



PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

# PROGRAMME

— AND —

# CONSTITUTION



*An advanced Democracy  
– the April values in Portugal future*

edições  
**Avante!**

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# **PCP - Portuguese Communist Party Programme**

## **Introduction**

1. The Portuguese Communist Party is the political Party of the working class and of all working people, fully dedicated to serving the Portuguese people and Portugal. Its prime goals are building Socialism and Communism - a new society freed from the exploitation of man by man, from oppression, inequality, injustice and social scourges, a society where the development of productive forces, the progress of science and technology, and ever greater economic, social, political and cultural democracy will guarantee workers' and people's freedom, equality, high living standards, culture, an ecologically balanced environment and respect for human beings.

2. Inspired by its prime goals, since its founding on March 6, 1921, the PCP's history has been marked throughout the years by unparalleled trials of dedication, courage and heroism of whole generations of members, constantly and consistently fighting to defend the interests of the working class and of all working people, of the Portuguese people and of Portugal - a struggle for freedom, democracy, social progress, culture, peace, national sovereignty and independence, and of solidarity with the cause of social and political emancipation for workers and peoples the world over.

Those are permanent values in the PCP's work - throughout the 48 years of fascist dictatorship, in the April revolution process, throughout the counter-revolutionary process that ensued, and in today's struggle geared toward the future - with various modes of expression and immediate specific goals, according to the prevailing problems and situations; with changes dictated by world

developments and experience gained. These values are valid for a long historical period, and they make up the Programme for an advanced democracy - the values of April in Portugal's future - that the PCP proposes to the Portuguese people. They are also part - to be further enhanced and elaborated upon - of the vision for a future socialist society.

The struggle for immediate goals and the struggle for an advanced democracy are both part and parcel of the struggle for socialism.

3. The goals of the PCP's struggle correspond to basic interests of the vast majority of the Portuguese people. The working class - whose composition is being modified and diversified as capitalism develops and the

scientific and technological revolution unfolds - is confirming through the struggle its role as the decisive social force for the democratic and progressive transformation of society.

The implementation of the advanced democracy proposed by the PCP is objectively in the interests of all working people, of small and medium-scale farmers, of intellectuals, of technical workers, of small and medium-scale businesspeople in commerce, industry and services, of artisans, and also of pensioners, disabled persons, women and young people as social forces with specific situations, problems, aspirations and goals. This reality, and the alignment of forces, determine the system of social alliances. Its basic components are the alliance between working class and farmers (small and medium-scale farmers) and the alliance between the working class and intellectuals and other middle strata.

The system of party-political alliances encompasses (under different forms) all those democratic movements, organisations and political parties that - in their goals and in their deeds - uphold the interests and aspirations of social classes and forces that take part in the system of social alliances.

The growing foreign domination over Portugal's economy, and the subjection of Portuguese interests to foreign interests - within a framework of monopoly restoration and capitalist European integration - have created conditions to extend even further the social and party-political alliances for specific goals, even if merely in the short-term.

The system of alliances determines PCP policy towards working-class unity and unity among all working people, towards unity or convergence between anti-monopoly classes and social movements, towards unity or convergence in action between democratic and patriotic forces.

4. By creatively responding to existing realities and to change, with proposals, solutions and struggles, the PCP reasserts, renews and strengthens its own identity: as a party of the working class and of all working people, with close links to the masses; as a party fighting for a socialist society; as a party whose theoretical foundation is - necessarily creative - materialist and dialectical Marxism-Leninism; as a party with thorough internal democracy both in principle and in practice; as a party with a unified line and action, acquired through democratic centralism's inherent development; as a patriotic party, that is at the same time internationalist, co-operating and standing in solidarity with workers' and peoples' struggles in other countries, with Communists and other revolutionary and progressive forces the world over.

5. In asserting the workers', the people's and the country's interests, in defending and enhancing the democratic regime, in the struggle for a new society freed from exploitation of man by man, the PCP plays a

necessary, indispensable and irreplaceable role in Portuguese society.

## **I - The April Revolution: a Historical Achievement of Portuguese People**

The April [1974] revolution is one of the most important events in the eight centuries of Portugal's history.

The April revolution is an achievement of the people's will, an assertion of freedom, social emancipation and national independence.

The April revolution - culminating a long and heroic struggle of the working class, of working people, of the masses of the people and of the democratic forces - put an end to 48 years [1926-1974] of fascist dictatorship. It ended the colonial war and recognised the right to full and immediate independence for the peoples in struggle, who had been subjected for centuries to Portuguese colonialism. It thoroughly changed Portugal's positioning on the international arena, and carried out far-reaching political, economic, social and cultural changes which are an integral part of a system and a regime that opened up a new period in our country's history, a period marked by freedom and social progress.

Such deep revolutions do not confine themselves to a revolutionary act, nor are they played out in a short period of time. They are a process, which can be more or less long and eventful, and which can undergo regressions and require innovative developments.

The April revolution is an unfinished revolution. Despite its historical achievements, many of its main gains have been destroyed. Others, although weakened and threatened, are still present in Portugal's reality. All of them are essential references and values for the present and for the future democratic and independent Portugal.

### **The fascist dictatorship**

**1.** The forty-eight years of fascist dictatorship constitute one of the darkest periods in Portugal's history.

The fascist dictatorship created a totalitarian State and a monstrous police system for political spying and repression, that operated at all levels of the country's affairs, depriving the Portuguese people of their most elementary rights and freedoms.

The dictatorship's history is one of persecution, arrests, torture, sentencing and murder of those who dared to uphold the people's rights, of those who dared to protest and fight for freedom and for better living and working conditions.

Using the State's coercive power, the fascist dictatorship encouraged the centralisation and concentration of capital and the establishment of monopoly groups that became the owners and leaders of all major branches in the national economy, amassing huge fortunes from the super-exploitation, the hardship, poverty and oppression of the peoples of Portugal and its colonies.

The fascist dictatorship subjected workers to brutal forms of exploitation, sacrificed generations of young people in thirteen years of colonial war, and forced hundreds of thousands into emigration. It increased the discrimination against women and young people, the undernourishment of a large part of the population, the obscurantism, illiteracy and moral debasement of society.

In upholding the interests of latifúndio owners and other large-scale rural landlords, the fascist dictatorship accelerated the concentration of agricultural property, rendering the land property structure even more obsolete, dooming Portugal's agriculture to backwardness and stagnation and rural labourers and small and medium-scale farmers to lives of poverty and hardship.

The fascist dictatorship stepped up the brutal exploitation of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies, denying them the most elementary rights, plundering natural resources, crushing through terror any national feelings or demands, and towards the end, starting colonial wars when the peoples rose up to defend their just rights and win their independence.

The fascist dictatorship tightened even more Portugal's ties of dependence on imperialism, in particular after the beginning of the colonial wars. In exchange for foreign support for the regime, it promoted the association of Portuguese monopoly groups with foreign monopolies, and handed over to imperialism some sectors of the economy which the latter still did not dominate.

The fascist dictatorship's foreign policy was one of collusion with the most reactionary regimes, providing direct support to the fascist uprising in Spain and cooperating with nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Military concessions led to the establishment of foreign bases on Portuguese soil. It was a policy of subservience toward the major imperialist powers, of alignment with the warmongering policies of its most aggressive and reactionary circles, of hatred and calls for aggression against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

and other socialist countries.

2. The PCP Programme adopted in 1965 at the PCP's 6th Congress, held in the underground, identified the fascist regime as a terrorist dictatorship of the monopolies (associated with imperialism) and of big landowners - a dictatorship totally opposed to the interests of Portugal and the Portuguese people.

The class nature of the fascist dictatorship and the specific traits of the social and economic structures and of the social classes, the fact that in Portugal a low rate of development coexisted with highly developed capitalist relations of production, as well as the fact that Portugal was at once both a colonialist country and a country dominated by imperialism, rendered the goal of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship and achieving political democracy inseparable from the goals of revolutionary changes in the economic, social and cultural structures and from the defence of national sovereignty and independence.

### **The PCP Programme for the democratic and national revolution**

1. Based on an analysis of the country's reality, the PCP Programme adopted nine years before the 25th of April 1974, spelled out the nature and major goals of the antifascist revolution - a democratic and national revolution.

"Democratic" - as the Programme proclaimed - because "it will put an end to fascist tyranny and bring political freedom, because it will put an end to the financial oligarchy's domination and uphold the people's interests, because it will carry out far-reaching reforms benefiting the vast majority of Portugal's population."

"National" - "because in ending imperialist domination over Portugal and Portuguese colonial domination over other peoples, it will guarantee the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity and true national independence."

2. The PCP Programme for the democratic and national revolution consisted of eight major points or goals:

- 1°. To destroy the fascist State and establish a democratic regime;
- 2°. To liquidate monopoly power and promote overall economic development;
- 3°. To implement Agrarian Reform, giving the land to those who till it;
- 4°. To raise the living standards of the working classes and of the people generally;
- 5°. To democratise education and culture;
- 6°. To free Portugal from imperialism;
- 7°. To recognise and guarantee the right to immediate independence for the peoples of the Portuguese



colonies;

8° To follow a policy of peace and friendship with all peoples.

3. The Programme stressed the interdependence of these goals and stated that without the accomplishment of them all, the democratic and national revolution would not be completed and Portuguese society's independent economic and social development would not be guaranteed.

The course of the April revolution has proved that this thesis was correct.

### **The April revolution**

1. The April revolution, triggered by the heroic MFA's (Armed Forces Movement) military uprising and immediately followed by a popular uprising, confirmed that the major goals proclaimed by the PCP for the democratic and national revolution corresponded, not just to the objective situation of Portuguese society and to requirements for economic development, social progress and improvement in the people's living conditions, but also to the Portuguese people's will.

In the process that unfolded in 1974-75 and led to the foundation and establishment of the democratic regime sanctioned in the Constitution of the Republic that was adopted on 2 April 1976 by the Constituent Assembly and promulgated by the President of the Republic on that very same day, the April revolution deeply changed national reality and Portugal's place in the world.

2. The April revolution:

- Established basic democratic liberties and citizens' essential rights.
- Established Trade-union freedom and workers' right to organise at the shop-floor level, the right to collective hiring and bargaining, the right to strike, to control management, to trade-union participation in managing social security funds and in drafting labour legislation.
- Put an end to the colonial war and made a direct contribution to the independence of peoples that had been subjected to Portuguese colonialism for centuries, as well as creating historically unique conditions for the establishment of relations of friendship and cooperation with those peoples.
- Instituted a political democracy including, as essential elements, the separation, interdependence and complementarity of State institutions, the principle of equal rights for all citizens, the role of political parties, direct and universal suffrage and the proportionality principle in the electoral system, democratic local government and regional autonomy for the Madeira and Azores archipelagos.

- Liquidated state monopoly capitalism, the Portuguese monopoly groups and their stranglehold over the nation's economy, politics and life, and through nationalisations, created a basic sector of the economy free from private interests and which could drive the country's economic development.
- Created conditions for far-reaching economic, social and cultural changes in the countryside, particularly through the Agrarian Reform, by expropriating the big landowners' lands and setting up new operating units: UCPs [Collective Production Units, collective farms] and Cooperatives; by extending land tenants' rights (with the Land Tenure Law); banning archaic land rental systems [dating back to feudalism: foro, colonia, parceria]; recognizing communities' rights to the ownership, management and use of common lands; fostering association through cooperatives.
- Legally sanctioned and implemented equal rights for men and women, as well as rights for the youth.
- Promoted an improvement in the people's living conditions: by establishing a national minimum wage, minimum pensions, and the right to social security for large sections of the population; by extending the right to a 30-day paid vacation; by establishing vacation allowance, a supplementary December wage, maternity leave; by reducing working hours, establishing protection in case of unemployment, acknowledging the rights of disabled and elderly persons; by implementing progressive changes in education, in health care, culture and sports, all of which represented important steps toward their democratisation; by ensuring major improvements in social infrastructure and equipment.
- Put an end to Portugal's international isolation and to its complete subjection to imperialism's policies, by establishing diplomatic relations with the socialist countries, diversifying foreign relations, and thus clearing the road for a foreign policy of peace and cooperation, and of friendship with all peoples of the world.

**3.** In the process of the Portuguese revolution, the achievement and establishment of freedoms, citizens' rights and a regime of political democracy was inseparable from the liquidation of the monopoly groups' and big landowners' economic and political power, through nationalisations, the Agrarian Reform and the other reforms of social and economic structures, as well as from the end of the colonial war and the recognition of the right to independence for the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. Having to confront the conspiracies, the sabotage and the attempted coups by reactionary circles supported by big capitalists, big landowners and foreign imperialism, the major structural reforms were also needed to defend the fledgling freedoms and democracy.

Among its great merits is the fact that the April revolution was also a revolution in the minds of the Portuguese people. It was a factor of profound changes in concepts, social and ethical behaviour, mentalities. Beyond its national historic significance, the April revolution was a major event in the contemporary history

of the last few decades and had significant international repercussions.

4. The working class, the masses of the people, and the progressive military - the "April captains" - together in the People-MFA alliance, played an essential role in all democratic gains.

Throughout this whole process the PCP was an essential and determining political force. Its role in the April revolution and in the democratic regime's foundation will remain as one of the greatest achievements in its history.

### **The counter-revolutionary process**

1. The Portuguese revolution brought with it valuable experience as to how, in a revolutionary situation and even though not controlling political power, the masses of the people in motion and in alliance with the MFA, were capable of profoundly transforming society, undertaking and carrying out far-reaching reforms of the social and economic structures, influencing and conditioning the attitudes of the political power structures and contributing towards the legal recognition of the revolutionary advances.

The years that followed also showed the masses' extraordinary ability to resist counter-revolution, even when it is unleashed and carried out by the political power structures.

But experience also confirmed that the issue of political power ultimately determines the course of national politics.

2. Splits, conflicts and confrontations within the MFA, which enabled conservative and revanchist elements to gradually recover positions within the Armed Forces; the collaboration of the Socialist Party (PS) and of democratic sectors of the MFA with the most conservative and coup-mongering circles within the new power structures; ultra-leftism; anti-communism; imperialism's financial, economic, political and diplomatic interference and pressure - all these factors opened the road to a counter-revolutionary process, to the advance of reactionary and conservative forces within the new system of power that was being created, and to political alliances which were to culminate in the November 25 [1975] coup, the main consequences of which were the de facto destruction of the MFA and a radical shift in the balance of forces.

From 1976 onward - in blatant disrespect for the Constitution of the Republic and for democratic laws - the policies of the successive cabinets with diverse party compositions (PS, PSD, PS+CDS, PS+PSD, PSD+CDS) as well as of some of the so-called "presidential initiative" cabinets, adopted as their strategic

goal and line of action in all specific policies, that of restoring monopoly capitalism, with its logic of exploitation of the workers and of centralisation and concentration of capital.

**3.** The counter-revolutionary process, in its actions to destroy the April revolution's achievements, has been and is being carried out along five fundamental, complementary and inseparable, directions: *a)* to reconstitute, restore and reconfigure the socio-economic structures of State monopoly capitalism; *b)* to increase the exploitation of workers, destroying many of their rights and freedoms and seriously restricting the Portuguese people's social rights; *c)* to pervert the democratic regime, tending towards the establishment of an authoritarian regime; *d)* to promote and re-establish obscurantist or backward values in culture, in peoples minds, in ideology; *e)* to adopt, as a strategic option, the growing domination of Portugal's economy by foreign capital, and restrictions upon national sovereignty and independence particularly with membership in the EEC/EU.

The reconstitution, restoration and reconfiguration of socio-economic structures of state monopoly capitalism was carried out by means of a planned, coordinated and gradual offensive against the nationalised and other non-capitalist sectors. It began with the transfer to [private] bosses of companies under State intervention, cooperatives, and companies under self-management. It drew strength from credit, investment, price and foreign trade policies that were unfavourable to the nationalised companies, and from the appointment to the latter of managers with an interest in sinking them, since their mission was to pave the road for privatization. It moved ahead with the gradual handover of public companies to private capital. It developed further with the dismantlement and privatisation of public services and social functions of the State - both directly, and by resorting to public-private partnerships. It has been a sequence of frauds, undervaluations, auctions, acts of plunder, corruption, stock market speculation and handout of huge amounts of public funds.

That same policy of capitalist and monopolist reconstitution and restoration has meant, insofar as landed structures are concerned, the destruction of the Agrarian Reform with the restoration of big landed estates, through illegal and violent actions against the workers; through the looting of Collective Farms (UCPs) and Cooperatives; through the handover to big landowners of land, livestock, machinery, facilities and crops; through the destruction of tens of thousands of jobs; through a legal, financial and technical blockade and through blatant disrespect for court decisions.

It has also meant that many thousands of small and medium farms' economic situation has deteriorated, or have been destroyed; there have been successive attempts to destroy community rights that had been won with the Common Land Law; the elimination of tenant farmers' rights that had been won with the Rural Rent Law; and incentives to the concentration of agricultural property.

The policy of capitalist and monopoly reconstitution and restoration clamped down on micro, small and medium-size companies, through the monopolisation of markets and the absence of support, in line with the aim of favouring the concentration and centralization of capital.

It also meant the strangulation of the cooperative sector.

All these offensives have constituted a veritable crusade of plunder, of forced accumulation and centralization of capital. Capital and the domination of the main means of production are, as a consequence, being transferred into the hands of the - increasingly associated - domestic and foreign big capitalists.

The policy of monopolist restoration, with the offensives against the achievements of the April Revolution, has had highly damaging consequences. The productive apparatus has been disorganized. Major companies, which should have a crucial role for development, have been sacrificed. Many others have been shut down. The major national development projects have been abandoned. Financial resources have been wasted on compensations, non repayable loans, dubious investments, and sweeteners for big capitalists. Agriculture is stagnant and in crisis, the liquidation of the Agrarian Reform left a trail of social retrogression and unemployment, led to a process of abandonment and underutilization of land, and to food dependence. Parasitic and speculative activities proliferated, leading to quick enrichment for some, at the expense of working people and the public coffers, while soaking up and consuming a large share of country's resources. Imperialism's dominant positions in Portugal's economy have increased, and with Portugal's integration into the EEC/EU, the country's power to decide on important areas of the national economy has been gradually curtailed. The policy of monopolist restoration is an anti-national policy.

As a corollary to the restoration of monopoly capitalism, there has been increased exploitation of working people and the destruction of many of their rights and freedoms, as well as serious restrictions on their social rights. This has meant: wage restraints and cuts; the imposition of wage ceilings whilst prices rose; the decrease in labour's share of the national income; insufficient increases in old-age pensions; collective lay-offs; the spread of short-term contracts and the proliferation of other forms of casualised jobs; the freezing or restrictions to collective bargaining and negotiations; more and fresh pretexts for sackings without just cause, such as inadequacy and training periods; unpaid wage arrears; restrictions upon trade union freedom and the rights of Workers' Councils; blocking workers' monitoring of Management; more widespread repression by bosses in workplaces; greater discrimination against women and young people; child labour; the attack on the social functions of the State; more expensive (and risk of destruction for) health-care, housing, education and transport services, and a more expensive legal system; more widespread poverty and social marginalisation,

and the further depopulation and desertification of vast areas of the country.

The perversion of the democratic regime, tending towards the establishment of an authoritarian regime, has been reflected in decisions, actions, attempts and projects seeking to gradually concentrate all political power in the Government [cabinet]; challenging the independence and powers of other sovereign institutions (President of the Republic, Parliament and Courts); subordinating and controlling democratic local government; destroying the accountability mechanisms for Government actions, so as to ensure impunity; restricting Opposition rights; changing the electoral laws, seriously undermining their democratic nature and the principle of proportional representation; restricting the freedom of political organisation with antidemocratic legislation regarding political parties and their financing, restricting citizens' rights and freedoms, namely the right to strike and the right of Trade Unions and Workers' Councils to organize and carry out their activities in workplaces; the exclusion of representative social organisations; concentration and control over the mass media; a political purge and occupation of the civil service by the clientele of the Party in office; the strengthening of special repression forces; the creation and illegal use of new secret police services, the use of authoritarian measures, the amendments to the Constitution that mutilate it and water it down.

The promotion and re-establishment of obscurantism or backward values in culture, mentalities and ideology has been reflected in a constant activity to conceal and falsify the fascist regime's true nature and its crimes, and to belittle the democratic revolution's significance, achievements and impact; in attempts to turn anti-communism and anti-democratic discriminations into official State policy; in fostering, and asserting the inevitability of, alternation in power between political parties that represent big capital and serve its interests; in limiting and discouraging political and social participation, in the promotion of class conciliation and the pretense of common interests between capital and labour; in the defense of conservative views on women's role in society and family; in neglecting workers' role in the life of the country, portraying capitalists as having the decisive role in the creation of wealth and in the country's progress; in an uncritical glorification of Government stability, and even of personal power; in fomenting all-out individualism and selfishness in social life; in replacing the rights to social protection by charitable welfare, offending human dignity.

The adoption, as a strategic option, of restrictions to national sovereignty and independence was inspired by the purpose of more speedily destroying the April revolution's achievements and restoring monopoly capitalism, chaining Portugal to the world capitalist system. This has been reflected in numerous guidelines and decisions that - in the spheres of Portugal's integration into the EEC/EU, of Portugal's participation in other international organizations and its association into imperialism's interference and wars, and in the

economic, military, cultural and foreign policy and security spheres - have created new and greater ties of dependence and subordination.

4. The offensives against the April [revolution's] gains and the Portuguese people's steadfast struggle to defend them, were characterized on the one hand by a constant disrespect and breach of the law and the Constitution by successive Governments, and on the other, by a people's struggle carried out in strict abidance of the law and demanding respect for the institutions of power.

Democratic legality thus emerged as a real obstacle to a policy which subverted the democratic regime that was set up with the April revolution. The adoption of unconstitutional laws and amendments mutilating the Constitution were part of a process to reconstitute, restore and reconfigure the domination of monopoly groups - associated with, and dependent upon, foreign capital.

### **European Union - constraints and restrictions on our independence**

1. Portugal's entry into the EEC - which the PCP correctly opposed and whose negative consequences it foresaw - has created greater obstacles for a democratic policy. It was part of the process to destroy the April revolution's achievements. It has generated a dynamic that is seriously harmful to the national interest.

The subordination of Government policies to the goal of restoring the power of big business, coupled with the non-existence of a firm policy to defend the national interest, have led, not just to neglecting national interests during the negotiation process that led to Portugal's entry into the EEC, but also to a constant haste for an early introduction of the commitments and requirements that resulted from that process. The transition periods were thus squandered.

The nature of the European capitalist integration process - a tool of big capital, monopolies, transnational corporations, and the big powers that serve them -, the government policy that was followed, the criteria and application of substantial financial resources that were received have not - by and large, and despite the many infra-structures that have been built - contributed to modernise the country's productive apparatus, or to significantly decrease regional imbalances or Portugal's relative backwardness in relation to other EEC/EU countries. On the contrary, they have actually contributed to destroy the productive apparatus, and to hasten the depopulation and desertification of vast areas of the country, thus sacrificing the indispensable foundations for a true process of economic and social development.

**2.** The Common Market (namely the free flow of goods and capital) already implied for Portugal - due to its relative backwardness - unfavourable factors for its development and new restrictions for its independence. The federalist course of European integration in the economic, political and military spheres has severely affected our national independence and sovereignty: the Single Market, the common policies, the Maastricht Treaty and the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) with the adoption of the Euro and the creation of the ECB, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the Lisbon Treaty, the “budget” Treaty, and various other instruments, as well as the policy of successive national governments, are threatening to turn Portugal into a dependent peripheral client state, whose policies - increasingly contrary to the interests of Portugal and its people - are decided by supra-national bodies that are essentially run by transnational capital and by a directorate of the most powerful and richest States.

The situation created by these developments makes it absolutely necessary to adopt a policy with six main and interconnected directions: to firmly defend Portuguese interests at all times, particularly in the European institutions, resisting all decisions which harm them; to minimize, through concrete measures, the negative constraints and consequences of integration; to fight against supranational impositions and all limitations on democracy and the people's will; to demand and use all means, resources and possibilities available to promote Portugal's progress and the Portuguese people's welfare; to act specifically and in coordination with the workers and peoples of other countries to break with the process of European capitalist integration and to promote a Europe of peace and cooperation based upon free, sovereign States with equal rights; to fight for sovereign development in accordance with the national interests of the workers and people, whose materialisation should prevail over constraints and restraints, assuming the demands, paths and options that the situation necessitates.

**3.** In the beginning of this 21st century, internationalisation of the economy, profound international division of labour, interdependence and growing cooperation among States, and integration processes, are realities and trends of development that are not exclusive to capitalism. Depending on their direction, characteristics and goals, such processes may benefit monopolies and transnational corporations, or they may benefit the peoples. It is each people's and each country's inalienable right to fight to defend their interests and rights.

Nothing can force Portugal to give up its right to choose its own social and economic structures and its own political system. Nothing can force Portugal to accept a client State status within the EU, or to alienate its national independence and sovereignty. The Portuguese people have, and shall always have, the full right to determine their own destiny and to choose the paths which they deem to be in accordance with their historical identity and their interests and yearnings.



## **The April revolution's achievements in Portugal's democratic future**

1. The April revolution was a remarkable step forward for Portuguese society. The April revolution's great and historic achievements created the conditions for a dynamic economic, social, political and cultural development, corresponding to the situation and to the interests, requirements and aspirations of the Portuguese people and of Portugal.

Vigorous, persistent and determined struggle by workers, by broad sections of society and by the more coherent democratic forces have managed, at various crucial moments, although sometimes only temporarily, to defeat ongoing offensives. This is a demonstration of how profound the democratic changes have been and how much the April revolution's achievements match objective economic and social needs.

The Portuguese revolution has shown that it has got the strength and potential needed to eradicate many of the most striking inequalities, discriminations and social injustices and to build a new democratic society.

2. Portugal is undergoing a particularly serious period in its history. The ongoing counter-revolutionary process and the process of integration into the European Union - interconnected - have led to a situation marked by the domination of monopoly groups - associated with, and dependent upon, foreign capital -, by the heightening of the process of perversion the democratic regime, and by a high degree of risk for national sovereignty and independence. The situation bears the typical features of State monopoly capitalism, in a framework where the Portuguese State is becoming increasingly subordinate, dominated and colonised by imperialism and its structures, both within the EU and in general.

The ruling class's plans - to pursue and deepen the ongoing processes and generate an institutional collapse, by adopting unconstitutional laws, systematically debasing, disregarding and subversively amending the Constitution, thus aiming to fully restore, consolidate and strengthen its power - bear great dangers for Portugal's future.

Destruction of the April [Revolution's] achievements, a monopoly capitalist economic system, a political regime with authoritarian traits and the sacrifice of national independence, are all contrary to the interests of the Portuguese people and of Portugal. The PCP decidedly fights against such a system and such a regime, and proposes an alternative.

A democracy corresponding to the people's aspirations and to the nation's needs requires not only formal

recognition but also effective guarantee of the full exercise of freedoms and respect for citizens' political and social rights. Such a democracy requires an organisation of the political power system that will prevent or discourage any illegal or arbitrary actions on the part of its institutions, and ensure the people's participation in national policy decision-making. The course and the main levers controlling the national economy must not be held by monopoly capital or transnational corporations or be subjected to their interests, but must serve the country's interests. Within the world context of an internationalization of productive processes, of an international division of labour and of economic cooperation and integration processes, Portugal must make full use of, and develop, its own natural and human resources and acquire a strong industry. Agriculture must be developed and promoted, something which is incompatible with latifúndio agriculture [based on very large landholding] and with the neglect for small and medium farmers. The services sector must be modernised and made more efficient. The Portuguese people's material and cultural living conditions must be improved. All economic, social, political and cultural life must be democratised. A policy of national independence, which is separable from a democratic policy, must be proclaimed and implemented.

3. The April Revolution's main values have grown deep roots in Portuguese society, and are projected as objective realities, requirements, experiences and aspirations into Portugal's democratic future.

The advanced democracy proposed by the PCP to the Portuguese people is a historical follow-up to the programme for the democratic and national revolution drawn up and adopted in 1965, and to the April revolution's ideals, victories and achievements, which are also of historic value. The advanced democracy that the PCP proposes, projects, consolidates and develops the April values into Portugal's future.

## **II - An Advanced Democracy - the April values in Portugal's future**

1. In the communists' ideal and project, democracy has 4 inseparable components - political, economic, social and cultural:

- Political democracy, based on the people's sovereignty, on elected State institutions at all levels, on the separation and interdependence of power institutions, on pluralism of opinion and political organisation, on individual and collective liberties, on the direct participation of citizens and the people in political affairs and in monitoring and ensuring accountability in the exercise of power;
- Economic democracy based on the subordination of economic power structures to democratic political power structures, on social ownership of the major and strategic sectors of the economy as well as of the main natural resources, on the democratic planning of the economy, on the coexistence of different

economic formations, on workers' control of management, on workers' real participation and say in the management of public companies and capital, and on the harmonisation of economic development and environmental protection;

- Social democracy based on the effective exercise of workers' rights, on the right to a job and a fair wage and to adequate living and working conditions for all citizens, on full and equal access to social services and benefits, specifically as concerns health, education, housing, social security, physical exercise, sports and leisure;
- Cultural democracy based on true access by the masses of the people to culture, the creation and enjoyment of culture, and on freedom and support for cultural production.

2. A democratic regime must confront and move to solve the most acute national problems and successfully live up to the great challenges that Portugal is facing. The advanced democracy submitted by the PCP to the Portuguese people contains five major components or goals:

- 1º. A regime of freedom, in which the people choose their own future, with a democratic, representative and modern State, based on the people's participation.
- 2º. Economic development based on a mixed, modern and dynamic economy, free from the domination of monopolies, serving the people and the country.
- 3º. A social policy to provide better living conditions for workers and the people.
- 4º. A cultural policy that guarantees access to the creation and enjoyment of culture for all.
- 5º. An independent and sovereign country with a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with all peoples.

**1º. - A regime of freedom, where the people decide their own future, and a democratic and representative State based on the people's participation.**

1. Political democracy, although intimately connected with economic, social and cultural democracy, has an intrinsic value. It is therefore necessary to safeguard and guarantee it as an integral and inalienable element of the Portuguese society.

Portuguese people - having been deprived of freedom during the 48 years of fascist dictatorship, having won freedom and lived in freedom following the 25th of April [1974], and because they are now suffering the consequences of its limitation - know the value of freedom and never want to lose it again. Freedom belongs to the people and to each individual, and as such is an essential component of the advanced democracy

proposed to the Portuguese people by the PCP.

Pre-requisites for a regime of freedom are: the existence of material and cultural conditions for the exercise of freedom, equal rights, duties and opportunities for all citizens, without any discrimination - specifically those based on sex, ethnicity, political opinions, trade-union affiliations, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, or economic or social status.

A regime of freedom must also include:

- Recognition and effective guarantees for the exercise of citizens' freedoms and rights.
- Pluralist, democratic and responsible mass media.
- Democratically held elections that truly reflect the people's will and people's decisive participation in choosing the country's leaders and policies.
- Permanent popular participation in political and social affairs and in the exercise of power.

2. Individual, political, labour and social rights will be fully guaranteed, and mechanisms will be set up to encourage their use and to prevent these rights from being abusively curtailed, suspended or restricted.

Fundamental individual rights - including the right to life, to physical and moral integrity, to individual identity, civil rights, the right to citizenship, to one's good name and reputation, to protect one's image and the privacy of individual and family life - will be fully recognised and guaranteed.

As part of the fundamental rights, guarantees and freedoms, the following will be fully sustained:

- Freedom of expression of opinion, of the press and of access to information, with censorship being forbidden and political and ideological pluralism guaranteed.
- Freedom of assembly and demonstration without the need for prior permission and with guaranteed access to public grounds and premises, to enable the effective exercise of these rights throughout the whole of the nation's territory.
- Freedom to set up political parties and other associations, and for their activities, without interference or need for prior permission from the authorities.
- The right to elect and be elected, and equal and free right of access to public office.
- Trade union freedom with effective guarantees for the exercise of trade union rights in all workplaces. The right to collective bargaining and to participate in the drafting of labour legislation and in social

security management, as well as the right to set up and run Workers' Councils including the exercise of workers' control over management.

- The right to strike, with its extent and goals determined exclusively by the workers, and the banning of lock-outs.
- The right to intellectual, scientific and artistic creation, with effective support for the production and dissemination of the resulting work.
- Freedom of conscience, religion and worship, including the right to organise and conduct religious worship and to religious education within each confession, as well as recognition of conscientious objection.
- Freedom of movement and residence in all of the nation's territory, as well as the right to leave the country, to emigrate and to return.
- The right to freedom and security and the right to privacy for individual and family life (inviolability of communication, mail and home, protection of personal data, banning the improper use of computer systems).

The fundamental rights, freedoms and guarantees of workers and their organisations - and specifically the right to job security - shall enjoy the same treatment and protection as the other fundamental rights.

For the implementation of fundamental rights and freedoms it is essential to ensure the right of access to law courts and to legal counsel, the right to habeas corpus, the right to speedy legal procedures and sentences, the right to legal defense in criminal proceedings, the right to resist orders that impinge upon rights, freedoms and guarantees, the right to direct action when the forces of law and order are not available, the right to individually and collectively petition State institutions and any authority, and the right to popular action in defence of rights, of the Constitution, of laws and of the public interest.

**3.** Pluralist, democratic and responsible mass media are essential in a regime of freedom. In genuinely free conditions, the mass media are indispensable in helping to form citizens' opinions and in encouraging them to civic participation. They can contribute to transparency in political affairs, to democratic control of administration actions, to a genuine expression of the people's will through elections, to a knowledge of reality and to the collective effort in solving the nation's problems, to improve the people's cultural level, and to closer ties, friendship and understanding among peoples.

Important factors for pluralist, democratic and responsible mass media include:

- the existence - side by side with privately owned media - of a public sector including the different media (and specifically television, radio and the press) which by virtue of its constitutional and legal status will be independent from the cabinet, political parties and economic powers, and especially bound to guaranteeing pluralism and the expression and clash of different trends of opinion;
- Protection of mass media independence from economic powers, specifically by preventing monopoly concentration of mass media enterprises;
- Guaranteed rights for journalists and other mass media workers, and their respect for ethical and professional standards;
- Guaranteed air time in the broadcast media, as well as the right to political rebuttal and to reply;
- Protection of national identity, language and independence, particularly as concerns the audio-visual media and telecommunications;
- Support for regional and local media;
- Media management free from government control, and State financial support for the media without discrimination;
- Impartiality and independence in media licensing, whenever the law requires it;
- The existence of constitutional bodies - with diverse memberships - to preserve the freedom of information and guarantee pluralism.

4. In the regime of freedom proposed by the PCP to the Portuguese people, elections are the direct source of political power and of its institutions' legitimacy.

This component of a regime of freedom requires that elections be held according to rules that ensure the democratic nature of the whole process and the representativeness of those elected, with the effective elimination of economic, social and moral pressure or coercion, as well as of methods of manipulating public opinion and of misrepresenting the people's will.

The democratic nature of an election does not depend solely on the conditions under which voting or the election campaign are held. It also depends on the situation prevailing outside electoral periods, on the effective exercise of rights, and on citizens' continuing participation and involvement in national affairs.

In the same way as political power is legitimised by the people's will, expressed in truly democratic elections, those who exercise political power lose their legitimacy when they do not respect democratic legality or act to destroy the democratic regime.

Fundamental principles of the electoral process are:

- Universal, direct, secret and periodic suffrage;
- Right to elect and be elected from the age of eighteen;
- A proportional representation system for the conversion of votes into mandates in the direct election for the Assembly of the Republic [national parliament], the European Parliament, the Regional Legislative Assemblies, all local government assemblies and the Municipal Executives;
- A single electoral register for all elections, controlled by citizens and political parties and with compulsory registration of all eligible voters living on national territory;
- Equal and free access to the mass media and to all other forms of contact and communication with voters;
- Free and effective scrutiny over elections.

5. The regime of freedom proposed by the PCP implies that the State and other entities respect each citizen's right to political freedom. It also implies guaranteed freedom and right to social participation, guaranteed economic, social and cultural rights for workers and their organisations, and for other social strata and organisations.

The full expression of, and respect for, fundamental rights and freedoms is not separable from the implementation of the other aspects of political democracy, or from the gradual implementation of economic, social and cultural democracy.

The advanced democracy that the PCP proposes and advocates seeks to increasingly extend the scope and exercise of personal and collective freedoms, and to effectively guarantee workers' and citizens' rights.

6. The State, its characteristics, the criteria used in defining its institutions, the extent to which, and the direction in which, it exercises its functions, its inclusiveness in terms of peoples' participation and intervention in the political and administrative decision-making process, are both goals of the Programme and pre-conditions for the implementation of other programmatic goals.

In the monopoly capitalist system the State, given its class nature, is part of, and guarantees the workings and survival of the capitalist mode of production, even through violence and coercion. It is in essence, and in general terms, a tool of capital. In the advanced democracy that the PCP submits to the Portuguese people, the State must be structured and operate so as to correspond to the workers', people's and the country's requirements, in strict compliance with democratic law.

The following are component aspects of a democratic, representative, participatory and modern State, serving the people and the country:

- An organisation of the political power structure based on universal, direct, secret and periodic suffrage for State bodies and on the separation and interdependence of sovereign institutions;
- Constant participation of the people in the exercise of power;
- An independent, democratic, speedy and affordable legal system;
- A decentralised, spatially distributed, non-bureaucratic and open public administration;
- Essential public services guaranteed by the State;
- Armed Forces serving the nation's independence and sovereignty and the territory's integrity;
- A security and public order system based primarily on prevention, and on guaranteeing effective respect for workers' and people's individual and collective freedoms and rights.

7. The structure, organisation and scope of the political power system will ensure the stability, continuity and development of the democratic regime, as well as the work of the institutions in accordance with their regulations and specific role, and with the Portuguese people's interests.

The following are essential traits of the political power set-up in the advanced democracy proposed by the PCP:

- Separation and inter-dependence of the sovereign State institutions: President of the Republic, Assembly of the Republic [parliament], Cabinet and Courts;
- Legislative and monitoring powers for Parliament, opposing all factors that curtail such powers;
- Compulsory respect for Constitutional principles and for the law, guaranteed through the intervention of law courts - which are sovereign institutions whose independence must be protected - and through the people's control and vigilance;
- Democratic Local Government with effectively guaranteed decision-making autonomy within its scope of action, and in particular with administrative and financial autonomy, and provided with the means to tackle and solve community problems;
- The creation of administrative regions in continental Portugal, whose boundaries will take into account the will of the communities and local government bodies. This is a factor of democratic reform and decentralisation of the civil service, which can alleviate the serious regional imbalances, help achieve harmonious national development and assist in ensuring municipal autonomy;
- Political and administrative autonomy for the Autonomous Regions [Madeira and Azores archipelagoes]



within a framework of national unity and sovereignty, as a way of taking into account the specificity of the insular regions and of corresponding to the yearnings of their populations;

- Recognition of the role of political parties as one of the essential organisational elements of various social interests and bodies of opinion and of democratic participation in the power structures.

**8.** Constant people's participation in the exercise of power will be ensured not only through the modes characteristic of representative democracy, but also through forms of direct and participatory democracy. The following are stressed as particularly important:

- The right of all citizens to - without any privilege or discrimination - take part in political activities and in the management of the country's political affairs, in particular by holding public office;
- The right of workers' representative organisations to participate in conceiving and drafting labour policies and legislation;
- The right of farm workers and of small and medium-scale farmers to, through their own organisations, participate in defining and implementing agricultural policies, particularly in the Agrarian Reform area;
- The right of workers to take part in the management of public and public-participation companies and to exercise control of management at the workplace;
- The right of micro, small and medium-scale business owners and of their representative organisations to take part in defining and implementing major commercial and industrial policies;
- The right of intellectuals and technical and scientific workers and their organisations to take part in defining and implementing major policies involving their activity and interests;
- The right of women, youth, pensioners, disabled persons, emigrants, immigrants and their organisations, to participate in defining and implementing major policies concerning their respective spheres;
- The right of people to participate in judicial proceedings and in the management of social security, health, education, cultural, sports and environment services;
- The right of people's grassroots organisations to participate in the activities of Local Government and its Public Administration;
- The right of agents of law enforcement forces and services, of the military, and of their representative organisations to have a say in major decisions concerning their interests;
- The rights to petition and to mass action;
- The right to community initiatives and local consultation.

**9.** The justice system will be democratised and speedy. The access of all, in particular of working people, to legal services will be guaranteed, extending fully or partially free-of-charge legal training, counsel, extra-

judicial and pre-judicial support and competent reduced-cost or free-of-charge legal representation to needy citizens, with adequate levels of, and exemptions from, judicial costs. Legal procedures will be simplified. The judicial procedures will be modernised and rationalised. The judicial system will be brought closer to the population and the population will take part in it. Effective respect for the independence of law courts will be guaranteed, with mandatory and speedy implementation of their decisions. The independence of judicial magistrates and the autonomy of Public Attorneys will be guaranteed. The penitentiary system and regulations will be humanised enabling true social rehabilitation. Non-judicial forms of solving conflicts will be encouraged, guaranteeing the safeguard of collective interests (in spheres such as the environment, public health, consumer protection) as well as compensation for damages suffered by the victims of crimes and judicial errors.

**10.** Public Administration will be geared toward development, and be decentralised, spatially distributed, de-bureaucratised, efficient, open, in close touch with the population and serving community interests. It shall operate with honesty, without bias, with fairness and impartiality, be held accountable for its operation, comply and enforce compliance with democratic laws. It will ensure that all decisions are well grounded and that all requests of individuals and the public in general are always speedily dealt with, and that all have access to their respective files. It will guarantee respect for the rights of public employees as well as motivate and encourage their participation, using merit and competence as criteria for access to Administration posts, for promotions and appointments to management posts and to posts at all levels, and will reject favouritism and partisan appointments. Judicial oversight of administrative legality will be guaranteed, as will the implementation of law court sentences.

**11.** The State will take responsibility for, and guarantee, essential social services such as social security, health care and education, as well as housing for the less well-off strata, public transport and emergency services. The State will ensure the promotion and support of cultural creation and fruition and practice of sport, without precluding the existence of private activity in these spheres as long as it participates in the State's democratic policies. The State will also guarantee basic infrastructures and social equipment.

**12.** The Armed Forces, loyal to the Constitution and to democratic values, will be fully dedicated to defending the nation's independence and sovereignty and the territory's integrity against all external threats. This entails priority for missions on national territory and equipment in accordance with those missions and their defensive nature. Without affecting military defence, they will collaborate in tasks of community interest. With a specific defence doctrine, they must be endowed with autonomous military capability, and be based on compulsory service conducted in dignified conditions for young people. The Armed Forces will be

subordinated to political power, but with an appropriate measure of autonomy. The Armed Forces, at the same time as they require political impartiality in the exercise of functions, will refuse all political and ideological discrimination in their internal operation. They will guarantee the civic rights and dignity of military personnel and they must be an institution identified with all that is most patriotic and progressive in its past - in particular its decisive role in overthrowing the fascist regime and putting an end to the colonial wars.

**13.** Public security and order will be ensured by the State and guaranteed by adequately co-ordinated and organised forces and services which are non-partisan and civilian in nature, institutionally controlled solely by national authorities, under supervision and functional direction of judiciary authorities, guided and trained to respect the Constitution, the law, the freedoms, rights, equality, security and peace of citizens. The security forces and services will be institutions that serve the community and are engaged in preventing and dissuading crime. They shall fight crime, and specifically criminal organisations, drug trafficking, crimes against the environment and the economy, corruption and violence.

**14.** The democratic State is a constituent part, an instrument, an expression and a guarantor of the advanced democracy that the PCP submits to the Portuguese people.

## **2°. Economic Development based on a mixed, modern and dynamic economy, free from monopoly domination, serving the people and the country**

**1.** The goals of economic development must be: to improve the Portuguese people's living standards and quality of life, to achieve full employment, to largely fulfill the needs of the population, to share the wealth created in a fair and balanced manner and to preserve national independence.

In the advanced democracy, development policies will be based: on the development of productive forces; on increased production - which is a prerequisite for improving the people's living conditions and overcoming the nation's problems; on improving the national productive system's coordination, complementarity and coherence; on a harmonious development of the whole nation; on assessing the environmental implications of all economic and land-using activities; on defending the national interest within the framework of the Portuguese economy's insertion and interdependence with the world economy, assisting in overcoming our external economic imbalance; on a dynamic, and non-submissive, participation in the international division of labour; and on solidarity with a just economic world order.

The development policy envisages a modern economy, with a broader, more solid, scientific and technological foundation and a new specialisation in production:

- An economy with high-quality and national-added-value products and services and with high levels of technology, productivity, employment, wages and professional training;
- An economy in which the main structural deficits - food, energy, technology and machinery - are substantially reduced, safety levels in terms of food production are guaranteed, the trade deficit is reduced, the balance of current transactions is tendentially balanced and the foreign debt is held at a withstandable level, its annual service does not severely hinder the economy's growth potential and does not jeopardise national independence;
- An economy that respects the protection of nature, of ecosystems, of natural resources and assets, and ensures minimum environmental impact;
- An economy where the working people's active, interested and creative participation and control of management are encouraged and supported, and where the necessary conditions are created so that small and medium-scale business owners, farmers and fishers may effectively contribute toward social production;
- An economy whose growing specialisation and integration within the international division of labour is accompanied and supported by greater incorporation of domestic products and a stronger scientific and technological foundation.

2. In order to implement this project, there has to be a development strategy that:

- Domestically, takes into account the reality of the country, namely its current level of development, its sectoral and regional shortcomings and imbalances, its level of dependence and fragile and peripheral specialisation of production, its insufficient technological research and development and educational and professional training sub-systems;
- Externally, considers the context of the changes at a European and world level (especially in terms of the international division of labour), takes into account the need to counter and attenuate the harmful consequences constraints that ensue - with its constant goals being development and addressing national interests and the aspirations of Portugal's workers and people.

Such a development strategy must have as its main directions:

- Mobilising, adequately managing and making good use of natural resources (agricultural, livestock,

forest, game, marine, mineral, water, energy and tourism resources) taking into account the necessary specialisation, defending and improving the environment, preserving and restoring the natural heritage and ecological balances, territorial planning, making good use of existing productive capacity and fostering the infrastructures that are essential to national and regional economic development;

- Cherishing and making good use of human resources, promoting high skills through a schooling and professional training with high human, scientific and technical standards for young people and through permanent training for the adult labour force - with due attention given to the potential that lies in the growing social role of women and of young people, in our technical workers' technical and scientific capabilities, in the professional experience of emigrants who return home, and in the integration of immigrants;
- Increasing the role of science and technology in the productive forces and in economic development, by continuously intensifying and coordinating scientific research and technological development work;
- Modernising the economy and raising productivity, which requires: that Portugal's economy be rationalised and functionally reorganised (especially in the traditional low-value-added sectors and products), that the most serious regional imbalances be overcome, that there be a more dense productive network, that the scientific and technological revolution's gains be applied in the economic and social spheres ;
- Creating a core of equipment-producing industries adequate to the country's necessary productive specialisation in accordance with the trends of domestic and world demand, changing the production structures so as to guarantee a better position for Portugal in the international division of labour ;
- De-centralised and participatory planning capable of - in a prospective and integrated manner, and taking the market into account - determining major guidelines, goals and targets, seeking a coherent productive process and a better overall allocation of national resources;
- International economic cooperation based on asserting the national interest within the international division of labour, on effective cooperation within the existing international relations and cooperation framework, respecting national sovereignty and independence.

**3.** To ensure this economic development project, a mixed economic formation is necessary - free from monopoly domination, with diverse property sectors (each with its own complementary dynamism), all respected and supported by the State. Specifically:

- A State sector - nationalised, public, public-capital and state-participated companies - that is dynamic, integrated, efficient, encompassing in particular banking, insurance, and other basic and strategic branches of the economy (in particular energy, industry, transport and communications) with diverse

forms of organisation and playing a determining role in the development of productive forces and in accelerating economic development;

- A private sector, made up of companies of various dimensions (in industry, agriculture, fisheries, commerce, services), with a particular role for small and medium companies due to their flexibility and their share of production and employment, and small and medium farms, particularly family farms, due to their role in agricultural and livestock production and in preserving the rural world;
- A cooperative and social sector, with cooperatives - farms, manufacturing, services, housing, consumer, educational and cultural -, mutual aid funds, as well as self-managed companies and others.

4. To subordinate economic powers to democratic political power structures and to control the main levers of the nation's economy, freeing it from big-business domination and from foreign dictates, requires:

- the existence of a State sector - which implies the nationalisation of basic and strategic companies - where company management will include workers' participation and be coordinated and guaranteed by competent managers, with integrity and truly at the service of a democratic State and of the public interest;
- a transformation of agricultural structures, with an Agrarian Reform that will put an end to latifundio estates.
- a patriotic policy in international relations, constantly asserting and defending the national interest in the treaties, agreements and negotiations to which Portugal is a party.

The PCP is against reserving for Portugal the role of an appendage economy, a tool in the transnational corporations' capitalist accumulation strategies and in the more developed capitalist countries' economic policies. For the PCP, it is necessary to have a policy which considers that Portugal's participation in any economic cooperation processes must involve mutual respect for each other's interests, defence and promotion of economic and social development, and must reject any relations of subordination and domination. This means implementing a domestic policy that - under any variety of circumstances - respects Portugal's identity and interests, the specificity of its economy, favours its economic modernisation and development, guarantees and enhances working people's rights and people's living conditions.

5. Sectoral policies must implement this non-monopolist development strategy and its key guidelines, in order to secure the goals of the economic policy for an advanced democracy, in accordance with the principles that have been established.

**6.** Science and technology policy must have as its goals: to enhance the value of national resources, to increase production in both quantity and quality, to raise labour productivity, to save energy and raw materials, to protect and conserve the environment, to enhance scientific knowledge. For this, it will be necessary to:

- Closely coordinate the Research, Development and Experimentation policy with the development of the nation's productive forces, with the economic, education and professional training policies, and also to democratise and enhance the National Science and Technology System;
- Draw up a National Multi-Year Science and Technology Budget and Plan;
- Promote the incorporation of technology into economic activities and the defence of open technologies;
- Increase the number of scientific workers and the financial resources allocated to this end;
- Make use of the benefits and possibilities of international cooperation.

**7.** Financial policy must be subordinated and adapted to the productive sphere's financing and development requirements. Its main directions shall be:

- to protect the country's financial balance (both internal and external);
- to manage the main financial mechanisms (budget and fiscal policy, monetary policy and exchange rates policy) in an integrated fashion;
- to achieve efficiency in finance administration and in the management of financial instruments and institutions;
- to promote savings and mobilise them for productive purposes.

**8.** The energy policy's main goals must be to improve energy use efficiency in the various sectors, and to reduce the energy deficit. For this, it will be necessary to:

- increase domestic energy production, through adequate use of endogenous resources, and diversify the energy sources used and the geographic sources of imported raw materials;
- promote a rational use of energy, and adapt it to the depletion of fossil fuels;
- protect the ecological balance and safeguard the population's safety;
- step up the use of new sources of energy, particularly renewable ones.

**9.** Industrial policy shall seek to overcome the structural shortcomings and modernise the industrial sector, making it a coherent part of an overall development policy. Major directions of this policy will be:

- To promote industrial production, using and valuing natural resources - especially in sectors with a multiplying effect on the productive apparatus and with high added value - and implementing strategic national projects;
- Organising and protecting national industry, particularly through sectoral reorganisation, recovery and redeployment programmes, and through the diversification of production and measures to stimulate quality;
- Technologically enhancing and increasing productivity in the extractive and processing industries, in particular through structural changes, improved management and organisation, renewal of equipment and innovation of processes and products;
- Promoting cores of production-supporting "service industries" which help sustain the national industry's necessary shift in specialisation, and establishing industries to process and recycle waste.

**10.** Agricultural and rural development policies shall have as their main goal to develop and modernise Portuguese agriculture, improve life in the countryside, increase agricultural, livestock and forestry production and productivity, improve the level of self-supply of basic foodstuffs so as to guarantee food sovereignty and security, achieve greater increases for those products in which Portugal may have comparative advantages, and preserve the rural world. These major goals require:

- Implementing an Agrarian Reform that transforms the land property structure by abolishing latifúndios and handing over the land to collective farms/cooperatives and to small-scale farmers, improves small farms' economic and productive organisation, specifically by encouraging producers' associations, by increasing tenant farmers' rights, and by guaranteeing that common lands are held, used and managed by local communities;
- Reorganising commercial circuits and developing food and forestry industries;
- Providing preferential technical and financial support for the modernisation of small and medium-scale farms and agricultural cooperatives;
- A full and integrated use and conservation of water, agricultural and forest resources, and farm lands; a forest management that prioritises multiple use, local economies and the environmental role of forests;
- Effective recognition of the specific nature of Portuguese agriculture, with the inherent support measures and policies;
- Preserving agricultural production, promoting other economic activities, investing in the creation and renewal of infrastructures, services and social equipment to provide living conditions in rural areas.

**11.** The fisheries policy must seek to develop national fish production, putting an end to the gradual reduction



of activity in that sector. It must be based on the following main tenets:

- Developing the national fleet and maximising its use of Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) resources; fishing activity within the territorial waters must be its prerogative and national fishing in other waters must be defended;
- Intensifying research to identify, develop, rationally manage and protect resources;
- Taking steps to assist in developing the various fleets and, in particular, the local and coastal fleets, fomenting aquaculture and protecting the processing industries;
- Supporting producers' efforts in the marketing of fisheries produce.

**12.** The transport policy will envisage development and be based on the following major tenets:

- Integrated system planning, in coordination with the various branches of the economy and with the territory's spatial organisation, instituting coordinated management in the larger urban areas, taking into account environmental impacts, and corresponding to needs for personal mobility and transportation of merchandise;
- Developing resources, in terms of infrastructures, rolling stock, fleets, equipment, and usage systems, and optimizing management and maintenance systems;
- Improving the participation of national carriers in foreign and domestic-foreign transport.

**13.** Communications and telecommunications policy requires a reorganisation of the sector's structure with a view to achieving integrated planning and management coordination; it shall seek to develop and modernise economic activities, and be based on the following main points:

- Ensuring economically and socially necessary services;
- Extending and modernising the national telecommunications network, and its interconnection to international networks, through a judicious process of technological innovation capable of providing technically and economically advantageous solutions;
- Extending and restructuring the postal service's coverage;
- Maximising the use of national research and technology, and coordinating all relevant entities: industry, services, research centres, universities.

**14.** Tourism policy shall seek to enhance tourism's role in national and regional development, and to best meet the population's leisure requirements. It shall be based on:

- Balanced and orderly growth, enhancing and protecting natural resources and historical heritage, with cultural and environmental protection of the main tourist centres;
- Diversification of tourist markets and flows, enhancing the domestic market and protecting the quality of tourist services.

**15.** The domestic trade policy must seek to enhance national and regional economic development, namely by:

- Adapting commercial structures to the requirements of the community and of urban development;
- Establishing (or redeploing) distribution circuits in order to make them more flexible, transparent and effective;
- Protecting traditional independent commerce and regulating major retail trade outlets and chains;
- Supporting consumer cooperatives, small and medium-scale commerce, and the various types of shopkeepers' associations, assisting their reorganisation and modernisation, and enabling them to effectively play their role within the community.

**16.** Foreign trade policy must seek to reduce the trade balance deficit, by replacing imports with national production, as well as promoting and marketing it. These central goals require an active protection of national interests within a framework of bilateral relations and of relationships within Europe and within international trade institutions, a diversification of foreign economic relations, in particular with countries having Portuguese as an official language.

**17.** Portugal' s economic development based on a mixed economy, free from the domination of monopolies, is an integral and basic part of the advanced democracy that the PCP submits to the Portuguese people. Social progress, the creation of a material base for the construction of a democratic society, and the steadfast defence of national independence all depend on the success of this development.

### **3°. A social policy to provide better living conditions for workers and the people**

**1.** The main goals of social policy in the advanced democracy proposed by the PCP are providing better material and spiritual living conditions for workers and the vast majority of the Portuguese people, and eliminating the most serious social inequalities and injustices, as well as the scourges of unemployment, poverty, prostitution, drugs and crime, thus ensuring for the Portuguese people living standards and material and cultural welfare according to the possibilities and potential arising out of the productive forces'

contemporary level of development.

Better material and spiritual living conditions for the Portuguese people and economic development are two inseparable and complementary goals in the democratic policy submitted by the PCP to the Portuguese people.

Under monopoly capitalism, economic development is based on the exploitation of working people and on acute social inequalities. In the advanced democracy proposed by the PCP, better living and working conditions for the people are not only compatible with, but essential for, economic development.

2. The social rights of working people and of all citizens are viewed as fundamental rights, and are part and parcel of the advanced democracy proposed to the Portuguese people by the PCP.

The following shall be guaranteed as essential social rights:

- Right to employment;
- Right to social security;
- Right to health care;
- Right to education and schooling, to culture and sports;
- Right to a home;
- Right to a healthy and ecologically balanced environment;
- Right to protection and security for communities;
- Equality for women;
- Right to personal and professional satisfaction for young people;
- Right of children to harmonious development;
- Right to a dignified life for elderly persons and pensioners;
- Right of disabled people to a life integrated within society;
- Right of emigrants to have their interests protected;
- Right of immigrants and ethnic minorities to have their interests protected.

The universal implementation and effective materialisation of these essential social rights are necessary to ensure a dignified existence for all citizens and to achieve a fairer society.

3. The right to employment is essential for citizens to be able to enjoy their economic, social and cultural

rights, and for their formation, free development and personal satisfaction. Inseparable elements of the right to employment are fair pay, job security, health and safety at work, training, and the physical and psychological well-being of workers.

The right to employment shall be ensured by:

- An employment-generating economic development policy;
- Forbidding dismissals without just cause or harassment on grounds of sex, political opinions, religious beliefs or activity in trade unions or Workers' Councils;
- A system of continuous cultural, technical and professional training, ensuring professional qualification, promotion and retraining for working people;
- Limiting the use of short-term contracts and other forms of non-permanent employment to exceptional situations;
- Eliminating all forms of illegal labour;
- An incomes policy that will increase labour's share in the distribution of national wealth and ensure a continuous improvement in working people's living standards;
- Fair remuneration of labour, respecting the principle of "equal pay for equal work";
- Reducing and organising working hours so that working people may better enjoy cultural and leisure activities.

**4.** The right to social security seeks to protect citizens lacking or having insufficient means of subsistence or working ability, in particular due to illness, disability, unemployment or old age. The State shall be responsible for the social security system.

The right to social security shall be guaranteed by:

- A single, integrated, decentralised and participatory public system, based on the principles of universality, singleness, equality and solidarity;
- Participation by the trade-union movement and users' representative organisations in establishing policy and in managing the social security system;
- Raising benefits and pensions and extending and improving social services so as to make it possible to provide for the needs of citizens and families.

**5.** The right to health care seeks to create conditions for the Portuguese people's physical, mental and social

welfare. To this effect, it will incorporate scientific and technological advances, promote health, prevent diseases and provide for rehabilitation.

The right to health care shall be ensured by:

- A universal, general and free-of-charge National Health Service, with an efficient, decentralised and participatory management;
- A general overhaul of health services, promoting and encouraging their quality and effectiveness;
- Regionalising and decentralising services that provide health care, taking geographic, demographic and epidemiological realities into account, and ensuring increasing equality of coverage and access by the population;
- Correct planning, organisation, management and coordination between the various levels and services involved in health care, with the participation of health sector workers and of the community;
- Adopting a policy giving priority to promoting health and preventing disease, providing the necessary resources to address the major public health problems, according to carefully defined and continuously updated priorities.

**6.** The right to education and schooling, to culture and sports is the right of each and every individual to knowledge and to creativity, to fully and harmoniously develop his/her potential, ability and vocations, and social and civic awareness.

The right to education and schooling, to culture and sports shall be guaranteed by:

- A policy that considers education, science and culture as strategic directions for Portugal's integrated development; that takes into account the contemporary diversity in education and training processes and in the scope of problems they have to cater for, ranging from professional competence and qualification, to humanistic and scientific/technical culture, to innovation and creation, to civic and human values; that will attend to all of Portugal's population, developing a system of permanent education which integrates and balances initial education with continuous training and education for adults; guaranteeing top-quality education for all Portuguese people and heightening the population's cultural level, providing a balanced overall enhancement for human beings to assert their full and creative citizenship in a democratic society;
- An educational system stressing a democratically managed public education, endowed with goals, structures, programmes and financial and human resources enabling it to implement citizens' right to an education, to provide equal opportunities for access and promotion in schools for all Portuguese people

during mandatory schooling and at all other levels of education, through a free and high-quality public schooling system; to eradicate illiteracy; to cover the country with a public pre-school education network; to establish a connection between the school system's goals and social, cultural and economic activities; to contribute to increase the Portuguese people's labour qualifications;

- Implementing a sports system that would integrate the various structures involved in sports (central and local government, associations, clubs and schools), provide sports practitioners with working conditions enabling their progress and provide the general population with access to the various sports at various levels, thus contributing to their development and fulfilment;
- Continuous support and incentive for cultural production, activities and agents, democratising culture and access to the enjoyment and creation of culture.

**7. The right to a home:** guaranteeing for citizens and families dwelling adequate to their needs, ensuring their well being, privacy and quality of life.

The right to a home shall be ensured by:

- Implementing a policy to tackle housing shortages, and applying a land and territorial management policy that can generate high-quality, speculation-free urban areas, land use and infrastructures;
- The State shouldering its responsibilities, specifically by launching major housing programmes for less well-off citizens, encouraging controlled-price housing; an effective credit policy, decentralising functions and allocating resources to municipalities;
- The convergence of public, private and cooperative enterprise efforts; incentives to restore historical inner-cities, run-down areas and illegally built-up areas, with the elimination of shanty towns; the promotion of a market for rented houses and the building of socially-determined rented housing.

**8. The right to a healthy and ecologically balanced environment,** seeking to guarantee that each citizen and each community can live in harmony with the natural environment - with its resources and species - as an essential condition for the physical and psychological balance of future generations.

The right to a healthy, ecologically balanced environment shall be ensured:

- by joint planning and analysis of all sectoral and land use policies, of their impact on natural resources and the environment and on land use and occupation;
- by countering depopulation with anti-desertification policies for large parts of the country, with forest-fire

prevention, by safeguarding ecologically sensitive areas and protected areas, by opting to specialise in environment-protecting production and by developing civic awareness on environmental protection;

- by rational, integrated and democratically participated management of ecosystems' natural resources, with strict monitoring of their self-renewal capability;
- through public management of water supplies, ensuring universal access and high quality;
- through a nationally and internationally coordinated struggle against situations of serious environmental deterioration, in particular air, soil, river, sea and coastal pollution;
- by the coordinated extension of sewage networks, energy grid, and air, soil and water pollution control networks to the whole of the nation's territory;
- by an urban policy providing city populations with a balanced and healthy urban environment;
- by encouraging scientific work on the environment and related issues, publicising the work produced, and encouraging scientists' participation in defining and following up research;
- by publicising ecological issues through the school system.

**9.** Communities' right to peace and safety is a very important issue, throughout the whole of Portugal's territory.

Communities' right to peace and safety shall be guaranteed:

- by an integrated development policy, improving citizens' living standards;
- by allocating more resources to policing and crime investigation, and improving its operational capability, while giving priority to prevention;
- by a struggle against crime, criminal associations, drug trafficking, human trafficking, violence and corruption;
- by developing relationships between security forces, local governments, communities, schools, youth organisations, the Public Procuratorate and other bodies, with a view to preventing and fighting crime;
- by reorganising the security forces, optimising their ability to react, based on their definition as civilian, judiciary-controlled bodies, and on the recognition of their workers' rights;
- by guaranteeing the right to assistance in case of large-scale accidents, catastrophes or hazards, be they natural or technological, through a veritable national civil protection system that is operational, participatory and not cabinet-dependent.

**10.** Equality for women, which is closely associated with women's emancipation struggles, is a pre-condition for democratising and humanising society and for the free development of women's creative and productive

capabilities.

Equal rights for women shall be ensured by:

- legislation providing for the implementation of women's rights in all spheres of society, forbidding and punishing any discrimination;
- the right to work with equal opportunities in terms of access, professional training and promotion, implementing the "equal pay for equal work" principle;
- effectively recognising maternity and paternity as eminently social functions;
- effectively recognising equal family rights and duties for men and women, including providing for and educating their children;
- developing educational and cultural policies aimed at changing mentalities and at establishing family relationships based on free choice and on love and solidarity among its members;
- creating objective and subjective conditions for an adequate social consciousness in which men and women are both viewed as human beings with full rights and duties.

**11.** The right of young people to personal and professional fulfilment and to actively participate in society includes as an essential element effective guarantees for their economic, social and cultural rights.

The rights of young people shall be guaranteed by:

- effectively mandatory and free schooling, with equal access opportunities to the various levels of education, and to promotions;
- access to jobs and professional training and promotions, and support for the continuation and completion of studies for those already working;
- pay according to the "equal pay for equal work" principle;
- creating the necessary conditions to find a home and build a family when they so wish;
- creating conditions for cultural creation and enjoyment, to practice sports and usefully spend one's leisure time;
- supporting the development of the youth movement, respecting its identity and specific traits;
- creating conditions for a dignified life, with prevention of drug addiction, struggle against poverty and juvenile delinquency.

**12.** The right of children to harmonious development and to respect for their individual identity is essential to



a happy childhood and a pre-condition for the formation of physically, intellectually and emotionally healthy citizens.

The rights of children shall be ensured by:

- a mother and child care system, enhancing child- and family-support structures;
- sufficient and adequate nourishment, health care and education, aiming at success in school and education;
- measures for protection and special care, taking into account their level of affective, physical, psychological and intellectual development, and special care in case of specific difficulties;
- social and legal protection against all forms of arbitrariness, violence and exploitation, specifically forbidding and punishing the use of child labour and the sexual exploitation of children;
- raising awareness about the need to respect children within society.

**13.** The rights of elderly and retired people and pensioners, implemented through a specific policy that takes into account their aspirations, with a view to providing them with a dignified life, security in old age, and full integration and participation in society.

The rights of elderly and retired people and pensioners shall be protected by:

- retirement pensions enabling them to meet their essential needs and ensuring their independence and dignity;
- provision of adequate health services;
- social educational, cultural and leisure-time support, through adequate infrastructures and support services;

**14.** The rights of disabled persons shall enable them to lead an independent and socially useful life, suppressing the barriers that prevent their integration in society with full citizenship rights.

The rights of disabled persons shall be ensured by:

- correct prevention, health care and rehabilitation policies geared toward reintegration at work;
- improving benefit schemes and social security;
- specific measures for schooling and professional training, and guaranteed jobs;

- adopting legislation and administrative measures for the elimination of architectural and other barriers;
- establishing programmes for usefully spending leisure time, as well as cultural and physical education and sports programmes.

**15.** The right of emigrants to protection of their basic interests arises out of the great significance of emigration in society, out of the discrimination and lack of protection that emigrants suffer.

Emigrants' rights shall be guaranteed by:

- efficient work by consulates, embassies, and other specific protection and support services both in the host countries and in Portugal;
- applying bilateral and multilateral Conventions and Agreements signed by the Portuguese State in those cases that require upholding the rights of emigrants and their families;
- taking steps to encourage the teaching of Portuguese and promote the Portuguese language and culture abroad;
- emigrants' participation in finding solutions for their problems, and respect for their associations;
- supporting their return home, specifically through measures to channel savings to their regions of origin, and to promote development projects, in particular regional ones.

**16.** The right of immigrants and ethnic minorities to the protection of their interests as part of a policy of friendship and cooperation among all peoples and of respect for all human beings.

The rights of immigrants and ethnic minorities shall be ensured by:

- measures protecting the use of their languages and cultures;
- adopting measures to facilitate their integration into Portuguese society, respecting their cultural specificity;
- extending social and legal protection schemes, on a par with Portuguese workers;
- fighting all expressions of racism and xenophobia.

**17.** It is not enough for the Law to recognise the social rights of working people and of all citizens. A democratic policy - in its direction and implementation - must guarantee them in practice.

These fundamental rights implicitly encompass material and cultural well-being, dignity and genuine

improvement in the living conditions of working people and of all citizens. They are a basic principle of the advanced democracy which the PCP proposes.

#### **4°. A cultural policy that guarantees access to the creation and enjoyment of culture for all**

1. The cultural policy that the PCP submits to the Portuguese people involves effective exercise of cultural rights, creating conditions for the full development of individuals' and of society's cultural values. It is based on, and aims at, raising the level of creative participation of working people and citizens generally, as well as of their organisations, in the various spheres of social life. It also aims at teaching democratic values.

In today's world, and also in Portugal, culture is becoming increasingly important in the life of society.

The cultural democracy that the PCP advocates is inseparable from democracy - in its political, economic and social dimensions -, which provides the material pre-conditions essential to attaining a cultural democracy. Being rooted in society's development and constituting a component of people's life, cultural democracy is one of the factors for the transformation of society. The exercise of cultural rights and the struggle for their general implementation and reinforcement are key elements for democracy as a whole.

2. The cultural democracy that the PCP advocates includes:

- Making it possible for everyone to enjoy cultural products and activities, eliminating all economic, social, sex and regional discrimination in the access to knowledge and cultural activities;
- Building up a progressive social consciousness that will uphold the humanistic values of freedom, equality, tolerance, solidarity, democracy and peace;
- Acknowledging and enhancing the social function of those who work in the cultural sphere and of their organisations, constantly improving their training and working conditions, as well as providing effective support for young artists;
- Supporting the free development of popular forms of creating and enjoying culture, of cultural association and cultural life, recognising and enhancing their dynamic role in the formation of a national identity;
- Creating the necessary material and spiritual conditions for the development of cultural creation, production, dissemination and enjoyment - rejecting their subordination to commercial criteria, respecting scientific controversy and the diversity of aesthetic opinions.

### 3. The main cultural policy guidelines are:

- Free cultural expression and enhancement of individual capabilities and raising the population's level of knowledge and cultural requirements;
- Eradication of complete illiteracy and struggle against functional illiteracy;
- A school system undergoing change towards development and modernisation, towards cultural emancipation and democratic teaching methods, leading to continuing education; a school system supported and made possible, in its cultural function, by other means of training and socio-cultural agents, ranging from scientific, technical and artistic institutions to the mass media and community organisations;
- A policy to enhance the cultural and social role of scientific and technological development;
- Expansion of artistic learning and education, and of social and cultural activities;
- A physical education and sports policy viewed as a means of human enhancement and a factor of personality development and democratisation of social life;
- Environmental, land use and urban policies allowing for a daily life of peace and well-being, for the existence of places where people can get together and enjoy their leisure time, respecting the preservation of natural and cultural heritage as well as of urban areas of historic value;
- Enhancement of the mass media's cultural role, with more accurate and better quality information, with the encouragement, integration and promotion of literary, artistic, scientific and cultural production, taking into account the specific nature of each medium;
- Decentralisation and regionalization of productive structures and of cultural equipment and services, with the aim of eliminating regional imbalances and making a creative assertion of each region's specific traits; allocation of material and human resources which will make it possible for the local authorities to act upon the cultural sphere;
- Safeguard, study and publicise cultural heritage, be it national, regional or local, erudite or popular, traditional or current;
- Interchange with the other peoples of Europe and the world, opening up to, and creatively incorporating, Humanity's cultural values; struggle against cultural colonisation; international promotion of the Portuguese culture and language, in close cooperation with the other countries that use the Portuguese language.

4. The democratic State bears fundamental responsibility for cultural democracy, but it can only be built by combining the State's action with collective and individual participation and creativity.

Cultural democracy is a factor of political democracy whose potential can only emerge if the population's

education and cultural life are extended and enhanced. It is a factor of economic democracy and of development, because it enhances the qualifications of the main productive force: human labour. It is a factor of social democracy because it is a form of increased participation in society's life, on the part of those workers, social classes and groups most vitally interested in democracy. It is a factor of national sovereignty because it helps to build up a national identity, in an open and active process, interacting with world culture.

The cultural democracy that the PCP submits to the Portuguese people is a factor of individual, social and national emancipation, a factor of multi-faceted development of the individual and of society, a powerful incentive to dialogue among cultures.

**5°. An independent and sovereign country, with a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with all peoples.**

**1.** Portugal's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity are fundamental and inalienable values of the People, the Nation and the State.

For centuries, there have been ties of dependence on foreign nations. Since the last century, Portugal's ties of dependence on imperialism have constituted powerful barriers to a development in accordance with national interests, and are factors of involvement in foreign matters which run counter to national interests.

Political, economic, military and security forms of integration - that deprive Portugal of essential controls over its sovereignty and independence, and subordinate it to the dominant countries' transnational corporations - are unacceptable and must be opposed.

In the same way - and with the same engagement with which it rejects autarchic and isolationist solutions, chauvinism, nationalism and racism - the PCP rejects any alliances and relations that reduce national sovereignty and impoverish democracy. The PCP stands for revision, annulment or withdrawal from treaties and commitments harmful to the national interest or to world peace.

The PCP opposes the European capitalist integration process. We fight to make a break with this process. We defend the inalienable sovereign right of Portugal and the Portuguese to define their own path of development.

**2.** The PCP will continue to work in defence of national interests, struggle against the European Union as an

imperialist political and military bloc, and to work for active cooperation and common and converging action among workers' and people's movements, communist parties and other democratic and progressive forces in European countries.

The PCP will struggle for a Europe of effective cooperation between free nations and sovereign States, with equal rights. The PCP stands for building an all-inclusive Europe of peace, cooperation among workers, peoples and nations, for building a continent that can become a factor of security and social progress the world over. This is the opposite of an EU that is shaped by the big monopolies' interests and asserts itself as a political-military bloc.

One of the strongest demands emerging out of the changing world in which we live, is not one of costly surrenders of sovereignty or of impoverishing uniformisation and greater distance between decision-making centres and citizens, but rather one of vivid assertion of the richness of difference, of national identities, of recognition of nations' right to a sovereign political power structure, of aspiring to equal rights and new forms of mutually advantageous and reciprocally enriching cooperation.

**3.** In the political-military sphere, the militaristic and offensive NATO organisation is the most prominent and serious threat to peoples' struggles and to world peace. Portugal's participation in NATO, together with the military agreements with the USA concerning its military facilities in Portugal, have led to more serious ties of dependence and are seriously conditioning national independence and sovereignty.

Portugal is vitally interested in disarmament and in stronger international collective security mechanisms.

The dissolution of NATO is a key objective, for the affirmation of national sovereignty and for world peace. This process involves Portugal's organised disengagement from NATO's structures, in keeping with Portugal's inalienable right to decide on its withdrawal.

In the framework of Europe, Portugal shall oppose the construction of any political-military bloc - including EU militarisation - and shall actively engage in the creation of a true collective security and cooperation system for Europe.

In the current complex and unstable international situation, marked by a deepening of capitalism's structural crisis, it is even more necessary for Portugal to adopt a political stance of guaranteeing its territory's integrity, its political-military decision-making autonomy, its national sovereignty and security for the Portuguese

people and Portugal, making its own specific contribution toward positive developments in international relations, eliminating the nuclear threat and safeguarding world peace.

4. The following are fundamental elements of Portugal's independence and sovereignty:

- Economic independence - within a framework of international interdependence and cooperation, including within the scope of the organisations in which it participates - through national ownership of strategic resources and economic sectors, reducing the foreign deficit in sectors that generate greater vulnerability, increasing production, reducing the foreign debt, participating in the international division of labour in a non-subordinate position that - with control over the production process - will render foreign diktats unfeasible.
- A national definition of defense policy, guaranteeing autonomy in the adoption of fundamental strategic concepts, independence of the Portuguese Armed Forces from any external control or interference, their non-integration and non-involvement in multinational forces and aggressive interventions, prior decision and national control over the use by foreign forces of the country's territory, air space and maritime zones - banning their use for aggressive operations and outer space militarization projects, or as bases for the installation, deployment or transit of any kind of nuclear weapons;
- Establishment of domestic security policies and measures, not permitting foreign command of national forces or security services, nor the activity of foreign or supranational security services or forces on Portuguese soil, while safeguarding the necessary international cooperation in fighting crime;
- Autonomy in decision-making and diplomatic relations, without any subordination to external orders or demands, guaranteeing that they are conducted in accordance with the aims of upholding national interests, cooperation, friendship and solidarity with all peoples, peace and security;
- The safeguard and development of Portuguese culture ensuring - within the framework of a necessary increase in interchange with other peoples and cultures and of a growing internationalisation of the mass media - the preservation of the Portuguese people's cultural identity and the enhancement of its international outreach;
- National development of science and technology ensuring - within the network of international cooperation and interchange - a science and technology policy geared toward the specific problems of Portugal's integrated development, equitable terms in the knowledge-exchange processes, and a balanced technological exchange with other countries under conditions of equality and reciprocity.

5. In the framework of these general guidelines, Portugal will develop, in the advanced democracy that the PCP submits to the Portuguese people, a many-faceted foreign policy of peace, friendship and cooperation

with all peoples, based on the principles of equality, reciprocity of advantages, mutual respect and non-interference in internal matters, having as its fundamental tenets:

- Relations with European countries based on the essential principles of mutually advantageous cooperation, safeguard of national interests, culture and sovereignty, development of balanced and non-discriminatory relations among states and with all countries and peoples;
- Relations with the USA and other countries, rejecting interferences or hegemonic aims;
- Relations of privileged friendship and cooperation without any neo-colonialist aims, with Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, East Timor and Brazil.
- Relations of friendship and cooperation with socialist countries or countries that view socialism as their aim, realising their true potential for mutually advantageous cooperation;
- Relations with the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia, valuing historical and cultural factors, and active cooperation toward solving the serious problems that afflict the developing countries and all of Humankind;
- Relations with the Arab countries, particularly in the Mahgreb and Eastern Mediterranean, geared toward turning the Mediterranean into an area of peace and cooperation;
- Active solidarity with all peoples who are fighting for their freedom, for national independence and social progress, against imperialism, colonialism, fascism, racism, apartheid and zionism;
- Active engagement in all international forums in which Portugal participates, particularly the UN and its agencies, in order to help solve Humanity's global problems - specifically, the defense of peace, the struggle against hunger, poverty and underdevelopment, disease and drug addiction, for environmental protection and conservation, the creation of a new international information order; stressing the UN's role in materializing the goals of its Charter, working for its democratization and opposing its instrumentalisation and perversion by the big powers seeking to interfere in the internal affairs of peoples;
- Engagement in the creation of a new international economic order, based on respect for States' sovereignty and equality, and geared toward overcoming unequal terms of trade, over-exploitation of resources, the huge imbalances and discriminations and the devastating effects of the foreign debt which hang over many dozens of countries. This new international economic order will - by putting an end to neo-colonialism - secure well-being for all peoples, guarantee sustained development, fulfill present needs without jeopardising the future of coming generations;
- Actively contribute to the creation of a Europe of peace, progress, friendship and cooperation among sovereign peoples and countries with equal rights, advancing the disarmament process, dissolving NATO and demilitarising the European Union, creating a collective security system that respects and guarantees States' sovereignty and peoples' freedom of choice.



6. In the advanced democracy that the PCP proposes, Portugal will make a positive contribution toward solving the contemporary world's major problems, along the path to peace and social progress. Portugal will exercise its full right to decide on its own economic, social and political system, its own domestic and foreign policy, its future and its destiny.

The advanced democracy that the PCP advocates - which includes a design for a regime and a definition of democratic policy - is characterised mainly by being a project for a society that fully corresponds to the workers' and other anti-monopolist classes' and strata's interests and to Portugal's needs.

The construction of an advanced democracy is therefore a process, involving the transformation of life and society. Its success requires - beyond solutions on an institutional, political and governmental level - mass struggle, and also a creative effort and collective commitment on the part of the Portuguese workers and people.

The continuing daily action in defense of the people's and the country's interests, the steadfast and persistent fight against right-wing policies, the strengthening of working-class unity, the commitment to form a broad militant social front, the strengthening of the organisations and broad united mass movements, the steps forward in the convergence and unity of democrats and patriots, the conjunction of electoral and institutional action with mass action, the intensification and convergence of the mass struggle with all the developments and forms it may assume (a determining and decisive factor), as well as the implementation of progressive political solutions of a patriotic and left-wing nature - are all part and parcel of the process of antimonopoly and anti-imperialist rupture necessary to build an advanced democracy.

Strengthening the PCP's social, political and electoral influence, enhancing awareness of its role as an indispensable force to materialize the alternative, and securing its participation in the country's government, are decisive pre-requisites for the construction of an advanced democracy on the threshold of the 21st century.

### **III Socialism: Portugal's future**

The advanced democracy that the PCP proposes to the Portuguese people seeks to solve many of the most serious existing problems. But the liquidation of capitalist exploitation - the general and effective demise of social discrimination, inequalities, injustices and scourges - is a historic task that can only be materialized with a socialist revolution.

Just as the PCP Programme - adopted in 1965 and ratified with amendments in 1974 at the 7th (Extraordinary) Congress - stressed that the full implementation of the democratic and national revolution would create favourable conditions for the evolution of Portuguese society toward Socialism, so too, in proposing in its Programme “an advanced democracy - inspired by the April values”, the PCP considers that the implementation of such a project will create conditions conducive to a development of Portuguese society toward socialism. The socialist society that the PCP proposes - as a goal and prospect - to the Portuguese people, embodies and elaborates upon the essential economic, social, political and cultural components of the advanced democracy.

The social and political process leading to socialism does not depend merely on the will and action of those forces that wish to promote it. It also depends, among other factors, on the action and forms of resistance of those forces that oppose it. In contemporary Portugal, the road to socialism lies in the struggle to expand democracy.

The working class's vanguard action, the struggle of workers and the masses of the people, the policies pursued by the institutions and the State, the more or less democratic character of elections, the social structure's development, the line-up of class forces, the international situation, the Party's ability to win the masses over to its Programme, are all essential elements that will determine the specifics of our society's process of socialist transformation.

## **20th Century - The Building of a New Society**

1. The 20th century remains inscribed in Humanity's history as a turning point in Human society, sparked off by the October Socialist Revolution and by the establishment of the first workers' and peasants' State. Huge steps forward in the liberation process of workers and peoples were taken, with socialist revolutions, with the defeat of Nazi-fascism, with the downfall of colonialism, with the achievement of independence by peoples subjected to the colonial yoke for centuries, with the achievement of basic rights and freedoms by the workers of capitalist countries.

Generally starting from a low level of development, the socialist countries had successes and achievements of great international projection that stimulated the struggle of the workers and peoples all around the world. Within a short historical time span, they overcame economic backwardness, built a considerable industrial base, developed agriculture, quickly overcame illiteracy and made education, culture and sports widely available, ended the scourge of unemployment and guaranteed a vast network of public health and social

protection, promoted on an unprecedented scale the rights of women, children, youth and the elderly, achieved a high scientific and technical level, took steps to solve complex national problems, put in place very meaningful forms of participatory democracy, promoted the values of friendship, solidarity and peace among peoples.

It was an inspiring revolutionary undertaking - in an uneven and obstacle-ridden process - that sought to implement, and to a great extent actually implemented, just and heartfelt yearnings of the vast majority of Humankind - of all those who are exploited, oppressed or discriminated against by virtue of class, race, sex or ideas.

Following thousands of years of societies whose social and economic systems and whose development were always based on the exploitation of some classes by other classes - on the exploitation of those who work and constitute the vast majority of peoples by a minority wielding the means of production, the State and political power - socialist revolutions, with workers' power, have undertaken the construction of a new society without exploiters or exploited, without antagonistic classes, without social discrimination and injustice, a new society in which the people's material and spiritual well-being as well as economic, social, political and cultural democracy, are necessarily the core goals of all policies.

Such a process proved to be more complex and slower than foreseen and suffered delays, mistakes and distortions that led to its own reversibility. But this neither erases socialism's great achievements and the civilizational progress they brought, nor calls into question the new social system's superiority.

**2.** Capitalism's evolution, with violent displays of its exploitative, aggressive and predatory nature, the exacerbation of its contradictions, the worsening of its structural crisis, places on the agenda the demand for its revolutionary overthrow.

Capitalism has displayed a high degree of resistance and adaptability. And, with the field left open by the defeats of socialism, managed to regain lost positions and go on the offensive on the world stage. However, it has not only not solved its contradictions, but has tended to exacerbate them.

Capitalism's current traits and trends are: acceleration of the economic internationalisation and globalisation processes; creation of areas dominated by big business and the powerful States; centralization and concentration of capital with the creation of giant monopolies that dominate economic life and wield political power; planetary recolonization to dominate natural resources, markets, sources of cheap labour;

intensification of the exploitation of labour and dismantling of the State's social functions; mass unemployment and other social scourges; deterioration of the unfair distribution of income between capital and labour; widening of the gap between the rich and the poor; plunder of resources and worsening of environmental problems; growth of authoritarian, fascistic and militarist trends and practices.

Capitalism's cyclical overproduction crises are becoming longer and increasingly frequent. The financialisation of the economy and the hegemony of financial and speculative capital lead to a massive waste of productive forces and massive extortion of the surplus value created in the productive sphere. The trend towards stagnation is growing. Capitalism is becoming increasingly rentist, parasitic and decadent.

The contradictions of the system resulting from objective factors are deepening, as in the case of capitalism's shrinking social support base as a result of the capital centralization process, and the subjective factors due to the liberating struggle of workers and peoples, whose development has brought important gains and achieved progressive and revolutionary changes.

At the present stage in the evolution of human societies, capitalism and imperialism are responsible for a violent contradiction between the huge potential for social progress - released by the work, action and struggle of human masses and the scientific and technological revolution - and the persistence and exacerbation of the great global problems such as hunger, social inequalities, ignorance, risk of war and the destruction of our species.

The contradictions between capital and labour, between monopolies and non-monopolist strata, between major capitalist powers and developing countries, are becoming sharper. The contradiction between the social character of production and its private appropriation is becoming particularly acute. To free the productive forces and allow science and technology's extraordinary achievements to serve economic and social progress and solve Humankind's problems, capitalism must be overthrown through revolution and replaced by the establishment of a superior economic and social formation – socialism.

**3.** At the end of the 20th century, with the disintegration of the USSR and of the regimes that existed in Eastern Europe, the struggle for Socialism in the world suffered defeats with tragic consequences for the workers' and peoples' struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression.

From the very outset, the building of socialism faced siege, subversion and aggression, and two imperialist wars that imposed heavy sacrifices and destruction and forced the diversion of huge resources into the

military field and into solidarity with other peoples. This led to distortions and imbalances for socialist social and economic development and even to crises. This did not prevent the socialist system from becoming a determining factor in global development. External conditions largely influenced the solutions and ways of building socialism - and contributed to delays, errors and distortions. Serious compromises, capitulations and betrayals ultimately led to defeat.

In those countries - despite the major revolutionary changes and democratic achievements of an economic, social and cultural nature - certain historical circumstances gave rise to a "blueprint" which violated essential traits of a socialist society and deviated from, countered and confronted essential aspects of the Communist ideal. Instead of people's political power, there was excessively centralized power in the hands of a bureaucracy that was increasingly distant from the participation and will of the masses and ever less subject to mechanisms that could monitor its activity. Instead of an extension of political democracy, there was a growth of the State's authoritarian nature. Instead of an economy driven by social property over the main means of production, there was an excessively statist economy, which gradually reduced incentives to the workers' commitment and to productivity. Instead of a Party with a democratic life, with roots in the masses and drawing revolutionary strength from them, there was a bureaucratic centralism based on an administrative imposition of decisions, both within the Party and in the State, which was made worse by the fusion and confusion between State and Party functions. Instead of living and creative theory, there was dogmatisation and instrumentalisation.

Experience has thus shown that conscious and creative intervention of the popular masses is a necessary and essential condition in building a socialist society, and that the solutions which are adopted for the most diverse problems (economic forms of organization, management systems, State structures, social policies, people's participation, culture) must constantly be confronted with their results, ready to be corrected and changed when necessary, open to constant improvement and enrichment.

Experience also shows that effective exercise of power by the people, popular control and a permanent attention to expanding democracy are essential in order to prevent: a distancing of those in power from the masses; the incorrect use of political power; abuse of authority; the lack of touch of the policies and reality with the goals that Socialism defines and proclaims; deviations and deformations which are incompatible with socialism's very nature.

Socialism's defeats led to a quick and violent dismantling of socialist economic and social structures, the imposition of authoritarian and fascistic regimes, widespread impoverishment, colonisation by foreign

capital, effective loss of sovereignty in several countries. At the global level this resulted in a huge balance of forces shift in favour of capitalism, a violent exploitative and aggressive counterattack by imperialism to reconquer lost positions and impose its domination on the world, and increasing dangers for peace and peoples' freedom. The communist movement and the progressive and revolutionary forces suffered a severe setback that delayed but will not stop the process of workers' and peoples' social and national emancipation.

The history of the 20th century shows, on the one hand, that major changes and achievements of historical proportions in building Socialism and true social progress are inseparable from the Communists' struggle; and it shows, on the other hand, that the critical assimilation of revolutionary experiences, both positive and negative, is indispensable for those forces that seek to end all forms of exploitation and oppression in their own countries, and to build a socialist society.

4. In assessing the prospects for the contemporary world's social and political evolution, it is essential to take into account that whereas capitalism arose and asserted itself as the dominant system in a process that lasted for several centuries, socialism arose in the 20th century, and has only made its first historical advances during a few decades.

The capitalist system - which cannot solve Humankind's problems and ensure that the most profound yearnings and needs of the peoples are met - is historically doomed.

In a more or less long historical time span, through diverse paths and in a process that will necessarily imply redefinitions and the enrichment of the project, through the workers' and peoples' struggle for social and national emancipation, it is capitalism's replacement with socialism which continues to be a real possibility and the best prospect for Humanity's evolution.

### **Socialism: Portugal's future**

1. It is based on the multiple aspects of Portugal's reality and revolutionary experience, and critically assimilating world-wide revolutionary experience, both in its correct actions and successes as well as in its mistakes and defeats, that the PCP proposes to the Portuguese people, as a goal, the future construction of socialist society.

The PCP proposes as basic goals for the socialist revolution in Portugal: abolishing the exploitation of man by man, creating a society without antagonistic classes and inspired by humanistic values, with democracy

(with all its complementary facets: economic, social, political and cultural), the constant creative intervention of the masses in all aspects of the country's affairs, constantly heightening the level of material and spiritual well-being of working people and of people generally, ending social discrimination, inequality, injustices and social scourges, effectively implementing equal rights for men and women and with the participation of youth in the country's affairs as a dynamic and creative social force.

2. To achieve these goals, the PCP advances the following as traits of socialist society in Portugal:

- In terms of the political system, working people's power, with constant checks on the work of State bodies and forms of greater participation by the people, democratization of all the nation's affairs, guaranteed exercise of democratic liberties, including freedom of the press and of creating political parties; a legal order that protects citizen's rights, respects diverse opinions, social interests and aspirations, religious beliefs and practices; the holding of elections, with political power institutions strictly abiding by the Law; intervention and participation of the working masses in the country's political and economic management through State institutions, through democratic local government and through class, trade-union, community, political and other organizations;
- In terms of economic organisation, social ownership of the main means of production, planned management of the economy together with the initiative and direct participation of production units and workers, the coexistence of State-run, self-managed, cooperative, collective, family and individually-run forms of organization with private companies of various magnitudes, a full and definitive implementation of the Agrarian Reform fully respecting the will of farm workers and farmers, consideration of the market's role, harmonious development of the national economy's resources and branches, and of all regions, taking into account the environmental impact of development plans, the economy's dynamism and effectiveness based on the best achievements of scientific and technological progress.
- In the social sphere, the liberation of working people from all forms of oppression and exploitation, full employment, remuneration of each according to his/her labour, the right to a job and in particular a guaranteed first job for young people, guaranteed material incentives for the development of production, respect for individual property acquired as a result of one's own labour, the establishment of social relationships based on respect for each citizen's dignity and personality, development of social services, the solution of the housing problem, generalized practice of sports and a healthy use of leisure time, environmental protection, eradication of the major social scourges such as hunger, illiteracy, poverty, pollution, drugs, prostitution, trafficking of human beings, alcoholism and crime.
- In the cultural sphere, culture will become a heritage, an instrument and an activity of all the people, there

will be scientific and technological progress, expansion of artistic creation, encouragement of creativity, access of all to education and a high level of cultural democracy as a result of constantly merging the policies of the socialist State's institutions with individual and collective initiative, participation and creative activity.

- In the ethical sphere, a social and individual awareness will emerge, in accordance with the ideals of freedom, of civic duty, of respect for human dignity and for nature, of solidarity, friendship and peace.

**3.** World revolutionary experience, as well as the experience of the Portuguese revolution, has already shown that in building a new society the initiative and creativity of the revolutionary forces and of the masses of the people have a huge and at times unexpected potential, and that the solutions adopted by the political power institutions - besides having to be permanently subjected to institutional checks - must necessarily be borne out in practice and changed or corrected as required or as suggested by unfolding events or by the peoples' will.

Within the framework of its basic goals, the socialist system in Portugal will inevitably have peculiarities and original traits arising not only out of the country's objective reality, but also out of the concrete features of the class struggle, of economic, social, cultural and political development, and of prevailing international circumstances.

**4.** On the horizon of social development lies Communism - progressive Humankind's age-old dream, a classless society of abundance, social equality, freedom and culture for all, a society of collective and individual initiative and creativity, of free and conscious working people in which labour will be not merely a source of wealth, but also a creative activity and a source of joy, freedom and personal enhancement and in which peace, health, culture, leisure, a balanced environment, collective action and the value of the individual will all be components of human happiness.

#### **IV- The Party**

**1.** Being a political party and a vanguard of the working class of all working people, the Portuguese Communist Party is a patriotic and internationalist Party.

- It is patriotic because it serves the people. With its class roots in Portugal's economic, social and cultural realities, it is part and parcel of the Portuguese society and Nation, it carries forward the progressive traditions of our History. It is a Party that serves the country.



- It is internationalist because it is a party of Portuguese working people. Its interests are the same as those of working people of other countries in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and for the emancipation of humankind. It stands in solidarity with revolutionary forces. It participates with full autonomy and independence in the diverse spectrum of world revolutionary and progressive forces, and particularly in the international communist and revolutionary movement, which undergoes changes as the situation changes in the world and in the various countries and regions. Its international relations and stances on issues draw inspiration from proletarian internationalism and it sees itself as a party of the universal cause of Human liberation.

2. It is a fact of history that the Portuguese Communist Party played a decisive role in the struggle against fascist dictatorship, in creating the social and political conditions that made possible the victory of the Armed Forces Movement's military uprising on 25 April 1974, and in building and institutionalizing the new democratic regime - the regime enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic adopted by the Constituent Assembly in 1976. The PCP also played and continues to play a decisive role in defending Portuguese democracy and its gains, national independence and sovereignty.

While being a Party thoroughly engaged in the mass struggle, the PCP is at the same time a political force that is essential for the institutions to operate effectively and democratically and for the country to strengthen its democratic life. It participates actively in State institutions and structures. Having had a determining role in establishment of Local Government, it has done remarkable work in it, to serve the population. It contributes decisively, through the work of its members, to the valuable dynamism of many diverse social organizations, cultural institutions and people's structures.

The value of PCP's participation in the country's affairs arises out of the Party's class nature and of its policies, out of the correspondence between its goals and struggle, and the interests of the Portuguese people and of Portugal, out of its connection with the working people and with the masses of the people, and also out of its organizational capability, its structure, its operation, its style of work, its knowledge of reality, its creativity, its unity and cohesiveness. Other factors that contribute to the PCP's prestige and influence are its respect for commitments made to the people, as well as the honesty, consistency, moral and political uprightness and sense of responsibility that are the hallmarks of all its intervention in the country's affairs.

Internationally, the PCP's relations and intervention have been entirely at the service of the Portuguese people and of Portugal, of the cause of workers' and peoples' liberation, of the ideals of freedom, national independence, social progress, socialism and peace. The PCP invariably works for stronger cooperation,

friendship and converging stances, initiatives and action among the great revolutionary forces of today's world.

3. The PCP organizes in its ranks industrial and office workers, intellectuals, technical workers, small and medium-scale farmers, small and medium-scale business owners in commerce, industry and services, men and women fighting against capitalist exploitation and oppression and for democracy, Socialism and Communism.

All those who accept the Party's Programme and Constitution, may be members of the Portuguese Communist Party. One of their essential duties is to actively participate in one of its organizations and pay their dues.

4. The Party's organizational structure and activity - as defined and elaborated upon in its Constitution - are based on principles that - creatively developing democratic centralism, responding to new situations, and enhanced through experience - seek to ensure, simultaneously, a profound inner-Party democracy, a single general line and a single central leadership.

5. The following are fundamental organizational principles:

- Leading Party bodies, from the bottom to the top, are elected, and every collective is entitled to dismiss any person elected by it;
- Leading bodies are obliged to report regularly to their respective organizations on their work, and to carefully consider the opinions and criticisms issued by the latter as contributions to their own thinking and decisions and to improve collective work;
- The decisions of all higher-ranking bodies taken within their scope of responsibility and functions are binding to those below them, who for their part are all obliged to report to higher-ranking bodies on their work;
- Opinions are freely expressed, carefully considered and debated, seeking to ensure that the thinking, the collective work, decisions and action of Party bodies and organizations involve the participation of the largest possible number of members, and that individual contributions are included;
- Everyone implements decisions taken by consensus or majority;
- Work is collective and leadership is also collective;
- Decision-making powers and extensive scope for the initiative of all Party organisations within their scope of responsibility, considering the Party's Constitutional principles, political line and the decisions of

higher-ranking bodies;

- The Party Constitution is to be respected by all members; fractions (that is, the creation of organised groups of tendencies operating for their own initiatives, proposals or political platforms) are unacceptable.

The Party's organizational principles guarantee the participation of all members in drawing up the Party line, the effective responsibility of the leadership before the Party collective and of all organisations and members before the leadership, constructive debate with a free and frank expression of opinions, encouragement of organisations' and members' initiative, voluntary, conscious and responsible discipline, and unity - ideological unity, organizational unity, and unity in action.

These principles constitute an essential foundation of the Party's strength, cohesiveness and discipline, of its connection to the working class and to the masses of the people, of its capability to intervene in the country's life.

**6. Social and political life** - in its constant mobility - requires that the Party be capable of not only following and examining it, but also of reacting to new situations and to changing reality.

Ideological steadfastness, consistency of principles, precision in the established political line and goals, capability and readiness to change them whenever it becomes necessary, are all compatible with great tactical adaptability and flexibility.

The PCP's theoretical foundation is Marxism-Leninism, a materialistic and dialectical world view, a scientific tool to analyze reality, a guide to action that connects with practice, becomes richer and is renewed through the unceasing progress of knowledge and experience.

In developing and critically assimilating Marx, Engels and Lenin's thinking, Marxism-Leninism is necessarily creative and therefore contrary to the crystallisation of theory, to dogmatisation, as well as to the opportunist revision of its basic concepts and principles. It embodies the experiences and teachings of the whole history of the working-class movement, of Communist parties, of the October Revolution, of the other socialist revolutions, of the undertakings to build a new society, of the national liberation movement, of democratic revolutions and of all progressive development in human society.

In Marxism-Leninism, the PCP has a powerful tool with which to analyse new realities and new processes, to

enhance thought, ideological struggle and theoretical debate, and to creatively discover concrete solutions to problems, and roads leading the peoples to a better future.

By monitoring reality, examining economic, social, political and cultural transformations and changes taking place in Portuguese society and in the world, by studying new phenomena and assessing and discerning their causes, meaning and consequences, the PCP establishes its political line and its short-, medium- and long-term tasks.

7. Because the PCP is entirely at the service of the people and the country, its program corresponds to the basic interests and most heartfelt aspirations of the working class and of all working people, of farmers, intellectuals, technical workers, small- and medium-scale businesspersons, of young people, women, pensioners, elderly people, persons with disabilities, of all progressive men and women.

In proposing an advanced democracy inspired by the April [revolution's] values, the PCP proclaims: This is the Programme that we submit to the Portuguese people. If you agree with it, then come and fight with the PCP for its implementation.

The struggle to implement the PCP's Programme, by will of the Portuguese people, is the road to freedom, democracy, national independence, peace and socialism.

It is the road that is in the interests of the Portuguese people and Nation.

# PCP CONSTITUTION

(Changes approved by the XIX Congress, held on 30 November, 1 e 2 December 2012)

## Chapter I

### The Party

#### Art. 1

1. The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) founded on March 6, 1921, is the political party of the proletariat, the party of the working class and of all Portuguese workers.

2. The PCP is the vanguard of the working class and of all working people. The Party's vanguard role results from its class nature, the correctness of its analysis and political line, the project of a new society, the coherence between principles and practice, and the capacity to organize and lead the popular struggle in a constant, close and indestructible liaison with the masses, mobilizing them and winning their support.

3. The PCP organizes in its ranks the industrial and office workers, small and medium farmers, intellectuals and technical workers, small and medium shopkeepers and industrialists, the men and women who fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression, for democracy, for Socialism and Communism.

4. The Portuguese Communist Party, through the identification of its ideals and objectives with the Portuguese people's most heartfelt aspirations and with national interests, is the legitimate pursuer of the Portuguese people's best traditions of struggle and of their progressive and revolutionary achievements throughout their History.

#### Art. 2

The PCP has Marxism-Leninism as its theoretical basis: a materialist and dialectical view of the world, a scientific tool to analyze reality and a guide for action which is being constantly enriched and under renewal, giving answers to new phenomenal situations, processes and trends of development. In articulation with events and with the incessant progress of knowledge, this view of the world is necessarily creative and, for this reason, contrary to any dogmatization as well as to the opportunistic revision of its fundamental principles and concepts.

#### Art. 3

1. The Portuguese Communist Party educates its members and carries out its activity in the spirit of loyalty to the cause of the working class, of the working people and of the Portuguese people and to the defense of national interests.

2. The Portuguese Communist Party views its national tasks and its internationalist duties as inseparable and complementary. It orients its members and its activity in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, of cooperation between the Communist parties and revolutionary and progressive forces, of solidarity with the workers of others countries and with the peoples in struggle against exploitation and political, social and national oppression, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism, xenophobia and fascism - for freedom, democracy, social progress, national independence, peace and socialism.

#### **Art. 4**

The Party's strength lies essentially in a correct political line, in its ideological, political and organizational cohesion, in the organized activity of its members, in inner-Party democracy and collective work, in its profound links with the workers and the masses of the people and in the active support which it receives from the former and the latter.

#### **Art. 5**

The PCP has as its supreme objectives building Socialism and Communism in Portugal, thus making it possible to put an end to the exploitation of man by man and ensuring the Portuguese people effective political power, well-being, culture, the equality of citizens' rights and the respect for human beings, freedom and peace. The Party's action and identity are inseparable from these goals and from the Communist ideal.

#### **Art. 6**

At present, and following on the program of the democratic and national revolution adopted by the PCP's Sixth Congress, and on the ideas, gains and historic achievements of the April revolution, the PCP fights for an advanced democracy - the values of [the! April [1974 Revolution! in the future of Portugal, which is at the same time a political, an economic, a social and a cultural democracy with five fundamental components or goals:

1. a regime of freedom in which the people decide their own future and a democratic, representative and modern State;
2. an economic development based on a mixed, modern and dynamic economy, free of the monopolist domain , serving the people and the country;

3. a social policy to provide better living conditions for the people;
4. a cultural policy that guarantees access to the creation and fruition of culture;
5. an independent and sovereign country with a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with all peoples.

#### **Art. 7**

The struggle to defend the April revolution's gains, to materialize its values, and for an advanced democracy, is an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

#### **Art. 8**

1. In order to achieve a more profound democracy and to build socialism, workers' unity is absolutely necessary.

2. The Portuguese society's evolution indicates that the basic social alliances are, today, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry - small and medium farmers - and the alliance between the working class and the intellectuals and other middle strata.

3. In the struggle to defend and extend democracy, the PCP is engaged in creating a vast social front encompassing the working class, white-collar workers, intellectuals and technical staff, the small and medium farmers, the small and medium shopkeepers, industrial and service entrepreneurs, as well as women, young people, old age and other pensioners, the disabled, social forces which take part in the country's life with their specific aspirations and goals.

4. The PCP fights to ensure that the political expression of the system of social alliances and of the social front may translate into the convergence and unity of the democratic and patriotic forces.

### **Chapter II**

#### **Party Members, Their Rights and Duties**

#### **Art. 9**

All those who accept the Party Programme and Constitution can become members of the Portuguese Communist Party. Their fundamental duties are participation in the activities of one of the Party organizations and the payment of dues.

#### **Art. 10**

1. Affiliation to the Party is on an individual basis.
2. The proposed affiliation of a new member must be seconded by at least one Party member who knows him/her and who will testify as to his/her integrity.
3. If the applicant does not know any Party member who may assess his/her application, the Party organization which must decide on the application will try to obtain, with the applicant's cooperation, the necessary basic information.
4. The applicant must be given the Party Programme and Constitution.
5. Admissions must be decided by a Party organization that will inform the new member, decide on the organization to which he/she shall belong, agree upon the dues that he/she shall pay and give him/her the Party members' card.

#### **Art. 11**

1. Party membership is terminated for those who leave the Party, those who, due to an obvious mistake, were unduly admitted and those who having ceased to take part in the Party's life, have not had their membership card renewed twice in succession for unjustified reasons for which they are responsible.
2. Those decisions are taken by the leading body of the relevant organization and must be ratified by a higher body. Appeals can be submitted to the Central Control Committee.

#### **Art. 12**

Party members cannot belong to other political parties or partisan organizations.

#### **Art. 13**

All Party members have equal duties and rights.

#### **Art. 14**

Party members duties, besides the fundamental duties mentioned in Article 9, are to:

- a) act in accordance with the Party Constitution;
- b) contribute to materialize the Party Programme, to implement the Party's political line and to strengthen its organization, prestige and influence;
- c) defend the Party's unity and cohesion;
- d) regularly take part in their body's or organization's meetings and activities;
- e) improve their knowledge of the environment in which their activity is carried out and convey it to the



Party, strengthening their links with the workers, with members of other laboring classes and the community, defending their just demands and yearnings;

*f)* regularly account for their activity;

*g)* recruit new members for the Party;

*h)* read, help circulate and ensure the reading of the Party's press - *Avante!* and *O Militante* - and documents;

*i)* seek to enhance their cultural, political and ideological level; *j)* practice and encourage criticism and self-criticism;

*k)* renew their Party card, in their organization;

*l)* protect and defend confidential matters relating to inner-Party life;

*m)* have an ethically correct conduct towards the Party and society;

*n)* inform the organization to which they belong in case of change in working or home address, and if this change implies moving to a different organization, to seek contact with the new Party organization to which they should belong.

#### **Art. 15**

Party members have the right to:

*a)* freely express their opinions in the debates carried out in the organization to which they belong, in their organization's Plenary Meetings, in the Assemblies, Conferences and Congresses to which they are elected and in all Party meetings which they attend; contribute to define the Party's political line and criticize, in their Party organization and in Party meetings which they attend, the activity of their organization, of any other Party organization or of any Party member, regardless of his/her post;

*b)* take part in elections held in their organization and make proposals, elect and be elected;

*c)* be informed about the guidelines and general activity of the Party, as well as of the leadership body of their organization;

*d)* consult the Party's higher-ranking bodies, namely through their organization, or directly, if considered necessary, on all matters which they consider of interest to the Party;

*e)* be heard (in accordance with Article 61) whenever charged with breaches of discipline and appeal to higher-ranking bodies about any decision of a disciplinary nature which has been imposed on them;

*f)* take part in the meetings of the organization to which they belong when resolutions on their activity or conduct are taken;

*g)* present proposals and points of view and request information from any higher-ranking body, including the Central Committee, and to receive a reply within a reasonable time span.

## **Chapter III**

### **Organizational Principles**

#### **Art. 16**

1. The Party's organizational structure and functioning are based on principles which, creatively developing democratic centralism, responding to new situations and enriched by experience, seek to simultaneously ensure the basic characteristics of a profound inner-Party democracy and a single general line and a single central leadership.

2. The following are fundamental organizational principles:

- a) the election of all Party leadership bodies, from the bottom to the top, and the right of any collective to withdraw the mandate of those they have elected;
- b) leading bodies are compelled to regularly report their activity to their organizations and give detailed consideration to the opinions and criticisms which the latter express as a contribution to their own analysis and decisions, and to improve the collective nature of their activity;
- c) higher-ranking bodies' resolutions taken within their powers and responsibilities are mandatory for lower-ranking bodies and all organizations must account to higher-ranking bodies for their activity;
- d) opinions must be freely voiced, considered and debated, seeking to ensure that as many members as possible take part and that individual contributions are integrated in the collective work, analysis, decision-making and activity of Party bodies and organizations;
- e) all must abide by decisions taken by consensus or by a majority;
- f) collective work and collective leadership;
- g) all Party organizations have decision-making powers and the broadest possible initiative within their sphere of action, within the framework of the Party's constitutional principles of the Party's political line, and the resolutions of higher-ranking bodies.
- h) The respect for the Party's constitutional principles by all Party members and the inadmissibility of fractions - understood as the formation of organized groups or tendencies - which carry out activities centered on their own political platforms or proposals.

#### **Art. 17**

Exceptionally and temporarily, and if properly justified, co-opting or appointments may be used to create or re-create party bodies, in part or in full. The opinion of Party bodies to which members which are to be co-opted or appointed belong, and of the organizations with which they work directly must be considered, and

the relevant organization must be informed. Should these reorganizations involve a large number of the body's members, elections must be held as soon as possible.

#### **Art. 18**

A body in charge of a certain sector is considered more responsible than all those in charge of only a part of that sector.

#### **Art. 19**

1. The Party must promote greater responsibility for each organization, in their sphere of action, namely by decentralizing powers and by stimulating and assisting the organizations and cadres in the exercise of these powers.

2. Both centralist tendencies, which decrease the spirit of initiative of organizations with less responsibilities, and sectorialist tendencies, which hinder the unity of action, the effectiveness and the higher and more general Party interest, must be opposed within the Party.

#### **Art. 20**

All members and in particular the leadership bodies are responsible for stimulating and promoting a free and frank debate of the Party's problems, realities, guidelines and activity in the meeting of Party bodies and organizations, with the normal acceptance and consideration for differences of opinion, as well as a guaranteed right to disagree, criticize and make proposals. These are essential conditions for the development of Party work, for achieving the unity in thought and action of the whole Party, for the existence of a conscientious and voluntary discipline.

#### **Art. 21**

1. The Party encourages its members to respect collective opinions and decisions, stimulates and values each member's study, analysis, participation and contribution, opposes, at all levels, individualism in Party work, immodesty, the imposition of personal opinions and decisions upon collective opinions, the refusal to be held accountable for one's activities, authoritarianism, bullying attitudes and personality cults.

2. Collective leadership responsibilities do not eliminate, but rather imply, individual responsibility and the initiative of each Party member.

#### **Art. 22**

1. Criticism and self-criticism must be encouraged and practiced in all Party bodies and organizations, as a

means of perfecting work, overcoming shortcomings, correcting mistakes educating members and strengthening the collective.

2. Criticism and self-criticism, both individual and collective, should be a common and natural procedure and not a formal compulsory attitude.

3. The right to criticize in accordance with the Party's rules of conduct cannot be prevented, and any act of discrimination due to the exercise of that right is unacceptable.

### **Art. 23**

1. Party cadres - Party members who exercise more important functions at various levels, and in various sectors of activity - have an important role in the Party's activity.

2. The Party must promote and implement, at all levels, the preparation and training of cadres. It must be rigorous and objective in assessing, knowing and promoting them. It must be uncompromising with preferences due to personal friendship or family relations and oppose any careerist or individualist tendencies. It must justly value those members who are firm, honest, dedicated to the Party, linked to the masses; who have a spirit of solidarity, and revealed capability in defending the interests of the workers, the people, the country, the ideals of Socialism and Communism.

3. In order to be acquainted with, and correctly assess, cadres and their characteristics, it is important to ensure that any information given is rigorous and unbiased, and to take into account not just the opinions of higher-ranking bodies, but also those of Party members from other bodies who directly contact those cadres.

### **Art. 24**

1. In order to carry out its activity, and as a major contribution to its fundamental traits, the Party needs firm and dedicated full-time cadres, who give their efforts, capabilities, knowledge and experience to the Party's work in a great diversity of tasks and at different levels of responsibility, as part and parcel of the collective work of the Party bodies and organizations in which they work.

2. Particular care and assistance must be given to the Party workers' political, ideological, cultural and technical preparation, taking into account the Party's needs and possibilities and the tasks they perform.

### **Art. 25**

Leadership bodies at all levels have the following responsibilities and duties:

- a)* to meet regularly, take the initiative and decide within their sphere of action and to convey to their organization information about their decisions and activities;
- b)* to be acquainted in a detailed way, with their sector of activity and, in particular, with the problems affecting the workers and the people among which they work;
- c)* to entrust members with duties and monitor their work;
- d)* to ensure that their decisions and the decisions of higher-ranking Party bodies are carried out;
- e)* to strengthen the organizations that operate under their leadership, and create new organizations;
- f)* to guide and provide practical assistance to bodies, organizations and cadres that operate under their leadership, particularly as regards their work among the masses and in organizing their struggles;
- g)* to be acquainted with, train and objectively and unbiasedly assess the Party cadres that operate under their leadership and seek to make the best use of their virtues and aptitudes when tasks are distributed;
- h)* to promote participation; encourage debate; extend inner-Party democracy; paying special attention and taking into account Party members' opinions, conveying them as appropriate; foment criticism and self-criticism;
- i)* to organize the collection of membership dues and the masses' financial assistance to the Party; *j)* to defend and protect Party property;
- k)* to extend the circulation and readership of "Avante!", "O Militante" and other Party publications and to publish by their own means educational, informational and propaganda documents; *l)* to enhance members' political and cultural standards and their knowledge and to promote the study of Marxism-Leninism and of the Party's major documents; *m)* to be vigilant in relation to activities against the Party.

## **Chapter IV**

### **The Party's Highest-Ranking Organs**

#### **Art. 26**

The Party's highest-ranking organs, at a national level, are the Congress and the Central Committee and its executive bodies.

#### **Art. 27**

**1.** The Congress is the Party's highest-ranking organ.

**2.** The Congress is constituted by delegates from the Party's bodies, elected in proportion to the number of

members of each organization, as well as, by inherent right, by out-going Central Committee members and the Party members in the National Leadership of the Portuguese Communist Youth (JCP), and also by a limited number of delegates appointed by the Central Committee.

3. Congress deliberations are taken by a majority vote of Congress delegates.

4. Congresses shall be held no more than 4 years apart, unless exceptional circumstances arise.

5. The Central Committee is responsible for convening and organizing the Congress. It will draft and adopt the terms of representation, the rules for the preparatory stage and draft Congress rules.

6. Extraordinary Congresses may be held by decision of the Central Committee, who will establish their purpose and agenda.

#### **Art. 28**

Concluding the debate which must necessarily take place throughout the whole Party during the preparatory stage, the Ordinary Congresses will:

- a) adopt its rules, elect the Congress Presidium and other Congress committees and adopt the agenda;
- b) assess the Central Committee's reports and proposals, as well as proposals presented by the delegates in accordance with the Congress rules, adopting any relevant resolutions;
- c) confirm, adopt or amend the Party Programme and Constitution;
- d) define the Party's political line and take any decisions it considers necessary concerning the Party's affairs, its line and organization;
- e) elect the Party's Central Committee, based on the incumbent Central Committee's proposal which the delegates will analyse. Delegates can make proposals in accordance with the rules adopted by the Congress.

#### **Art. 29**

1. In drawing up the proposal for the new Central Committee to be elected by the Congress, the Central Committee must undertake a broad consultation of Party cadres, specifically among the leading bodies of Regional or District Organizations, the leadership bodies of major sectors and other organizations.

2. In relation to every candidate who is to be included in the proposal for a new Central Committee, the opinion of his/her Party body and of those bodies with which he/she directly works, or has worked recently,

must be considered.

### **Art. 30**

The Central Committee may convene and organize National Party Conferences (establishing their purpose, terms of preparation and representation and procedural terms). These will have powers to define policies relating to their Agenda, without however, changing the political line adopted by the Congress.

### **Art. 31**

1. The Central Committee is the Party body that leads the Party's activity between Congresses and is responsible for defining the major guidelines for the Party's political, ideological and organizational work, in accordance with Congress guidelines and resolutions.

2. The executive bodies elected by the Central Committee must, within their powers and sphere of action: provide the day-to-day guidelines and the concrete decisions relating to the implementation of the political line and resolutions adopted by the Party Congress and Central Committee, to political and mass work, to the distribution of leading cadres; to overseeing the implementation by the various organizations of the decisions taken by the Party's top bodies; to supervise cadre training, discipline, information and propaganda, the Party's press, publishing activity, international relations and the management of the Party's property and financial resources.

### **Art. 32**

1. Between Congresses, the Central Committee may co-opt new members, in accordance with Article 17.

2. The Central Committee may invite other Party members to attend its meetings, in whole or in part, without voting rights.

### **Art. 33**

The Central Committee will hold its meetings as regularly as possible, with intervals not usually exceeding 4 months. Meetings are normally convened by any of its executive bodies or, exceptionally, under terms decided by the Central Committee itself.

### **Art. 34**

1. The Central Committee elects from among its full members a Political Committee of the Central Committee, a Central Committee Secretariat and a Central Control Commission.

2. The Political Committee of the Central Committee is responsible for the Party's political leadership between Central Committee meetings, and directly ensures the supervision of regional organizations and other major sectors of the Party's organization and activity.

3. The Central Committee Secretariat supervises and conducts day-to-day work, is responsible for allocating cadres and supervises the materialization of current tasks indicated by the Central Committee.

4. The Central Control Commission is responsible for overseeing the constitutionality of Party activity, for intervening to solve cadre problems and particularly complex problems, acts as an appellate body for any organization or member, and monitors the Party's finances.

#### **Art. 35**

The Central Committee may elect, from among its members, a Party General Secretary.

#### **Art. 36**

The Central Committee and its executive bodies may create and supervise Commissions and other bodies considered necessary to ensure the materialization of Party guidelines and current tasks, defining their terms of reference.

#### **Art. 37**

Executive and other bodies created by the Central Committee must account for their activities and regularly inform the Central Committee about the fundamental aspects of their exercise of powers.

#### **Art. 38**

The Central Committee, like other leading bodies, shall be renewed in accordance with the Party's interest and Party cadres' lives, tasks and evolution.

### **Chapter V**

#### **The Party's Intermediate Organizational Structure**

#### **Art. 39**

1. The Party is structured nationally on a territorial basis. This structure shall usually correspond to the country's administrative boundaries.



2. Within this national framework the Party Organization shall be preferentially structured by workplace, but it may also be structured by place of residence, nature of its activity, or other sphere of action of its members, always taking into account the specific conditions which prevail, when defining forms of organization.

#### **Art. 40**

1. The Assembly is the highest-ranking organ of regional, district, municipal, parish, local, area, trade or branch-of-activity organizations, as well as of insular organizations in the Autonomous Regions.

2. Assemblies shall be composed by representatives elected in their respective organizations and by inherent right, by their respective leadership body.

3. Assemblies will adopt their own procedural rules, assess their past activity, establish their guidelines for future activity and elect their leadership.

4. In smaller organizations, the direct participation of all members in the Assembly can be envisaged.

#### **Art. 41**

1. Assemblies are convened and organized by the leadership body of their organization, which will establish the terms of representation and draft procedural rules. They must be held at regular intervals, not exceeding the maximum period established for Party Congresses.

2. Extraordinary assemblies may be held, by decision and convened by the leadership body, which will establish their purpose. Any body may propose to the higher-ranking body that an Extraordinary Assembly of the organization over which it presides be convened. If the proposal is accepted, the higher-ranking body will ensure that it is convened.

3. In abnormal situations, Assemblies may be convened by higher-ranking bodies.

#### **Art. 42**

Assemblies of Organizations in the Autonomous Regions may be called Regional Congresses. They have the power to define, within the framework of the Party's political line, the specific guidelines for their Autonomous Regions, which result from the Constitutional existence of self-governing organs.

#### **Art.43**

1. Party members who, despite belonging to a higher-ranking body, have leadership work in a given organization as their main and regular task may be elected to the leading bodies of that organization.
2. The leadership bodies may appoint one of their members to work with any body in the organizations over which they preside.

#### **Art. 44**

The Central Committee and its executive bodies as well as the leaderships of Regional or District Organizations, within their scope of action, may decide the creation of structures that do not coincide with the country's administrative division or with the organization's regular levels, in particular to address specific spheres of work and to provide temporary or stable coordination (cells of a single company, organizations of a common branch of activity and others), defining their functions, powers and the bodies under which they will work.

#### **Art. 45**

1. Besides the regular meetings of Party bodies, Party organizations have other forms of work such as plenary meetings, cadre meetings and others.
2. Leading bodies at various levels may create standing or temporary working commissions that stimulate members' participation, with a view to dealing with aspects of the Party's activity or initiatives or to study specific issues.

### **Chapter VI**

#### **The Party's Rank and File Organizations**

#### **Art. 46**

Cells are the Party's rank and file organizations, its foundations and fundamental link with the working class, with working people, with the masses of the people. They are the Party's essential pillar in promoting, guiding and developing mass actions and struggles.

#### **Art. 47**

Cells are made up of all Party members, numbering not less than three, who are organized in companies and other work places, in places of residence, in social and professional sectors and in the most diverse areas of administrative, social/cultural and other activities.

#### **Art. 48**

As a means of increasing the efficiency of their activity and work, cells should be structured in nuclei, whenever their number of members, conditions of work or the nature of the place where they operate justifies and allows it.

#### **Art. 49**

The prevailing conditions must be taken into account when considering the concrete sphere of action of each cell or grassroots organization and the operational structure which best ensures their political work and activity.

#### **Art. 50**

1. Assemblies are the highest cell organ and assess their activity, define guidelines and elect the cell Secretariat.
2. Cell Secretariats lead the cells' work and must regularly account for their activity to the cell members, the cell Assembly and the leading body directly above them.

#### **Art. 51**

Besides the general rights and duties, referred to in articles 14 and 15, and the general competences mentioned in article 25 and which are relevant for the concrete prevailing situation, cell Secretariats and the cells themselves, must:

- a) meet regularly, debate, publicize and materialize the Party's political line and guidelines;
- b) keep in close contact with the masses and work towards their unity, mobilization and organization in the struggle to defend their interests;
- c) make new recruitments to the Party's ranks;
- d) promote the readership and directly organize the circulation of "Avante!", "O Militante" and other Party publications and publish and circulate other information concerning its sphere of activities;
- e) care for the regular payment of dues by cell members and organize fund-raising activities for the Party;
- f) contribute to define the Party's political line;
- g) be acquainted with the situation in their sectors and keep the higher-ranking bodies informed on issues of interest to the Party's general activity.

#### **Art. 52**

Party members living abroad may create cells and other forms of organization, in accordance with the concrete situations which prevail.

## **Chapter VII**

### **Party Member's Work in Mass Organizations and Movements**

#### **Art. 53**

1. Party members who are active in mass organizations and movements (trade unions and other class and professional organizations, cooperatives, sports and recreational clubs, cultural institutions, and others) must act, in accordance with the Party's guidelines, to defend the interests of those organizations' members and of the masses, respecting, defending and complying with the autonomy, the broad-based nature and the democratic life of the organizations and movements in which they take part.

2. Behaviour which does not take into consideration the responsibilities of Communists towards the members of those organizations and movements and towards the masses, as well as behaviour which illudes responsibilities towards the Party, must be opposed.

## **Chapter VIII**

### **Party Members Elected for Public Office**

#### **Art. 54**

1. Party members elected for public office (Parliament, Regional Legislative Assemblies, Local Government, European Parliament and other organs or institutions) on tickets sponsored or supported by the Party will, in discharging their functions, act according to the political guidelines laid down by the Central Committee and, at the various territorial levels, by the respective leading bodies. It is their political and moral duty to always be accountable for their activity and to always have their mandates at the Party's disposal.

2. Party members elected for public office should, in discharging their functions and with a broad spirit of initiative, make every effort and do everything to defend the people's interests, coordinating their institutional activity with the Party's mass activity and informing the voters about their activity.

3. Party members elected to public office are politically accountable to the Party in the organizational structures to which they belong.

4. Party members should not financially benefit or lose out from holding public office to which they have been elected.

## **Chapter IX**

### **The Party and the Youth**

#### **Art. 55**

1. It is a duty of the Party to extend its roots and influence among the youth; to strengthen its activity among young people; to defend their interests and rights; to struggle to achieve their yearnings; to encourage the development of the youth movement and of youth struggles; to contribute towards a more active, and organizationally, politically and ideologically stronger Portuguese Communist Youth (JCP); to encourage the Party's permanent renewal.

2. The Portuguese Communist Youth (JCP), which is an autonomous organization of young Communists, carries out its activity within the framework of the Party's general political line with a great degree of self-initiative and decision-making. It is its duty to inform, unite, organize and mobilize young people to struggle for their rights and yearnings, for the interests of the workers, the people and the country, for freedom, democracy, national independence, peace, Socialism and Communism.

## **Chapter X**

### **Party Discipline**

#### **Art. 56**

Party discipline is based on the acceptance of the Party's Programme and Constitution, within the context of respect for organizational principles. It is an essential factor for the development of the Party's political action, mass influence, unity, fighting spirit, strength and prestige.

#### **Art. 57**

Party discipline is the same for all members, regardless of which organization or body they belong to.

#### **Art. 58**

Party members who violate Party discipline are subject to disciplinary sanctions.

#### **Art. 59**

Exceptionally, Party members may be suspended from Party activities, as a preventive and precautionary measure, but without a punitive nature, whenever there is strong evidence that serious offences have been committed. Such a step cannot exceed 60 days with a single possible extension for another period of equal length.

#### **Art. 60**

No sanctions or precautionary suspension may be imposed without a prior hearing where the Party member in question may present his/her case to the competent bodies, unless this is blatantly impossible or is refused by the member.

#### **Art. 61**

1. Party members are punished according to their responsibility and the seriousness of the offence committed.

2. The purpose of sanctions is to strengthen the unity, discipline and revolutionary morale of the Party and of each of its members.

#### **Art. 62**

All disciplinary sanctions, as well as precautionary suspensions, can be appealed to higher-ranking bodies. The latter must inform the Party members who were sanctioned or suspended of their decision.

#### **Art. 63**

1. Disciplinary sanctions against Party members as well as precautionary suspensions may be decided by their own Party body, by their organization's leadership body or a higher-ranking body. The next highest-ranking body must necessarily be informed by the body which took the decision.

2. Disciplinary sanctions against Party members are the following:

- a) censure;
- b) diminished responsibilities;
- c) suspension from the Party activities, up to a maximum period of one year;
- d) expulsion from the Party.

3. The disciplinary measures in items a), b) and c) must be ratified by the Party body ranking immediately

above that which decided the sanction. The disciplinary measure in item *d*), after assessment by the next highest-ranking body, is decided or ratified by the Central Committee, or by the Executive Body which was entrusted with this competence.

4. The Central Control Commission must be informed of all disciplinary sanctions. The Central Committee, after consulting with the body which took the disciplinary measures, may change or declare null any sanctions, or precautionary suspensions, even when there has not been an appeal.

#### **Art. 64**

All disciplinary sanctions against Central Committee members are decided by the Central Committee.

#### **Art. 65**

Expulsion is the most serious punishment that can be imposed on any Party member and should only be used in those cases where the Party's life and principles are seriously affected. When a decision regards a Central Committee member, it must be taken by at least two thirds of the Central Committee's active full members.

#### **Art. 66**

In case of any expulsion or termination of Party membership, devolution of the membership card must be requested.

#### **Art. 67**

Readmission of individuals who have been expelled from the Party must be analyzed by the Central Control Commission, and its decision analyzed by the Central Committee or other body it may entrust.

#### **Art. 68**

Only the Central Committee, or the Executive body which it may entrust with this competence, may decide to publicize Party sanctions.

### **Chapter XI**

#### **The Party Press**

#### **Art. 69**

1. The Party press is a tool for its organizational work; for political and ideological guidance and education;

to inform and publicize its activity; and to give news, analyze and debate national and international issues.

2. The Central Committee's executive bodies are responsible for the editorial board of "Avante!", the Party's Central organ, of "O Militante", as well as of other national publications.

3. Bulletins and other publications for which leadership bodies at various levels are responsible, seek to ensure a broader publicization of the Party's political line and to vividly respond to specific problems in their areas of activity.

## **Chapter XII**

### **Party Funds**

#### **Art. 70**

Party funds come from dues received from its members; from Party-sponsored initiatives; from fund-raising campaigns; from the contributions of its members elected to public office, as well as from Party members and supporters; from various contributions; from the sales of its publications and from the subsidies to which it is legally entitled.

#### **Art. 71**

The Central Committee must present the Congress with a balance sheet. Leading bodies will also present the balance sheet to the Assemblies of their respective organizations.

## **Chapter XIII**

### **Party Symbols**

#### **Art. 72**

The Portuguese Communist Party flag is a rectangular red cloth, in the centre of which is a golden, crossed hammer and sickle, the symbol of work and of the alliance between the workers and the peasants; to the top left, embroidered in gold, is the five-pointed red star which is the symbol of proletarian internationalism; below the hammer and sickle are the words "Partido Comunista Português" embroidered in gold. Stitched to the top left, are two ribbons in the national colours: one green and other red.

#### **Art. 73**

The Party anthem is "The International".