

POLITICAL STATEMENT

Reagrupament Independentista

First National Convention

Barcelona, October 3rd 2009

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1 THE CATALAN NATION: PRESENT POLITICAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXT

1.1 Independence: from right to duty

1.1.1 The right to independence of the Catalan Countries

The Catalan Countries are a nation. Its identity signatures (language, culture, history, traditions, shared values...) are the basis that accounts for the will to be a nation. Within the european framework that the catalan nation is part of, national groups have had the opportunity, with some exceptions, of organizing themselves politically as states.

Historical accidents that are well known made it impossible to achieve the constitution of a modern catalan state. Other circumstances favored the internal fragmentation of the catalan nation. But despite the adverse historical circumstances, the catalan people have been able to keep their national identity alive. In the present sociopolitical circumstances, the survival of this national identity can be guaranteed only with the constitution of an independent Catalan state. The catalan nation has the right to access to statehood just as much as all other nations of Europe and the world.

1.1.2 Worldwide changes

The independence of Catalonia is a right, but it also becomes a duty when the large transformations of humanity threaten the existence of the catalan nation, which needs the power of a catalan state to confront them without disappearing.

All human societies are being subjected to large demographic, political, economic, social, technological and cultural changes which are affecting basic elements of all nations. Nations that are endowed with a state are able to adapt without losing their identity. However, by belonging to the Spanish state, the catalan nation is not allowed to confront the transformation of the present world in spite of the autonomy, and our continuity as a nation is put into danger. At the same time, the catalan identity in North Catalonia is often utilized by the authorities strictly in terms of folklore.

1.1.3 The Catalan Countries inside the Spanish state and the French state

The spanish judicial and political legislation considers Catalonia, the Valencian Country and the Balearic Islands as autonomous communities of common rule. The Franja de Ponent (Catalan-speaking Western Strip) is not even recognized as a distinct administrative unit within the autonomous community of Aragon. An autonomous community is a body of administrative decentralization without any historical rights or recognized political status: an entity without sovereignty. The French state also does not recognize any distinct status to North Catalonia.

1.1.4 Fiscal plunder

The enormous fiscal deficit endured by the Catalan Countries constrains the ability of the respective autonomous governments to reach a level of investment and delivery of public service that allow for an adequate coverage of the needs of their citizens and their productive economy. This continuous fiscal deficit is a serious threat to the economic and social development of our nation and implies a permanent resource drain with highly negative consequences to the well-being of the citizens.

1.1.5 Linguistic and identity minoritization

The Spanish state and the consideration of languages in the spanish Constitution constitutes an exception in comparison with other multilingual democracies with substantial historical linguistic communities, such as Canada, Belgium, Switzerland, Finland or South Africa. The spanish political transition preserved some linguistic political bases from the previous regime. The state does not accept linguistic diversity and plans for the preponderance of one linguistic community over the other inborn linguistic communities. Moreover, the dominant presence of spanish mass media in our territory contributes to gradually weaken our language.

This fact, together with the continuous erosion of the basic structures of the catalan nation, makes it extremely difficult for us to reproduce the national identity generation after generation. The social use of the language, especially low among the youth, is the thermometer of this process, but the implications are deeper. The Catalan state is the only tool able to guarantee the catalan identity as a normalized reference of collective identification.

1.2 The need to respond to the large transformations of the catalan society

1.2.1 European integration

Being part of the European Union is one of the most important historical processes we are living through. It has strengthened democracy, it has induced economic development and it has fostered economic, cultural and personal exchanges with the most advanced countries. However, by integrating ourselves to the European Union as a Spanish autonomous community, we have been prevented from approaching the standards of european countries in democratic quality, in economic and technological level, in social justice and welfare state, in territorial and environmental balance, in education and scientific achievement. Not having a Catalan state has caused us to retreat in a number of fundamental issues, such as our visualization as a distinct national identity, the educational system, economic prosperity or social well-being. This is revealed by several indicators like the school dropout rate, per capita income or the population under the poverty threshold.

1.2.2 Globalization

Economic globalization is another deep change that has generally been positive for many countries that have been industrialized. The catalan economy has also seized on the economic globalization process to widen its external markets and increase its degree of openness to the world, but at the same time the Spanish state has fostered the development of a model of speculative economic growth based on real estate building and services of low added value. The lack of infrastructure investment by the State and the conception of a radial model of airport use has also caused a loss of competitiveness of catalan companies and has prevented the establishment of foreign companies in our territory. This growth model, together with the fiscal plunder and the deficit of infrastructure, have thwarted the restructuring of our productive base, as well as an adequate innovation and specialization in new technologies that can offer quality jobs and ensure a sustainable economic growth to the catalan economy. The world financial crisis has sunk the spanish speculative model and has caused a deeper crisis in Catalonia because of the fiscal plunder. The structural character of the crisis highlights the urgency of leaving behind the economic ballast of belonging to the Spanish state. But in addition to the economic issues, it is important to stress that in a globalization environment, we become increasingly interesting as we are able to contribute a larger number of different things (way of thinking, cultural richness, language, traditions, etc.). Therefore, Catalonia is much more interested in being part of the world as a differentiated "entity".

1.2.3 Immigration

Catalonia has always been a land of transit and settlement. During the 20th century, thousands of immigrants of spanish origin arrived in Catalonia, mainly between 1950 and 1975. Because of this, at the end of the century three out of every four catalans had among their direct ancestors (parents or grandparents) a person born outside the country. Without the demographic growth that actually took place, the economic development we have experienced would not have occurred. The massive entry of new immigration at the beginning of the 21st century raises new challenges that can only be confronted with the capacity of a Catalan state to rule and define politics. It is only with our own state that we shall be able to define the catalan model of incorporating the new immigration to the catalan society, thereby taking advantage of the great opportunity that this immigration affords to us to strengthen and warrant our national project.

1.2.4 The impact of audio-visual mass media

All of the world cultures are subject to the impact of the new audio-visual mass media, which have replaced the hegemony of written communication. The small nations are exposed to this to a larger extent, because elaborating audio-visual products is expensive and requires extended markets that are possessed by large nations only. Small nations are able to compensate for this shortcoming as long as they have their own state. But without a distinct state, the catalan nation cannot confront the multiple implications of

this shortcoming, which go beyond the issue of language.

1.3 Economic suffocation and the catalan economic crisis

1.3.1 The reduction to an autonomous community of common rule

The new funding system of autonomous communities approved by the Council of Fiscal and Financial Politics in July 2009 solves neither the fiscal deficit problem, nor the chronic resource shortage of the Generalitat.

The adherence of the Generalitat Government to the new funding system is the most obvious proof that Catalonia can exist within the Spanish framework only as an autonomous community of common rule. Historical nationalities should have a true fiscal autonomy, in the same way as the Basque Country and Navarra, with the Economic Concert. Article 45 of the Catalan statute of autonomy of 1979 provided for a definitive funding system that should have come into force in 1985 and could have given similar results to a Concert. A funding system that was never applied.

1.3.2 The fiscal plunder and the triple economic crisis

The fiscal deficit of 10% of the Gross Domestic Product of Catalonia – slightly less for the Valencian country and larger for the Balearic Islands – increases the severity of the crisis in our homeland, with more company foreclosures and a faster growth of unemployment. In fact, we suffer from a triple crisis: the worldwide one, which is basically of a financial character; the Spanish one, a result of the failure of the speculative model based on the real estate and service sectors; and the specifically Catalan crisis, which adds the fiscal plunder to the previous two. The crisis will be longer in the Spanish state because of its growing debt since the entry into the euro and because it cannot devalue the peseta as in previous crises. When the downturn is over, a chronic stagnation may follow with very high unemployment levels.

1.3.3 Decapitalization and low competitiveness

The crisis is even more severe in the Catalan Countries because many industrial sectors have been unable to renew their productive basis through the incorporation of increased technology and added value, owing to the decapitalization brought about by the fiscal plunder. An important part of our industrial sectors are no longer competitive against newly industrialized countries with lower labor and fiscal costs. In addition, we have not been able to impel strongly enough new emergent sectors due to the lack of capital and of the necessary training and research. Neither can we hope for investments from multinational companies as in the 1980's because there are many other more attractive countries with access to the European market.

1.3.4 The oligarchical concentration caused by privatizations

The suffocation of the catalan economy derives also from the exclusion of our companies from strategic sectors. During the thirty years of constitutional monarchy, a new leading spanish business class has been created by means of the privatization of public state companies created by dictatorships, and thanks to public concessions of new economic sectors like cellphones or private television channels. A very reduced group of large fortunes have ended up holding oil and electricity companies, large banks, telecommunications, construction and real estate firms, large retail companies, etc. One of the results of this concentration in oligarchies are the fees of public services, such as cellphones, ADSL or electricity, which do not always reach everyone (at least with the minimum demanded quality). These fees are higher than those of our neighboring countries, negatively affecting our competitiveness.

1.3.5 The exclusion of catalan companies from the strategic sectors

The exclusion of catalan companies from the strategic sectors has severe consequences to our economy. The opening to european and global markets requires large size companies, which at the same time need financial, and even diplomatic, support. Only companies above a certain size are able to dedicate substantial budgets to research and development of new products and new productive sectors. The exclusion from strategic sectors provincializes an economy and the managing circles lose the breadth of vision that is demanded by globalization. The creation of a Catalan state is the only way for catalan companies to return to the strategic sectors.

1.3.6 The public workers of the state and economic power

The centers of economic power are tightly linked to the high-ranking public workers of the state. This connection was already in place when the monopolies were state-owned, and their management was assigned by these bodies of high-ranking state officials among themselves. The connection has continued with privatization so as to obtain a favorable legislation, administrative concessions and other privileges. The promiscuity between private interests and public state workers would be a scandal in any country with a democratic tradition.

1.3.7 The large spanish mass media groups

The large spanish companies keep tight relations with the great telecommunication groups that own television and radio channels, newspapers, publishing companies, music companies, movie producers, etc. They set aside enormous advertising budgets to finance these media, and those that oppose their interests are excluded from the campaigns. This control is behind the nearly complete disappearance of critical and independent journalism in the Spanish state.

1.4 Assimilation of identity and culture

1.4.1 Recognition of the catalan language in the framework of the Spanish state

The Spanish state does not accept the equality of languages in the central administration, nor does it recognize the cultural territory of the nationalities, in contrast to other linguistically diverse countries such as Switzerland or Belgium. There is no possibility of modifying this situation through a constitutional reform. Even the single element of territoriality – linguistic immersion in schools – is presented as an attack against human rights, when it is normal practice in all nationally diverse states. The mandatory knowledge of catalan that is promulgated by the Statute of 2006 is inapplicable in the framework of the Spanish state. Without a Catalan state, the language is in danger, as the eminent linguist Joan Solà recently warned in a solemn way speaking to the Parliament of Catalonia.

The Spanish state, with the constitutional monarchy, has continued to regard itself and to act as a one-language and one-nation state. The Royal House, the army, the Congress and the Senate, the central Courts of Law, the diplomacy, the international projection, the border police and the majority of public representations respond to this conception. The Spanish constitution establishes one compulsory language, the Spanish one, over the whole state territory. The mass media directed to the state use Spanish and they make the presence of other languages invisible. The Spanish state has maintained a homogeneous communication atmosphere of Spanish culture and language.

In this homogeneous medium, the Spanish state recognizes the existence of other languages with speakers concentrated in certain autonomous communities. These speakers have the right to use their language and to be attended by the administration in their language. But, in contrast to the Spanish language, its use is voluntary and never obligatory, which converts its speakers in a national minority.

1.4.2 Language and immigration

The scarce legal coverage for protecting and ensuring the use of the catalan language hinders the linguistic integration of the immigrants – Catalonia had 3 million inhabitants in 1960, 6 million in 1975 and nowadays it is approaching 8 million –, something which does not occur in other countries, where learning the local language with the necessary means to make it possible is a requirement which becomes an assimilation tool within the collectivity and, consequently, a warrant of equal opportunities and a basic foundation to achieve social justice.

1.4.3 Public radio and television in the Catalan Countries

The creation of radio and television public broadcasting in Catalonia, the Valencian Country and the Balearic Islands have had very positive effects for our language. The retreat of the language would have been much more important without their existence. Nevertheless,

they are the clearest demonstration of the legal situation of linguistic minority granted to us by the Spanish state: a few islets for the Catalan speaking minority among the ocean of Spanish media. In the Valencian Country, the role of the public media of the Generalitat has not been contributing to the founding objective of linguistic normalization for a long time. The opposition to the free diffusion of all broadcasting stations in our language through all the territories originates from the fear of the spanish authorities to the recovery of the unity conscience of the Catalan Countries.

1.4.4 Political control of the public media

Apart from the issue of linguistic normalization, public media have great political importance. Political parties try to control them by means of legislation and autonomical concessions for broadcasting. In Catalonia, there is an ongoing offensive from the Socialist Party of Catalonia against what they call “the nationalist crust” that is stuck, according to the socialists, to the broadcasting stations of the Generalitat. Hence, they have opted for expelling these journalists even at the cost of sinking the audience of Catalunya Ràdio. In the meantime, these journalists have succeeded in private channels. In contrast, the Socialists have ignored the decisive task of creating a framework of audio-visual communication in our language and culture throughout all the Catalan Countries.

1.4.5 States generate identity

The recognition of the territorial rights of our language and culture and the creation of a collective atmosphere that integrates in a natural way the new immigrants can be provided by a Catalan state only. States provide the prestige of power, the acknowledgement of entering another country, the legal framework of the administration and mass media, the economic transactions, the labeling and advertising. Only a Catalan state enables us to confront the impact of the new audio-visual media that shake every language and culture of median demography like the catalan one. Movies, television series, computer games, compact disks and videoclips, large software packages, programs for cellphones and other formats of the new culture of sound and image have astronomical costs that need large markets to be paid off. This situation can be counterbalanced by a Catalan state only.

1.5 The dead way of autonomy

1.5.1 Balance of thirty years of autonomy

After thirty years of the establishment of an autonomous regime as the framework of political organization for the various territories of the Catalan Countries, the balance is very poor in terms of the self-governing capacity that has been reached, of the available resources for the autonomous governments and of the degree of national recognition.

1.5.2 The trimming of the Statute of the Parliament of Catalonia

The elaboration of the new Autonomy Statute of Catalonia of 2006 was the response to the carving up of autonomy that the Spanish state had engaged in since the attempt of a military coup in February 23 1981. The continuous increase of the catalan fiscal deficit up to 10% of the GDP was another powerful reason for its approval. The project of Statute of Autonomy approved by the Parliament of Catalonia was denaturalized along its way through the Spanish government chambers. Over the three years of operation, its practical application has not resulted into any change in the issues that it pretended to improve. Therefore, the only legal framework that covers Catalonia is again confirmed to be insufficient and to enormously thwart the complete development of the nation.

1.5.3 Autonomy: treaty or concession

The Spanish state continues to consider autonomy as a concession, and not as a treaty. It chose the way of the Constitutional Court to reduce the catalan autonomy to a community of common rule. To start with, submitting a Statute that has been approved in a referendum to the consideration of this Court implies turning it into an ordinary organic law like the rest of the Autonomy Statutes of the other autonomous communities. These ones, remarkably, have not been contested despite having articles identical to the catalan ones. This fact proves that the most important objective of the Spanish state is to erase the implicit recognition of the catalan people as a historical subject in an assumed treaty between the historical nationality and the Spanish state.

1.5.4 The failure of the autonomist catalan movement

The failure of the autonomist way has led to the present situation of disenchantment and disaffection of thousands of voters that support Catalan sovereignty, and who choose to abstain or to cast a white vote. The consequence of all this is that the notable advance of the social basis favoring independence in Catalonia in the last ten years – as has been noted by several polls and studies – is not being accomodated in the present political parties, neither in their speeches nor in their strategies. Although the ERC (Republican Left of Catalonia) was able, up to 2003, to encompass the growth of this advance, it started a continuous electoral downfall from that point on.

At the same time, in view of the increase of the pro-independence vote, CiU (Convergence and Union) has been forced to enhance its profile in favor of sovereignty, but the battle for a new majority that allows for its return to the government seems to deter the open expression of this inclination. In other words, the Casa Gran (Large House) requires an enormous dose of ambiguity and wide sleeve, and prevents a clear statement on the final destination that is proposed by CiU.

1.5.5 Independence, gradualism or federalism

The conflict between the catalan nation and the Spanish state has been approached from a number of strategic options: independence, gradualism, or federalism. It is evident, however, that both gradualism and federalism as well as other less rupturing options, just like constitutional reform, are stratagems that can only end in tipifying us as an administrative autonomous community. Moreover, these options inevitably require an explicit willingness on the part of the Spanish state, something that has proved itself non-existent. Therefore, working for any option that is not independence implies perpetuating an unsustainable situation for Catalonia.

1.6 External and internal favorable conditions for independence

1.6.1 Background to the process towards independence

Today it is possible to attain the independence of Catalonia in a peaceful way within a short period of time because the international and internal necessary conditions exist. The independence of Catalonia, without any doubt, will have positive repercussions in the increase of the national conscience to the rest of the territories of the nation, especially in the Valencian Country and the Balearic Islands. Because of this, specific tactics need to be applied to each territory at different paces. The United Nations were founded by fifty states in 1945; today, they comprise already 192 members. Most of these over one hundred new nations have attained their independence in a peaceful way. With the end of the Cold War, the principle of integrity of the borders of States has given in to the principle of self-determination of nations. Since the disappearance of the Soviet Union more than twenty new republics have been created in Europe. Twelve out of the twenty seven member states of the European Union have been independent for less than a century, and six of them became independent after the restitution of the Generalitat in 1977.

1.6.2 A Peaceful Process

International law does not allow a state to retain a nation against the will of its citizens. Therefore the key to independence is to reach a majority of voters who express the will of independence in a democratic way. For the first time, one part of the catalan nation can aim to independence without fear of intervention by the spanish army.

As history shows, the influence of certain states has been fundamental for the international recognition of the processes of independence that have occurred in Europe over the last fifty years. We need to be conscious that it is not possible in the present world to attain independence by displaying opposition to, or even ignoring, the interests of those who may be our only external allies at the decisive moment. Therefore, one of our inescapable obligations as conscious independence activists is to establish the necessary contacts with democratic states and international organizations once we have a parliamentary representation.

1.6.3 A Process without economic perturbations

Being part of the euro allows Catalonia to be proclaimed a State of the European Union without economic perturbations. The Vienna Agreement of 1978 establishes that the successor states of a previous state both become automatically members of the international institutions to which the divided state was appointed to. The Spanish state and the Catalan state would continue to form part of the single european market, with the same currency, and the economic relations would continue unaltered. Catalan companies would continue to be able to sell and operate in the spanish market, and spanish companies would be able to do the same in Catalonia.

1.6.4 Independence as a project based on the common interest

The way towards a social majority for independence will not result in a social fracture. The reason is that, although the desire for independence has a diversity of origins and causes developed to a different degree, such as feelings, language, customs, values, economic well-being, social progress, etc., it is ultimately founded upon the common practical interests of all the citizens and residents.

Catalan nationalism has always been inclusive and based on the willingness for a future; on the willingness to build a freer catalan society, more prosperous, fairer and more cultured for everybody.

1.6.5 Economic viability of the Catalan state

The fiscal deficit of 10% of the annual GDP of Catalonia, which equals nearly 3000 Euros each year per person and is a continuous drainage of 60 million Euros per day, together with the infrastructure deficit that Catalonia drags along, limits our economic growth and prevents improving the life standard of the catalan people. The rest of the Catalan Countries suffer an enormous fiscal plunder: 14% of the GDP for the Balearic Islands and 7% for the Valencian Country.

With a Catalan state that would not suffer from the permanent bleeding of the fiscal deficit, the catalan people could stop paying for highway tolls, enjoy better social services and infrastructures, and ensure higher retirement payments.

2 DEMOCRATIC REGENERATION OF CATALAN POLITICS

2.1 Catalan parties and catalanism as regenerationism of the Spanish state

The conception of catalanism as a regenerationist force of the Spanish state has sterilized the political action in Catalonia. The old idea that the mission of Catalonia was to modernize Spain has led to the conversion of the stability of the Spanish state into an objective of the catalan parties. The national interests have too often been sacrificed to ensure the stability of the new regime. With these priorities, the catalanism of the majority has been incapable over the last thirty years of reaching the social hegemony and national enthusiasm that catalan parties created in the first three decades of the 20th century. This has brought us to a situation of national emergency where the survival of the catalan nation is threatened.

2.2 The catalan and the spanish electoral system

During thirty years of autonomy, the Parliament of Catalonia has not been capable of enacting its own electoral bill, so it is ruled by the spanish one. This electoral bill is, in addition, fundamentally designed to favor the governing interests of the parties themselves, which are even placed ahead of the governing interests of the country. Parties develop highly hierarchical and in-bred structures as a result of closed lists, because in the end there are only a few names that count from the electoral point of view. Closed lists also force a culture of servile and disciplined loyalties that facilitate the internal governance of the parties and extinguish any possible voices that are discordant or ambitious enough to compete against those who control the party.

2.3 Steps to carry out the democratic regeneration

Reagrupament Independentista proposes the following steps of democratic regeneration in catalan politics, which should be enacted as legal rules, based on transparency, ethics, austerity and good management as inspiring principles for the performance of public representatives. Ethics and internal democracy are also brought into practice within the movement so that they may become a tangible example of what we intend to offer to society.

Democratic regeneration proposals:

- Electoral system based on open lists – so everyone knows who they vote for, and who is accountable if the job is not well done – and reduced electoral districts.
- Term limits – dedication to politics must be temporary, “ individuals who are temporarily dedicated to politics, not professional politicians”.

- Limits and disclosure of salaries of all elected officials and members of government, including per diem and honorariums for belonging to administrative boards of companies and public consortia.
- Control and transparency of expenses, disclosure of beneficiary companies and entities in contracts, contests and grants awarded by the Public Administration.
- Elimination of nepotism and client favoritism.
- Limitation of offices held by individuals.
- Strict rules of incompatibility, outlawing the accumulation of offices by individuals.
- Unified system of selection and promotion of public employees, independent of any political power and detached from any particular interests.

3 THE STRATEGY OF THE UNILATERAL PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

3.1 The “right to decide” in countries of democratic tradition

Nations such as Scotland and Quebec have succeeded in the past in holding referenda for self-determination as an expression of the “right to decide”, and will probably do it again over a short or medium time period, even though the judicial law in their respective states (the United Kingdom and Canada) does not explicitly acknowledge this right. According to this principle, a referendum may be held so that these citizens may express their binding will over whether or not to constitute their own state. The Spanish Constitution of 1978 recognizes the existence of only one single sovereign nation that can exercise the right to decide: the “spanish people”. This negative of the Spanish state to recognize the catalan people as a subject with its own sovereignty does not allow us to set forth our historical rights as an internal spanish affair. Therefore, it is impossible to resolve the conflict between Catalonia and Spain in a gradual way. At a certain moment in time we must break spanish law to entrust ourselves to international legality.

3.2 The unilateral proclamation of independence by the Parliament of Catalonia

In a nutshell, the unilateral strategy to achieve independence consists of reaching a majority that is committed to proclaiming the Catalan state in elections to the Parliament of Catalonia. This proclamation should result in a call for a binding referendum in which citizens can ratify the proclamation of Catalonia as a Catalan state within the European Union. This referendum, with international supervision, will have to be won. Forcing the Spanish state to accept the holding of this referendum will require the pressure of international diplomacy, in addition to the popular catalan pressure.

4 THE CANDIDACY FOR THE 2010 ELECTIONS TO THE PARLIAMENT OF CATALONIA PUT FORWARD BY REAGRUPAMENT

4.1 The transverse movement and candidacy for the unilateral declaration of independence

4.1.1 A transverse candidacy for the unilateral declaration of independence

The catalan political landscape must be changed by presenting a transverse candidacy for independence and democratic regeneration for the 2010 elections. The hundreds of thousands of demonstrators of 2006 and 2007 need to have someone in the Parliament of Catalonia defending the right to decide with the strategy of “unilateral declaration of independence”. Moreover, the widespread abstention due to disappointment must be given a response with alternatives, mainly about democratic regeneration. This is the only way to take our people away from the paralysis they are caught into and to renew the spirit of struggle and hope. The difficulties are sizable, but the indignation arising from the perpetuation of the fiscal plunder with the new funding system for the autonomous communities and the uncertainty caused by the continuous delay of the Constitutional Court sentence on the statute are making the need obvious for a transverse candidacy for independence in the next elections to the Parliament of Catalonia.

4.1.2 The movement for independence and democratic regeneration

In addition to the candidacy Reagrupament Independentista, we propose fostering a movement that gathers everybody who wishes to achieve a majority in the Parliament of Catalonia ready to unilaterally proclaim the independence, irrespective of any ideological adherence. All of us are aiming to endow Catalonia with the society model of european countries of democratic tradition, which arises from the alternation in power of ideologically confronted parties. National sovereignty is the principle that is shared by all the political forces of these nations, and it is also the one that will gather the transverse movement until independence is achieved. The democratic regeneration is essential to regain people’s trust in the political activity and those who are carrying it out, and it must begin in the internal democracy of the transverse movement.

4.1.3 A diverse, open, transparent movement

Reagrupament wishes to propel a movement of people open to everybody who shares the two fundamental objectives of the association, of democratic regeneration of politics and unilateral declaration of independence, based on diversity and transparency. One of the internal goals of Reagrupament Independentista is to ensure the renewal of ideas and of the discussion in order to avoid the mistakes made by the inbred and hierarchical leaderships

of the parliamentary parties, which have led us to the present situation.

4.2 Relationship between the association Reagrupament Independentista and the electoral candidacy

4.2.1 Support for the electoral candidacy

The association Reagrupament Independentista will support an electoral candidacy to the elections to the Parliament of Catalonia, which can be either a political party or a coalition of political parties, that meets the two following conditions:

- To entirely accept the political document approved by the General Convention held in Barcelona on October 3rd 2009, and to present the democratic regeneration and the unilateral declaration of independence as the two principal points of its electoral program.
- To have its candidates in each electoral district elected in a process of primary elections with open lists, by the associates of Reagrupament Independentista in the corresponding electoral district.

The Reagrupament Independentista association is going to be the fundamental instrument for articulating the electoral candidacy to the 2010 elections to the Parliament of Catalonia, and it will create the necessary electoral tools to enable the electoral candidacy that is determined to unilaterally proclaim independence in the Parliament of Catalonia within this term and to work for democratic regeneration.

4.2.2 The 2010 catalan elections: a wedge to shatter the catalan electoral scene

The irruption in the Parliament of Catalonia of a political force determined to unilaterally proclaim independence is going to be a wedge that will end up shattering the dull political and electoral catalan scene. Its goal will be neither administering the scarce power of the Generalitat, nor participating in any autonomous government which does not have the unilateral declaration of independence as the main objective of the electoral term. In any case, as long as the necessary majority for declaring independence is not reached, the parliamentary representation that is obtained will participate in other questions and, especially, will concentrate its activity on the democratic regeneration.

The goal of Reagrupament Independentista is therefore going to be to win the maximum representation of the catalan people as a historical subject in order to demonstrate to the world and to the Spanish state the will for independence of the catalan people. Its political activity in the Parliament will take place in the framework of the strategy for the proclamation of independence and the democratic regeneration, aiming for the maximum support by the rest of the political forces that may share our objectives.