war and the so-called American "way of life".

The undertakings given by the Franco clique to the U.S. imperialists have created a new and very dangerous situation in our country.

It is new and dangerous because these undertakings openly deprive Spain of its sovereignty and independence, and the country finds itself officially included in the system of aggressive blocs of U.S. imperialism. In the event of U.S. aggression, Spain will be involved in war in the interests of the aggressors and will become a victim of a monstrous atomic catastrophe.

The U.S.-Franco pact, while aggravating all the antagonisms of Spanish society, which not only suffers from hunger and devastation but is also in danger of destruction, makes it a matter of greater urgency than ever before to overthrow the Franco regime and establish a democratic regime, a regime which would retrieve the national independence, preserve peace and ensure the peaceful development and flourishing of Spain.

The Spanish people are not alone in their struggle to save Spain from impending catastrophe. The powerful camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union is on their side; this camp is becoming stronger each day and its outstanding victories in the struggle for strengthening peace and for a system of collective security, for gradual reduction of armaments and settlement of all international conflicts by means of negotiation represent a big contribution to the struggle of our people. This policy of peace reduces international tension, curbs the warmongers and helps to isolate the Franco clique, born out of war arid living for war.

Democratic Revolution is Essential and Inevitable

Francoism retarded the democratic revolution in Spain. But it has failed to hinder the operation of the objective laws governing the development of society. And the interests of the

masses, the interests of the non-monopolist bourgeoisie and the historical development of Spain demand the carrying through of this revolution, which will bring about political changes of a democratic character and socio-economic transformations which are absolutely essential in view of the ruin and economic chaos in Spain.

Development of the productive forces in Spain requires abolition of the feudal remnants in property relations in the countryside. These remnants—the large estates of the latifundists and landowners, the medieval forms of tenancy and so on—explain the fact that while, on the one hand, a few big landowners own most of the land, millions of peasants, on the other, have none at all, or only small plots.

The perpetuation of these feudal survivals results in a very low standard of living for millions of peasants and agricultural labourers and in a technically backward agriculture. In this lies one of the main reasons why the home market has such a low purchasing power, which is an insuperable obstacle to the industrial development of the country. The most timid attempt to develop industry immediately comes up against the poverty of the rural population which comprises more than half the population of Spain.

At the same time the monopoly concentration of finance capital has reached such a pitch that six large banks, in which a finance-landlord oligarchy holds sway, having concentrated the decisive part of Spanish capital, are in a position to control the major part of industry, credit and finance and home and foreign trade.

The monopoly groups are out to ensure maximum profits for themselves and to avert a crisis by militarising the national economy, by converting the state into a reliable buyer of war materials, trying to get it to allocate an increasingly larger proportion of the budget for purchasing war materials and financing military installations.

But this leads to constantly mounting taxes and levies, to a growing national debt, to inflation, which ultimately bring about increased impoverishment of the working masses in town and countryside; it results in the progressive ruin of the non-monopolist bourgeoisie, handicraftsmen, small traders and manufacturers, in a general lowering of the standard of living of the people as a whole and in a decline of the productive forces in the consumer goods industry and in agriculture. Even the curtailed output in these industries cannot be consumed by the home market, and the foreign market is shrinking more and more as a result of severe imperialist competition, which became more acute after the second world war as a result of the split in the single world market and the consequent shrinking of the capitalist market. At the same time the Franco regime does not allow Spanish industry and agriculture to have access to the flourishing market of the socialist countries.

Spain has an abundance of mineral, water and power resources; her agriculture could meet the requirements of the people and industrial development; her iron and steel industry could form the basis for building up an engineering industry, without which there can be no talk of either industrialisation or economic independence; there is in Spain a highly-skilled working class and technical cadres with great experience.

Against the big landlords and monopoly-finance magnates who have sold the national independence in exchange for American backing, who represent rabid counter-revolutionary forces interested in maintaining the Franco regime, are arising social classes interested in the democratic transformation of Spain.

Firstly, it is the working class who, because of its revolutionary consciousness, of its paramount role in social production, its militancy and because of being the most consistent democratic force, is, as it has proved in the modern history of Spain, the leading class in the'

struggle for democracy, peace and national independence, in the struggle against oppression and tyranny. The working class is the class most interested in the democratic development of Spain, which will enable it to win better living conditions and will open up the way to the future socialist transformation of Spanish society.

Secondly, there are millions of peasants who, despite the fact that they comprise various social groups and sections, are today united by one desire: to get rid of the remnants of feudalism, to own land, to throw off unjust burdens, to get stable markets and fair prices for their produce, and obtain cheap manufactured goods. The peasantry is the natural ally of the working class.

In addition to the working class and the peasantry—the motive force of the democratic revolution—there are other important social groups and sections interested in overthrowing the Franco regime.

Spain has a numerous urban petty bourgeoisie—small traders and manufacturers, handicraftsmen and petty proprietors, whose life is becoming more and more difficult and whose interests are becoming linked up more and more with those of the working class. There are various intermediate sections consisting, in the main, of office workers and officials, intellectuals, students and people of the free professions. These social sections make up a considerable force that is called upon to play a positive role not only in developing the struggle against Francoism, but in furthering the great cause of establishing a democratic regime in Spain.

There is also a non-monopolist bourgeoisie that is not subordinated to foreign capital and is being kept down and impelled to ruin by the financial oligarchy, making it more radical and confronting it with the necessity of taking part in the coalition of forces fighting for democracy and national independence.

Consequently, the overwhelming majority of the social forces in Spain, the whole of the Spanish people are interested in the transformation of Spain and the restoration of national sovereignty and independence.

The awareness of the need for changing the regime can be seen from the big militant actions of the working class and the popular forces, from the protests of the peasants, traders and manufacturers, government officials and employees, in the protests and struggles of students, intellectuals, teachers and scientists.

But together with the desire for a change, dictated by reality, some bourgeois forces of the anti-Franco opposition have certain misgivings about the development of a consistent struggle against the regime and show some hesitation about taking up a frank and resolute approach to solving the problem in accordance with the interests of Spain and not of one or another group, of any one monarchist or republican fraction.

These hesitations are supported by the tendentious propaganda of the regime which advances before the Spanish people the false choice: Francoism or Communism. The Communist Party once again says to these still hesitating forces, that this is not the question. The real choice is: fascist tyranny or democracy, the enslavement of Spain or national independence, war or peace.

The Communist Party, as the political party of the working class, true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, declares that its ultimate aims in the development of society are the overthrow of the capitalist system, the socialist transformation of Spain and the building of Communism.

However, at a time when our people and our homeland are being subjected to unprecedented brutal oppression by the fascist terrorist dictatorship of the financial-landlord oligarchy, when the life and security of Spain are threatened as a result of the war policy of the Franco Government,

the central and immediate task of the Communist Party, the task to which the entire activity of its members is subordinated, can only be the fight for democracy, national independence and peace.

Objective conditions, the broad social forces interested in overthrowing Francoism, the broad international solidarity with the cause of our people—all this points to the fact that this fight can and will be victorious. To make this possibility an actual and bright reality, the Communist Party of Spain, concerned for the destiny of the people, for the present and future of the homeland, puts forward a Programme for discussion by all Spaniards interested in Spain's existence as a free, independent democratic and sovereign state, a Programme which the Communists will uphold in the course of the battle for the restoration, strengthening and progress of democracy in Spain.

The Communist Party advances the following Programme:

I. For Overthrow of the Franco Regime, for a Provisional Revolutionary Government Which Will Restore Democratic Liberties

For the fight against the Franco regime and for the victory of the progressive forces it is necessary to unite and co-ordinate all opposition forces, to build a broad National Anti-Franco Front with the object of overthrowing Francoism and establishing a provisional revolutionary government composed of the representatives of all parties and organisations participating in this National Front. *

The Communist Party' believes that the platform of the National Front and its government should be as follows:

1. Restoration of the democratic rights, i.e. freedom of association and assembly, freedom of the press and speech, the right to demonstrate and to strike. The dissolution of the Falangist Party and all organisations set up by Francoism, membership of which has been compulsory.

2. The release of the anti-Francoists from prison and assistance in the repatriation of political emigrants.

3. The adoption of urgent measures to ease the difficult material conditions of the popular masses, a fight against the increased cost of living, greater purchasing power of wages.

4. The cancellation of the agreements concluded by the Franco Government with the Government of the U.S.A. on September 26, 1953, and all other agreements encroaching on sovereignty and national independence or committing Spain, directly or indirectly, to serve the military plans of the American imperialists.

5. The resumption of diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with all countries.

6. The promulgation of a provisional electoral law giving the franchise to Spaniards of both sexes, who shall have the right to vote from the age of 18 and be eligible for election on reaching the age of 21. This law shall be based on the principle of proportional representation, which would guarantee the rights of all political forces and the free expression of will by the people. The holding of elections to the Constituent Assembly to which the provisional revolutionary government would cede its powers.

Such are the preliminary measures which, in the view of the Communist Party, are essential for restoring independence and freedom to Spain as well as for ensuring adequate conditions for political development and for carrying out the necessary democratic transformations.

The Communist Party holds that after the overthrow of Francoism and the establishment of civil liberties, the political standard for the different forces should be respect of and

* "Foro" and "subforo" are forms of tenancy whereby peasants pay rent in kind for small plots. They prevail in the northwest of Spain (Galicia, Asturia, Leon). (Ed.>

subordination to the will of the people, freely expressed through elections. The Communist Party will be guided in its activity by this standard.

II. Democratic Republic. Respect for Free Self-Determination of Nations

When the legislative period begins and the time comes to deal with the tasks of building the Spanish state:

1. The Communist Party will fight for the establishment of a democratic republic in which the sovereign people shall be represented in a Chamber elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. The local, provincial and other administrative and executive bodies shall also be elected by the people. A system of proportional representation shall be introduced. All Spaniards, regardless of sex, shall have the right to vote from the age of 18 and be eligible for election from the age of 21.

The Constitution and legislation shall guarantee inviolability of personal rights and democratic liberties.

The Communist Party will fight for the democratic reorganisation of the army and other armed formations, considering this to be a vital measure for safeguarding the existence of the Republican regime.

Similarly, and with the same end in view, the whole of the state apparatus shall be democratised.

These measures shall be carried out in such a way as to respect the rights of members of the forces and officials who by their conduct merit the trust of the democratic state.

2. The unity of the Spanish state will never be really firm and democratic if it is based on force and compulsory assimilation, on a denial of national rights. We Communists are, therefore, against the oppression of one nation by another and stand for the right of the peoples to free self-determination. This is why we shall support the right of the peoples of Catalonia, the Basque country and Galicia to decide their destiny on voluntary and democratic principles.

3. The Communist Party expresses its solidarity with the fight of the Moroccan people for their independence. Until this goal is reached the Party will fight for the Spanish zone of Morocco to be granted the same democratic, social and national rights as it upholds for the peoples of Spain.

III. For Foreign Policy of Peace and Friendship with All Peoples

On international questions the Communist Party will fight for:

1. A policy of peace and friendship with all peoples through the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the countries of people's democracy and other states. Admission of the Spanish Republic to UNO and all organs of international cooperation. The Party will actively support the policy of collective security of all European countries without exception. It will oppose the formation or maintenance of aggressive military blocs and will fight against participation in these blocs. The Party will support any move to ban atomic and any other weapons of mass destruction and to secure a progressive reduction of armaments to the point of general disarmament. It will strive to ensure that in international relations the Spanish Republic upholds a policy of lasting and stable peace in conformity with the desire of the Spanish people and all other peoples.

2. Trade and cultural relations with all countries without exception on the basis of mutual benefit.

IV. Large-Scale Agrarian Reform. Measures for the Benefit of Peasants and Agricultural Workers

The existence in the Spanish countryside of the big property of the latifundists and landowners with its semi-feudal character held back the bourgeois-democratic development of the country. It is necessary to abolish this form of property and put an end to all feudal shackles in order to get rid of the chronic poverty in the countryside, improve the standard of living of working people in agriculture, advance the development of agriculture and create a broad home market which would promote the growth of industrial production and trade. In conformity with this the Communist Party will fight for the following measures in the countryside.

1. Confiscation by the state of land belonging to the latifundists and big landowners and its transfer free of charge to agricultural workers and land-hungry peasants.
2. Liquidation of “foro” and “subforo”^{*} in Galicia, Asturia and Leon; the liquidation of “rabassa morta”[†] and, in general, all remnants of the feudal system still prevailing in the Spanish village.
3. Respect for the property of well-to-do and rich peasants.
4. Return of land and property to their real and legitimate owners—to whom they belonged up to 1936 and from whom they were seized by the Falangists.
5. Help to peasants by low-interest, long-term credit, seeds, fertilisers, agricultural implements and chemicals to combat agricultural pests.
6. Constant and ail-round material aid to peasants who voluntarily decide to organise agricultural associations or co-operatives.
7. Freedom of marketing for peasants and reduction of taxes.
8. Adoption of measures assuring the advantageous export of agricultural produce, opening up access to the big markets of the countries of the democratic camp.

For agricultural workers:

- 9 An 8-hour working day with fixed minimum wage rates. Overtime shall be paid at double-time rate. Equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex or age.
10. One day off a week. Prohibition of employment of women on injurious work and employment of children under 14 years of age.
11. Provision of free lodging and transport while field work is in progress and statutory guarantees as regards the sanitary fitness of lodgings.
12. Social insurance for injury, sickness, disablement and old age. Subsidies to large families in the countryside.

For tenants:

13. General revision of tenancies; substantial rent reductions; adoption of measures for the protection of tenants and sharecroppers from arbitrariness and violence on the part of proprietors.
14. A tenancy may be prolonged if this is desired by a tenant who observes the conditions of tenancy. In such a case prolongation cannot be denied under any pretext.
15. The landlord shall reimburse the tenant, by the end of the tenancy, the cost of any improvements he has carried out.

^{*} “Foro” and “subforo” are forms of tenancy whereby peasants pay rent in kind for small plots. They prevail in the northwest of Spain (Galicia, Asturia, Leon). (Ed.)

[†] “Rabassa morta” is a feudal form of tenancy prevailing in Catalonia. (Ed.)

V. Development of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

1. Rationalisation of timber and water resources. The carrying out of afforestation and prohibition of tree-felling which would be detrimental to the wealth of the country. The construction of reservoirs and canals necessary for supplying water to those areas which at present suffer constantly from drought and for expanding the area under irrigation in order to ensure bumper yields.

2. Establishment and extension of the network of provincial agricultural schools, model farms, laboratories and zoo-technical stations.

3. Development of the canning industry and industry processing agricultural raw materials in the appropriate agricultural areas with a view to preventing heavy losses of agricultural produce and combating seasonal unemployment in the countryside.

4. The extension of the fodder base and the adoption of other suitable measures for raising the head of livestock.

VI. Measures in the Sphere of Credit, Finance and Industry

1. Nationalisation of the Spanish Bank and its transformation into the State Bank.

The State Bank shall, on advantageous terms, grant to private employers and organisations credits necessary for their economic activity designed to promote the industrial development of Spain and consequently the general well-being.

2. State control over big monopolist banks and big insurance companies.

3. A tax reform based on the abolition of indirect taxes, which are particularly heavy for the popular masses, and the introduction of a progressive tax on rent, profit and other income.

4. Review and confiscation by the state of large property holdings unlawfully acquired by the Falange clique since 1936.

5. Nationalisation of big water, gas and electricity undertakings.

6. Nationalisation of ore deposits belonging to foreign companies, on conditions to be considered in each concrete case.

7. Limitation of the share of foreign capital in the national industry, carried through in the spirit of observing the national interests and the country's sovereignty.

8. A policy of industrialising the country, with particular attention to the production of electric energy, coal, steel, iron and cement; development of the engineering and tool-making industries; the establishment of an up-to-date agricultural machinery industry and development of the chemical industry. Help to the textile industry and light industry in general and assistance in obtaining raw materials and equipment. Reorganisation of the railways, reconstruction and extension of the network of highways.

9. Promotion of the fishing industry; the granting of low-interest, long-term credits for renewing and developing the fishing fleet. Development of the canning industry.

VII. For Radical Improvement of Workers' Life

The Communist Party fights and will fight for:

1. A minimum living wage for every worker; a strict 8-hour working day and no more than a 7-hour working day in the mines and in trades detrimental to health; the introduction of a sliding wage scale ensuring automatic wage increases in accordance with possible rises in the cost of living.

2. Equal pay for equal work. No discrimination in relation to women and youth as far as wages and professional skill are concerned. A 6-hour working day for apprentices at factories.

Establishment of vocational training at the expense of the state and the employers.

3. Establishment of a system of social insurance, which the working people would help to run, at the expense of the state and the factory owners.

This system must guarantee:

- a) a medical service and medicines for the working people and their families;
- b) unemployment benefits for the working people, sickness and disability pay, old age pensions (allowances to cover all old people without means of subsistence);
- c) maternity benefits; free medical attention during pregnancy and confinement; two months' paid leave for women workers—a month before and a month after confinement;
- d) subsidies for big families in the form of monthly allowances for each child.

The existing Franco system of "social insurance", that does not fulfil its objective—care of the working people— but is, on the contrary, a source of income for financing the Franco regime's military projects and personal profit for the Falangist chieftains, will be disbanded.

4. Confiscation by the state of funds appropriated by the so-called vertical trade unions and turning them over for the social needs of the workers organisations.

5. From 15 to 20 days' paid annual holidays for the workers. The building of sanatoria and rest homes for workers and their families. Building of factory crèches so that working mothers can leave their children there during work time.

6. Building of healthy, comfortable and low-priced dwellings for the working people.

The Communist Party will favour the extension of all these social measures to office workers.

VIII. For Public Education. For the Flourishing of Culture, Science and Art

1. The implementation of a policy of building schools. The introduction of compulsory, free primary education for children up to 14 years of age. State grants for students in secondary and higher schools, who have no means to support themselves—children of working people and people with modest incomes.

2. Reform of the curricula of primary, secondary and, higher educational establishments in conformity with the principles and methods of progressive pedagogics and science.

3. Restoration to the staff of primary, secondary and higher schools of the honours and dignities taken from them during the Franco regime. Raising the salaries of teachers and professors in conformity with their duties and their qualifications. Teachers to be given the opportunity to avail themselves of social insurance in addition to the rights they enjoy as civil servants.

4. Allocation of necessary funds for developing scientific research. Research workers and scientists to be ensured the material conditions necessary to develop their creative activities.

5. Encouragement of the arts, literature and the theatre, guaranteeing freedom of creative activity. The development and encouragement of a national cinema. State help in publishing and circulating the classics and the works of outstanding contemporary writers, as well as encouraging young, talented authors.

6. Measures to eradicate illiteracy; establishment of public libraries and cultural measures ensuring the spread of culture among the people.

7. Development of physical culture and sport.

IX. Relations Between Church and State

1. Separation of church from the state. In view of the religious sentiments of a big section of

the population, the state must, however, assign funds for the requirements of worship.

2. Wide and complete freedom of worship. Freedom of conscience: no one shall be persecuted or in any way victimized either for his religious beliefs or for refusing to follow a creed.

Forces and Means in Struggle for this Programme

The democratic transformations for which the Communist Party stands correspond to the interests of Spain, the interests of the majority of classes and strata of Spanish society.

These transformations are in the interests of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, artisans, traders and non-monopolistic industrial bourgeoisie which is not subordinated to foreign capital. But Francoism—the common enemy of all these classes and social strata, the enemy without whose overthrow it is impossible even to think of Spain's democratic development—will not fall of its own accord, no matter how deep becomes its decay. Nor can the Franco regime be changed from above, by manipulations behind the backs of the masses. Revolutionary and organised struggle of the broad popular masses is an essential condition for overthrowing this regime and replacing it with a democratic regime. It is only by unity of action of all trends of the anti-Franco forces that victory can be achieved in this struggle. There is no other way for the democratisation of Spain and the radical improvement of life of the people.

With this aim in view the Communist Party expresses its readiness to co-operate and to reach mutual understanding with all political parties and groups that are interested in the overthrow of the Franco regime and the liberation of Spain from the American yoke.

After the overthrow of Francoism the coalition of the democratic political forces must become a weapon which, by means of state power, will ensure the realisation of such a programme.

When normal conditions for political life in Spain are restored, the Communist Party will struggle for the maintenance of this political coalition and for the establishment of a democratic government which will represent this coalition and realise such a programme.

The Communist Party will struggle to ensure the leading role of the working class, both in the coalition and in the government. It is only the leadership of the working class in this coalition that can ensure the implementation of a programme of democratic transformations essential for the progress of Spain.

The Communist Party will work unremittingly to create conditions under which the proletariat can play its leading historical role, to enhance its consciousness as a class and achieve working-class unity, both politically and in the trade union sphere. The Communist Party is ready to take, in conjunction with workers belonging to other parties or organisations, practical measures which would contribute to the realisation of this unity and to the formation of united working-class trade unions. The achievement of working-class unity will be facilitated by the development of the mass struggle within the fascist trade unions and by other struggles for raising the living standards of the workers in town and countryside, against the introduction of American methods of exploitation, against unemployment and the arbitrary actions of the fascist chieftains and repressive forces of the regime.

The Communist Party will fight for the consolidation of the alliance of the working class and peasantry—the two motive forces of the democratic revolution. The condition for achieving this alliance is that the working class, by organising the struggle of the masses, must give active help to the peasants in their fight for land and other demands.

The leading historical role of the working class in the democratic revolution requires that the

workers not only struggle for their own demands but actively support the demands and democratic movements of all classes and social strata participating in the National Anti-Franco Front.

The Communist Party of Spain knows that to achieve victory it is not sufficient to have a correct programme; it realises that what is most essential is to ensure that the broad popular masses and various political and social forces, which in one way or another, are interested in the realisation of such a programme, know the programme, approve it and fight for it to be put into effect. The task, which today faces every Party member, every organisation right up to the Central Committee, is to bring this Programme to the masses, to win their approval and support and transform this Programme into a battle standard for the vast majority of the Spanish people.

In the crucible of the anti-Franco struggle waged jointly by the workers, peasants, intellectuals, artisans,, manufacturers, traders, women and young people against militarisation and preparations for a new war, against the construction of U.S. war bases, against the exorbitant military expenditure and fascist terror, for peace, national independence, democratic rights and the radical 'improvement of the living standards of the people, this Programme will become- the programme of the whole people.

An indispensable condition for the fulfilment of the great historical task recorded in the Programme is the existence of the Communist Party—strong, unified and disciplined, theoretically, politically and organisationally united. Inspired and guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching which has been victorious in the Soviet Union, China and the countries of people's democracy, we Communists must work to raise the ideological, and political level of the Party, to raise the Party's organisation to the level of its tasks and the opportunities afforded by the deep-going movement of the masses.

The Communist Party calls on all revolutionary workers, working peasants, progressive intellectuals and students, on all patriots and democrats who sympathise with our aims and our struggle, to replenish and strengthen our ranks.

We Communists will fight for the realisation of this Programme, strong in the certainty of the historical inevitability of the overthrow of Francoism and the triumph of democracy in Spain. We Communists are confident that the advanced and progressive forces of the country will be able to unite, overthrow the fascist yoke, restore national independence, establish a democratic regime and ensure a peaceful life for the Spanish people.