

## **DRAFT PROGRAMME OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL \***

### **I.**

#### **Brazil Under Growing Oppression of US Imperialism**

1. Brazil is a vast country with rich natural resources. It is rich in iron ore, oil, coal, manganese, gold and other minerals. Brazil has fertile soil, favourable climate conditions for all branches of agriculture, and her extensive plains and plateaus favour all forms of animal husbandry. Our country is rich in forests and water resources which could be utilised for the benefit of our people, for building irrigation systems, combating drought and electrifying the country.

However, notwithstanding these tremendous possibilities the conditions of the people of Brazil are deteriorating daily, becoming, increasingly unbearable. People die from starvation on the roadsides in North-Eastern Brazil and in the main industrial cities: tuberculosis and other diseases kill and incapacitate millions of people. The people have neither schools nor hospitals, they live in ignorance and die in poverty.

The poverty of the people in a country as rich as ours is the result of the predatory policy of the American monopolies, the result of the rule of the owners of the latifundia and big Brazilian capitalists.

The American monopolies have already seized our main mineral resources. "United States Steel" and "Bethlehem Steel" have a grip on the mining of manganese. "Standard Oil" is battling to grab our oil deposits. US bankers control the extraction of iron ore and the Volta Redonda iron and steel works. The "Light" and the "Bond and Share" companies control nearly 90 per cent of the generation of electric energy. US capital already controls a great part of Brazil's industry.

Foreign trade is dominated by the US imperialists who fix prices according to their interests and act as middlemen in selling some of our products, hindering trade between Brazil and other countries. American monopolies compel us to export our goods at exceedingly low prices and charge us excessive prices for imports. US monopoly firms control the greater part of our coffee exports and have in their hands the buying, cleaning and export of our cotton.

American capital holds the key positions in our air transport, controls our railways and threatens to destroy our merchant fleet. Rockefeller is building big agricultural enterprises all over the country with the aim of seizing control of our big centres of agriculture; American meat companies buy up land and form huge plantations and ranches.

Contrary to the laws of the country the US monopolies strive for a specially advantageous rate of exchange in order to transfer their profits abroad. At the same time capital investments of the US monopolies in Brazil are growing rapidly from the accumulated profits with the result that more and more profits are transferred abroad. American investments in Brazil act as a powerful pump extracting from the country a considerable part of our national income and a large part of the gold earned by our exports.

Thus, the entire national economy of Brazil is being turned into a mere appendage to the US war economy. The American imperialists directly interfere in the entire administrative life of the country; they have taken **over** the state apparatus of Brazil in order ruthlessly to exploit and oppress our people, to plunder the country's natural resources and to extract maximum profit.

Our country is rapidly losing the attributes of a sovereign nation and is flooded with agents of the US monopolies. The representatives of Brazil abroad become obedient tools at the hands of the US State

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Department; our armed forces are under the command of American officers and sergeants, and the rulers of the country openly play the role of mere servants of the US Government. By means of the press, radio, cinema, literature and arts, which have become instruments for colonization, US agents are trying to do away with the cherished traditions of our people and our national culture.

Thus, the US imperialists are penetrating to all corners of economic, political, social and cultural life in Brazil, humiliating our people and destroying the independence and sovereignty of our nation which they want to reduce to the status of a US colony.

This situation threatens the people of Brazil with complete enslavement and imperils the future of our nation.

2. The domination of US imperialism becomes more onerous owing to the intensified militarisation of Brazil. State expenditure is rising, inflation is growing and taxes and prices on the home market are soaring. All this is a heavy burden on the shoulders of all sections of the population.

Millions of workers in Brazil suffer from severe privation as a result of the fall in real wages, the new forms of exploitation and the steady growth of unemployment on the pretext of regulating the time of arrival for work a system of fines is being introduced. The social rights and gains won by the workers are abolished. Strikes are brutally suppressed. The present government interferes with the work of the trade unions, in trade union elections, and plants police agents and agents of the US imperialists in the leading bodies of the trade unions. Workers suffer from malnutrition, live in miserable slums, become ill and die, lacking the necessary medical aid; they suffer from occupational disease and tuberculosis. Their children are denied vocational training and practically deprived of the opportunity to attend elementary schools.

The peasantry, who constitute 70 per cent of the population and who make up the millions of sharecroppers and *métayages*, tenants, smallholders, agricultural labourers, farmhands, etc., are in their majority landless and brutally exploited: they are deprived of all rights and are at the complete mercy of the big landowners on the plantations, on the ranches, in the sugar mills and on sugar plantations. Doomed to illiteracy; victims of local diseases, bare-footed and ragged, millions of peasants live a life of misery in huts, with the mattock as their sole agricultural implements. This situation is becoming worse owing to the constant rise in prices paid for agricultural implements, fertilisers and means for combating pests, owing to the growing profiteering of middlemen who are protected by the Government and enjoy favourable credits from the State Bank. The situation is worsening because of rising taxation, increased railway tariffs and because of unilateral and arbitrary fixing prices for the products of agriculture and animal husbandry. Agricultural labourers are paid a starvation wage. The small and medium farmers are robbed by landlords and usurers, have no rights to their holdings and are constantly threatened by the big landowners and the authorities. The small and medium tenants are strangled with enslaving agreements; they cannot dispose of their own products, which are actually confiscated by the owners of the land they rent. They are often evicted from their holdings. Drought in the North East and flooding in other parts of the country are a veritable calamity for the poor who, living in terrible poverty and receiving no aid from the Government, are forced to seek refuge in other parts of the country. Thousands perish by the roadsides or fall, in the long run, into the clutches of new exploiters.

The peasant fight for land and against the arbitrary action and exploitation by the landlords is brutally suppressed and drowned in blood by the Government.

The middle sections of the urban population experience great difficulties. Salaries and wages paid to Government, trade and bank employees and clerks as well as to those called to the colours are, in ever increasing measure, trailing behind the rising cost of living. The intelligentsia, people of the free professions, scientists, specialists, writers, artists, film workers and teachers who refuse to serve as American lackeys and who take action in defence of the national culture are persecuted, suffer more and more from privation and come up against the greatest obstacles in their creative and professional activity.

No better off are the handicraftsmen, small industrialists and small tradesmen suffering the

consequences of inflation, high interest charges, decline in business activity, lack of credits and unbearable taxation. In carrying on production and their business they are forced to fight against growing difficulties and live in fear of the morrow.

Industrialists and traders are unable to expand their business because of the low purchasing power of the masses and the competition from American goods. American monopolies control entire branches of Brazilian industry and use all the means at their disposal to strangle and retard development of home industry to prevent the founding of the basic branches of industry needed to free Brazil from the economic dependence in which it now finds itself. The control over bank credits, transport, the distribution of raw materials, the granting of import and export licences are utilized by the American imperialists against Brazilian industrialists and traders. Imports of machinery needed for the development of industry become more and more difficult while imports of the raw materials necessary for our home industry are more and more restricted.

Even some farming and ranching circles are forced to take action against the growing difficulties resulting from the monopoly grip exercised by American firms on Brazil's foreign trade. The US Government fixes exceedingly low prices for our exports and prevents us from exporting our agricultural and animal-husbandry products at favourable terms, for example, to the Soviet Union and China, countries which constitute a huge market.

Thus, the growing domination of our country by the US imperialists results in the most disastrous consequences. The militarization of Brazil and of its national economy injures the vast majority of the population of our country.

3. The American imperialists do not confine themselves to plundering our national wealth and unbridled exploitation of our people. They also want to involve Brazil in the aggressive war for which they are getting ready. They do not conceal their intention of using the people of Brazil as cannon fodder.

The aim of the propaganda of the American imperialists and their Brazilian hirelings is to convince our people that in a future war Brazil must side with *the* US. But the war now being prepared by the US imperialists is an aggressive, predatory war aimed at establishing world domination and at enslaving other people for the sake to maximum profit. Incapable of realizing their sinister plans by means of their own forces alone the US imperialists want this war to be waged by others, at the cost of the blood of other people. Since Brazil is a big country with a numerous population and enormous resources the US imperialists want to involve our people in war as a supplier of soldiers and strategic materials, to utilize our soil as a bridgehead for the complete colonial subjugation of Brazil and all Latin America.

Were the people of Brazil to take this road they would be reduced to the role of mercenaries to the imperialist armies and together with these armies would suffer the most shameful defeat. History teaches us that the war now being prepared by the US against the Soviet Union, China and the countries of people's democracy is a gamble, doomed beforehand to complete fiasco. The defeat suffered by the American aggressors in Korea is the clearest proof that the latest pretenders to world domination will be smashed should they try to repeat Hitler's bloody adventure. The mighty Soviet Union is much stronger today than when it smashed the fascist axis: on its side are the great China and the countries of people's democracy, forming together with it a united and invincible bloc. At the same time in the camp of the imperialist aggressors headed by the US there are growing contradictions which divide and weaken it. Should the American imperialists unleash anew war they will suffer inevitable defeat.

Participation in any aggressive war on the side of the US would signify for Brazil not only an adventure devoid of any Justification from the standpoint of morals and politics, but also complete destruction of the country, extermination of its youth and still greater poverty for the entire population. No, Brazil must not take this road.

4. The supreme interests of the people of Brazil call for a complete break with the aggressive militarist and colonising policy of the US. Brazil can achieve progress only by taking another road, the road of peaceful co-operation with the peace-loving countries, the road of equal relations with all

peoples, of irreconcilable struggle in defence of its sovereignty and national independence. In order to step out along this road Brazil must put an end to the hateful American domination and establish closer economic and cultural contact with all countries which recognise and respect our independence, above all with the Soviet Union and China.

Peace and peaceful co-operation with all countries can ensure Brazil a vast market for exporting surplus goods produced by its agriculture and industry, open boundless opportunities for buying the machinery and raw materials needed for the large scale development of its national industry.

The road of peace and peaceful co-operation with all peoples is the road to progress for Brazil, the road to rapid development of its national economy, the road to freedom and independence that will enable it to raise the cultural level of the people and create the prerequisites needed for a free and happy life for our people. By taking this road Brazil can occupy a worthy place as a free and independent country in the world commonwealth of nations.

## II.

### **Brazil's Present Government Is Instrument of American Imperialists**

1. The present Government of Brazil is a docile instrument in the hands of the American imperialists. It helps the American monopolies in plundering the country and exploiting our people.

The Vargas Government is doing its utmost to facilitate the penetration of American capital into our country, to facilitate the growing domination of the American imperialists and the complete colonisation of Brazil by the US. The laws of the country are interpreted in the interests of the American magnates or are changed in accordance with the wishes and instructions of the US Embassy.

The foreign policy of the Vargas Government is openly dictated by the US State Department, and the Brazil delegation in the United Nations Organisation has become notorious throughout the world for its servility to the US Government.

Orders issued by the American imperialists are turned by the Vargas Government into laws designed to help the American monopolies to plunder our national wealth and intensify the exploitation of our people. Contrary to the clearly expressed will of the nation the Vargas Government signed a military agreement and other agreements with the US which encroach on the interests of Brazil. The armed forces of the country have been placed under the direct command of American generals and admirals who are openly preparing them for the aggressive wars now being plotted by the American warmongers. The Vargas Government is implanting in the state apparatus various kinds of US "specialists", "assistants" and "advisers" who directly interfere in the entire administrative life of the country. By means of its agents, placed by the Vargas Government at the head of the secret service of the armed forces and all police organs in the country, the US intelligence service interferes in the political life of the nation, persecuting Brazilian citizens who refuse to submit to American slavery or who fight for the freedom, sovereignty and independence of Brazil.

On the pretext of US "aid" in the development of the national economy the Vargas Government transfers to US agents the leadership of economic and finance policy which is now directed in accordance with the war plans of the US Government. Millions of dollars and cruzeiros are spent on armaments, on the construction of naval and air bases, construction and reconstruction of railway lines and a number of ports to facilitate the transportation and export of raw materials for the US war machine and to create conditions facilitating the switching of big military contingents and the stationing of air and naval squadrons. In order to buy in the United States the materials necessary for the above-mentioned work the Vargas Government obtains extortionate loans which are ruining the country and subjecting it to colonial dependence on the US Government.

Pursuing a policy of complete abnegation of national sovereignty the Vargas Government seeks to inculcate in the student youth and in literary, art and science circles an attitude of scorn for the national conditions and worship of the cosmopolitan ideas and racial obscurantism of the US imperialists.

2. The reason for this policy of national betrayal is rooted in the actual political system of the

landlords and big capitalists, represented by the Vargas Government and linked with US imperialism. It is impossible to liberate Brazil from the imperialist yoke without destroying this system.

The owners of the latifundia and the big capitalists submit to the US imperialists because they too want another world war and are interested in exploiting and enslaving the Brazilian people. Consequently, they turn to the US warmongers in the *hope* of waxing rich on new wars, of getting huge profits by selling raw material and food at sky-high prices, of making millions out of this bloody business.

The owners of the latifundia and the big capitalists turn to the US imperialists because they fear the Brazilian people more and more. By means of the Vargas Government and supported by American dollars and arms they want to retain their privileges and hold up the progress of Brazil. Relying on the US imperialists they doom the majority of the nation to poverty and slavery and the country to stagnation, increasing backwardness and disintegration.

To involve Brazil in war, to barter it to the US imperialists in order to save the latifundia, the feudal survivals and the survivals of slavery in agriculture—such is the aim of the entire policy of the Vargas Government. This policy of upholding the interests of the reactionary minority clashes irreconcilably with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population, with the supreme interests of the nation.

True, the Vargas Government is the Government that was elected in 1950. But this does not signify that the election was the reflection of the will of the majority of the people or that our people enjoy actual freedom and can, by using their constitutional rights, replace the prevailing system by another one or radically change it. The present Constitution of Brazil, although it reflects certain democratic gains, is, in fact, a code of laws aimed at oppressing the people. It guarantees the owners of the latifundia their land monopoly as a sacred right; it guarantees political leadership to the exploiting minority in the country. Only those who are able to read and write have the right to vote. But over half the population is illiterate. Soldiers and sailors are denied the right to elect and be elected. Not all political parties, including the political party of the working class—the Communist Party—can take part in elections, and electors who disagree with the prevailing system are subjected to brutal police repressions and assassination. The broad peasant masses who live in conditions of slavery can, in fact, take part in elections only to vote for candidates imposed by the owners of the land on which they live. Since the monopoly of the means of propaganda, press and radio is in the hands of the big capitalists and landlords—lackeys of the US imperialists—genuine freedom of propaganda exists only for candidates of the rich. The elections must be used by the people in their struggle, but, as things are, they are simply a farce for covering up the despotic nature of the ruling regime.

But even this Constitution is not adhered to and observed by the Vargas Government. The democratic rights inscribed in it are systematically violated by representatives of the reactionary police state, in violation of the Constitution new laws are being drafted, such as the present security law which, in point of fact, wipes out all individual freedoms. In co-operation with the police, the court and judges interpret and apply laws in the interests of the owners of the latifundia and of the big capitalists, the lackeys of the US imperialists and sentence to long terms of imprisonment all who disagree with the present regime of exploitation and oppression. The Constitution is used only as a camouflage for covering up the tyrannical nature of the Government.

Violence against the people is the main weapon of the Vargas Government. At the same time, it resorts to unrestrained demagoguery, to out-and-out hypocritical promises of “reforms” and “radical” changes, including promises to change the economic and social structure of Brazil. In an attempt to deceive the peasantry Vargas promises to carry out land reform. But the land reform proposed by Vargas serves the interests of a tiny minority since it will affect only a fraction of the uncultivated land, while the small number of peasants who will receive land must pay the Government a sum which is beyond their possibilities. Moreover, the Government wants, by means of this reform, to legalise the present system of land tenure. Obviously such a “reform” can give nothing to the vast majority of the peasants

who are in need of land and who want to get rid of the enslaving system of tenure. What the peasants need is not this sham land reform but a genuine revolutionary land reform which would transfer to them all land belonging to the Government and the owners of the latifundia as well as the implements of production. These manoeuvres of Vargas are designed to safeguard the privileges of the reactionary minority, to guarantee the land monopoly and maintain the semi-feudal relations in agriculture.

Thus, the Vargas Government is a government of war preparation and of national betrayal, a government of enemies of the people. The Vargas Government is a useful and necessary weapon in the hands of the US imperialists since it facilitates the complete colonisation of Brazil by the USA.

3. Brazil needs another, a genuine people's government capable of safeguarding the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. Such a government, as the lawful representative of the broad progressive and anti-imperialist sections of the population, would do away with the hated domination of the US imperialists, confiscate the capital and enterprises belonging to the US monopolies and carry out a policy of peace and co-operation with all other nations on an equal footing, in keeping with the supreme interests of the nation. This people's government would be in a position to abolish the feudal survivals and the ownership of land by big landlords and would ensure free distribution of the land among the peasants and all those who want to live by agricultural labour. This people's government would put an end to illiteracy and backwardness, wipe out the local diseases, put an end to the machinations and unnecessary expenditure which are of benefit only to the privileged minority, to the expenditure on war preparations and would use all this money for immediate and effective aid to the poor and to those who have suffered from the natural calamities. This people's government would establish a system of complete freedom and democracy for the people, would guarantee industrial workers and other working people their gains, their rights and ensure for the entire population of Brazil a blossoming, free and happy life.

If we want to live and to prosper, if we want our country to have the happy future to which it is fully entitled, if we want liberation from the hated US enslavement and to take our people out of the backwardness, poverty and ignorance, we must put an end to the domination of the owners of the latifundia and the big capitalists in the service of the US imperialists and overthrow the Vargas Government.

4. The Communist Party of Brazil is convinced that the democratic transformations needed by our people can be achieved only by a democratic government of national liberation, by a government in which along with the working class there would participate the peasantry and intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party is fighting for Socialism, but it is convinced that in the present economic, social and political conditions in Brazil socialist transformations are impossible. But it is quite possible to fulfill the task of replacing the present anti-national and anti-people's government by a people's government which would free Brazil from the domination of the US imperialists and their lackeys—the owners of the latifundia and the big capitalists.

The democratic government of national liberation will be a genuinely democratic, people's government; it will be patriotic government, a government of peace, of defence of sovereignty and national independence: it will be a government of salvation for Brazil and of happiness for the people.

### **III.**

## **Inevitability of the Agrarian and Anti-Imperialist Revolution and Replacing the Present Government with a Democratic Government of National Liberation**

The democratic revolution of national liberation and the replacement of the Vargas Government are inevitable. The people of Brazil are rising against the present regime and will not let the Vargas Government turn Brazil into a US colony. The present regime of exploitation and oppression which is in

the service of the US imperialists must be abolished and substituted by a new people's-democratic system. Thus, the supreme interests of the nation demand profound economic and social transformations.

The Communist Party of Brazil will insist that the democratic government of national liberation, coming into existence as a result of the liberation struggle of our people, shall carry out and give the force of law to the following democratic and progressive changes in the economic and social structure of Brazil:

### **Foreign Policy and Defence of National Independence**

1. Annulment of all treaties with the USA that encroach on the interests of the nation.
2. Confiscation of all capital and enterprises belonging to the American monopolies and annulment of the foreign debt owed by Brazil to the US Government and US banks.
3. Clearing out of all military, cultural, economic and technical US missions from Brazil.
4. Friendly relations and peaceful co-operation with all countries, especially with countries capable of co-operating with Brazil without discrimination, on the basis of complete equality and mutual advantage.
5. Adoption of measures contributing to the preservation of peace. Prohibition of war propaganda and punishment for those guilty of war propaganda.

### **People's-Democratic Political System**

6. Sovereignty of the people, that is the concentration of all power in the country in the hands of the people. Abolition of the Federal Senate. Supreme state power shall be vested in a National Congress composed of representatives elected by the people. All organs of the new system from top to bottom shall be elected by the people. Electors shall have the right to annul at any time the mandates of their representatives.

7. The President of the Republic shall be elected by the people for a term of four years. The President shall exercise his functions in the country through the Council of Ministers which shall be responsible to the National Congress.

8. All citizens who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of sex, property, nationality, place of residence and education, shall have the right to vote and be eligible for election. The same rights shall be enjoyed by illiterates and men serving with the colours, irrespective of rank, including soldiers and sailors. Proportional representation of all political parties to all elections shall be guaranteed.

9. States, municipalities, federal territories and the federal area shall enjoy political and administrative autonomy. All organs of power shall be elected by the people.

10. Inviolability of the citizen and domicile shall be guaranteed. Wide freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and association, the right to strike, freedom of the press, freedom to teach, freedom of religion and worship, the right to move freely from place to place and free choice of trade and occupation shall be guaranteed.

11. Abolition of all forms of racial, religious and national discrimination. Punishment for those guilty of discrimination. The right to education for children of immigrants in their own language.

12. Separation of all religious bodies from the state. The state shall be secular.

13. Democratisation of the armed forces and building of a national, people's army, navy and air force closely linked with the people and upholding the cause of peace, national independence and the democratic gains of the people. Soldiers, sailors, corporals, sergeants and officers shall enjoy full civil rights and freedom of political activity. They shall be ensured normal and human conditions of life. Free access for privates and n.c.o.'s to officer rank.

14. Complete abolition of police organs of repression. Democratisation of military police and their inclusion in the national, people's armed forces. Substitution of all other police bodies by the people's militia.

15. Justice shall be free of charge and effected in the shortest possible term. Court and judges shall be elected by the people.

16. Abolition of all forms of economic, social and juridical inequality of women. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men in relation to inheritance, marriage, divorce, profession, civil service, etc. The state shall undertake all expenditure for protection of mother and child.

17. Literary, art, technical and scientific peaceful work shall be encouraged with full support and aid on the part of the state.

18. Protection and promotion of sports and physical training. State construction of public sports grounds, gymnasium, stadiums, etc

19. State aid for housing construction to ensure the working population with comfortable and cheap apartments in the shortest possible time.

20. Medical aid shall be ensured for the entire population and a network of health centres established throughout the country. Systematic measures to combat local diseases shall be guaranteed.

21. Free and compulsory elementary education shall be guaranteed by building a network of schools throughout the country with a view to abolishing illiteracy. The state shall provide textbooks and educational material at low prices for those attending educational establishments. Gradual reduction of educational charges. Guaranteed work for young specialists graduating from the middle, technical and higher educational establishments.

22. Special help and protection for the Indian population and protection of their land. Indians shall enjoy the right to free organisation of self-government.

23. Effective and immediate aid from the state to the population stricken by drought, flooding and other calamities, chiefly by means of providing fertile land, agricultural machines and implements and long-term credit free of interest. People forced to leave their native places will be given aid to restore their households.

24. Extensive reform to the tax system, abolition of all unjust taxes. Introduction of a progressive income tax and simplification of the entire tax system. Establishment of effective control over prices and practical measures against inflation. Currency reform to stabilise the national currency.

### **Independent Development of National Economy**

25. Guaranteed freedom of private initiative for manufacturers and freedom of internal trade. The democratic government of national liberation will not confiscate the enterprises and capital of the national bourgeoisie. It will, however, confiscate and nationalise the capital and enterprises belonging to big capitalists who have betrayed the interests to the nation and who have aligned themselves with the US imperialists.

26. Protection of the national industry. To ensure that import of foreign goods, mainly American goods shall not injure home industry or hinder the founding of new industrial branches and enterprises. Free development of industry producing for civilian needs shall be guaranteed.

27. Independent development of the national economy and the creation of conditions for intensified industrialisation of the country utilising for this purpose the confiscated capital and enterprises of the Americas imperialists. For this it will be necessary to invite private capital which must be guaranteed profits and protection in accordance with a special law.

28. Reorganisation of foreign trade with a view to protecting home production. Abolition of all kinds of unjust restrictions preventing imports of equipment and raw materials needed for developing the national economy.

29. State aid to handicraftsmen and all small and medium-sized producers, by means of granting credit and favourable terms for buying raw materials and by means of supplying them with necessary machines and implements.

30. Co operation with foreign governments and private capitalists whose capital would further the independent development of the national economy and serve the national interests and the

industrialisation of Brazil, on the basis of observance of the laws' of the country.

### **Radical Improvement in Conditions of Workers**

31. Fixing of minimum wage rates which would ensure decent living conditions for the workers and their families throughout the county. Equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex, age or nationality.

32. Effective implementation of the eight- hour working day and 44 hour week for all working people, a six-hour working day for those working underground, those engaged in work detrimental to health, and for juveniles.

33. Democratisation of social legislation, its extension to cover also the workers employed in state enterprises and agricultural workers. The trade unions shall exercise control over the proper implementation of social legislation.

34. Guarantee of freedom of organisation and free activity for the trade unions. The trade unions shall be granted the right freely to conclude collective labour agreements with private and state enterprises and control over their implementation.

35. All forms of social insurance, including unemployment benefit, shall be paid at state expense and at the expense of the capitalists. Pensions and benefits for victims of industrial accidents in accordance with the needs of the working people and their families. Transfer to the trade unions of management functions and control over the activity of the social security bodies and pension boards.

36. Abolition of all types of forced labour, of the laws authorising the militarisation of labour and of all fines, including fines for absenteeism.

### **Agrarian Reform and Aid to Peasant\***

37. Confiscation of all land belonging to big landlords and its transfer, free of charge, to landless and land-hungry peasants, and to all who care to till it. Distribution of the land shall be recognised by law and each peasant given title deeds. The possession and seizure of the lands, belonging to both landlords and the state, already effected by the peasants shall also be recognized by law and the peasants will receive necessary title deeds.

38. Abolition of all types of semi-feudal exploitation of the peasants; metayage, payment in kind and all forms of payment by means of labour; abolition of the coupon system and introduction of a system of obligatory remuneration in money for all categories of agricultural labourers. '

39. Agricultural labourers shall be guaranteed an adequate wage rate not lower than the level of unskilled workers in industry and allotments of land for those desirous of receiving it.

40. The property of wealthy peasants shall be protected by law. Both the land cultivated by them or by hired labourers and other forms of their property shall be protected by law against any infringement.

41. Abolition of all arrears owed by peasants to big landowners, money-lenders, banks, the Government and to American imperialist companies.

42. Granting of low-interest long-term credit to peasants for the purpose of buying agricultural machines and implements, seeds, fertilisers and chemicals for combating pests, building materials, etc. Technical aid shall be provided for the peasants. The co-operative movement shall be encouraged.

43. Construction of irrigation systems in accordance with the needs of the peasants and the development of agriculture, particularly in the Northeastern region affected by drought.

44. Abolition of all restrictions on the fishermen's right to work. State aid to the fishermen through granting credits for construction of dwellings, storage facilities, etc., and placing at their disposal equipment and vessels for fishing.

45. The state shall guarantee minimum prices for the products of agriculture and animal husbandry essential for the needs of the population with a view to enabling peasants to develop their farming and raise its productivity, simultaneously protecting the interests of the broad consumer masses.

## **IV. Forge in Struggle Broadest Possible Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Feudal United Front**

The Vargas Government will not relinquish its position without struggle. The latifundia-owners and the big capitalists — henchmen of American imperialism — will try might and main to retain their privileges. At the moment the interests of these classes are represented by Vargas; they can, of course, be represented by another tool of this oppressing minority, but conditions in Brazil will not be changed one iota. It would likewise be a mistake to think that Brazil can be saved from the impending catastrophe and that the country can be freed from the yoke of the US Imperialists by means of state or military coups, partial reforms or elections which leave untouched the base of the present reactionary system.

Had it not been for violence against the people and the support by the foreign oppressors, the rule of the latifundia-owners and big capitalists connected with the American imperialists would long ago have ceased to exist in Brazil. This explains why the prisons are overcrowded and strikes suppressed by force of arms, why the police interfere in the affairs of the trade unions and why the genuinely democratic political parties are banned and constitutional rights systematically violated. The regime of reaction and terror has been forced on the people by the reactionary forces.

In these conditions resolute revolutionary struggle by all patriots of Brazil is necessary in order to overthrow the Vargas Government and replace it by a democratic government of national liberation. There is no other way to liberate Brazil from the imperialist yoke; there is no other way to wrest power from the hands of the reactionary minority and carry out the social-economic transformations which are essential for the progress of our homeland.

The patriotic and democratic forces now moving into action throughout the country against the present government of national betrayal are numberless, and they already realise the urgent need to save Brazil from its present catastrophic plight. Marching in the van of these forces is the working class which by its glorious struggle is striking blow after blow at reaction showing to the broad popular masses and to the broadest social forces the path of struggle as the sole way out of the situation of growing poverty and slavery which oppresses all of them.

But the victory of the patriotic forces is possible only if they unite and in the crucible of the liberation struggle against the Vargas Government's policy of war, hunger and reaction forge the broadest anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front, the democratic front of national liberation. The workers and peasants constitute the main and indestructible force of this liberation struggle. The alliance of the workers and peasants is possible and essential. The workers, as allies, will help the peasants in the struggle for land. The peasants, as allies, will help the workers in the struggle for a radical improvement in the conditions of the working class. This alliance of the main forces of the Brazilian people will decide the fate of the Vargas Government and the reactionary regime symbolised by it.

In order to replace the Vargas Government by a democratic government of national liberation it is essential that the worker-peasant alliance be joined by the patriotic intelligentsia, workers in the realm of science, writers, art workers, technical personnel, teachers and people of free professions, who likewise suffer from the present situation of the country and who have no desire to be slaves of the American colonisers. For the same reason trade, office, bank and state employees, people working independently, clergy linked with the people, soldiers, sailors, n.c.o.'s and officers of the armed forces will align themselves with the workers and peasants. The worker-peasant alliance will also be joined by the handicraftsmen, small and medium manufacturers and traders suffering from the disastrous consequences of the American domination and the Vargas policy of national betrayal. This alliance will also be joined by a section of the big manufacturers and traders who also suffer from the US imperialist competition and the Vargas economic and financial policy.

And so all the progressive forces in Brazil irrespective of social status, party affiliation, religious or philosophical convictions, all democrats and patriots anxious to see their homeland free and powerful

will rally around worker-peasant alliance.

This democratic front of national-liberation, the broad and powerful united front of all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces, will guarantee the salvation of Brazil, will be the sole force capable of establishing the people's-democratic system in the country and of wresting Brazil from American domination and its present humiliating position, the sole force capable of leading our homeland to a bright and happy future.

The Communist Party of Brazil holds that the struggle for the creation, extension and reinforcing of the democratic front of national liberation is an urgent and pressing task, a matter of honour for all Brazilian patriots.

The Communist Party of Brazil deems it necessary immediately to unite throughout the country the broad popular masses, people of all classes and social strata ready to fight for democracy and peace, against the policy of war, hunger and reaction pursued by the Vargas Government, to fight for the overthrow of the present government and its replacement by a democratic government of national liberation.

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The Communist Party of Brazil places this programme before the people of Brazil whose glorious traditions of struggle for freedom and independence are the best guarantee of the realisation of this programme. The people of Brazil, led by their working class which is closely linked with the peasantry, will successfully realise this programme, take into their hands the destiny of the homeland and transform Brazil into a great, free, independent and flowering nation.

The US imperialists want to turn Brazil into a main base for effecting the complete colonisation of all the countries of Latin America, but the Communist Party of Brazil believes that the people of Brazil have all the necessary conditions for victory in the patriotic struggle against the enslaving yoke of the United States of America, in the struggle for people's democracy.

The Communist Party of Brazil calls on all Brazilian patriots to rally in the struggle for translating this programme into life, the programme that will bring happiness to our people and glory to our homeland.