

CML P

ABOUT THE CURRENT SITUATION

Published: **The Bolshevik No.24** November 1974. Reproduced at
<https://1969revolucaoessaca.blogspot.com/2019/12/1971-10-01-guerra-do-povo-guerra.html#more>

Transcription, Editing and Markup: Paul Saba and Sam Richards

Copyright: This work is in the Public Domain under the Creative Commons Common Deed. You can freely copy, distribute and display this work; as well as make derivative and commercial works. Please credit the Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line as your source, include the url to this work, and note any of the transcribers, editors & proof-readers above.

Statement by the Political Commission of the Central Commission

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

The long years of war of colonial aggression were also the years of the consolidation of monopoly power in Portugal. Slowly, through a long process of pressure, fusion and "marriage" with the big national, Africanist and landlord bourgeoisie against the medium and small, imperialism, supported by the fascist government and later dominating it through all the mechanics of aid. the colonial war, it was taking over the country: liquidation of the economic structures of agriculture, creation of an artificial economic system of foreign import offset by the exportation of the prey goods in the colonies, the tourism and emigrant currencies, growth of inflation, subsidies to the large exporters and importers to maintain prices, progressive liquidation of small and even medium-sized enterprises, by virtue of monopolistic concentration and competitive action, in short, the creation of economic chaos. It was this latter process which we underlined that removed from the part of the bourgeoisie most embellished with imperialism (understood to be dominated) its social base, the petty bourgeoisie, of merchants and officials, and some medium - precipitating the contradiction that was already emerging among themselves, old the latifundist and colonialist bourgeoisie, and the part of the average, fattened in its shadow, transformed into the new business bourgeoisie all focused on production, aware of its privileges, though less dependent. This, fattened with the cake of colonial overexploitation, as it saw its share shortening with the progress of the colonial war, the diminishing national share smelled the danger. In time, the reformers' collaboration with their entire support machine, played the big deal: dismissed the unstable government of Marcelo, puppet in the service of those who were in turn in the upper millstone, took power in socks with reformism, his confrere of adventures, and prepared to grin his teeth at competing imperialism by

forcing you to negotiate, agree, yield, or at least share. The situation is however extremely serious at the moment.

- The colonial war threatens to compromise its plans, which are already little easy to put into practice.

Inflation is rampant and unstoppable unless a blow to the rule of monopolistic imperialism in Portugal is vibrated with a part of which it is nonetheless committed.

"Popular support, after the great euphoria of 'carnation liberation' threatens to flee. In order to survive in power, the new bourgeoisie needs to increase the rate of exploitation urgently. This clashes with the difficulties created by the old corporate economic and fiscal system. This is opposed by the instinctive popular struggle for bread.

The government is hastily trying to rebuild a strong social base: aid to small and medium enterprises. This, however, also requires a strong government, a government that undermines democracy, which fights the strike struggle and also resolves the internal contradictions of the bourgeoisie by putting a point of order in the fears and adventures of the various interest groups that compose it. It is the attempt by Palma Carlos, the man of bourgeois democracy who tried to free himself from the weight of the reformist alliance. Some years of repression of "extremism" would have, according to the views of their interest group, created in Portugal the economic conditions for a broader democracy, but the contradictions at stake were too strong: the bourgeoisie now fears popular revolt. Attentive reformism takes advantage and advances the letter of Russian social-imperialist aid. It promises to repress the struggle for bread by deluding itself - like all the petty bourgeoisie - with the future rident of "a democratic and petty-bourgeois Portugal". The great inter-imperialist combat begins. In order not to lose everything, the bourgeoisie advances another "great concession", the promise of the end of the colonial war! It's the end of the nightmare for moms, wives, dads. The neo-colonial door is wide open. Popular support is restored, but foreign imperialism has gained ground over the most coveted prey. And also reinforces the reformist weight. The basic contradictions continue and develop: the impoverished national economy is disorganized in the taste of the mechanics of class struggle, a fact that terrorizes bosses who are used to 50 years of security, albeit a false one: Giving ground in the struggle for peace; bourgeoisie tries to recover it in the fundamental sector: the struggle for Bread and Freedom. The cost of living will increase and popular repression will begin. The great struggle for the earth is awakening. Dreams in the new bourgeoisie, expressed in the MFA, risk flying. The very instability of the revisionist alliance makes them think of the advantages of fascism. In this country, the bourgeoisie has to immolate itself in order to survive if it wants to retain a minimum of popular support. This is the great contradiction: attacking the power of monopolies is the only condition of bourgeois, national, democratic government; but it is also an attack on their own interests, so intertwined with foreigners, they risk going through the air. Constituting a new social base of support, it obliges the new bourgeoisie to give real aid to small businesses by genuinely strengthening the commercial, industrial and employee petty bourgeoisie. This, however, cannot be

done when the reinforcement of bourgeois economic power pushes capitalism towards industrial and commercial concentration, which in turn means that small enterprises cannot survive. The trade union struggle, on the other hand, in the form of the popular struggle for bread, is a battering ram aimed at the heart of this new bourgeoisie in the capitalist social system. If prices go up the fight rekindles.

The new bourgeoisie in Portugal needs a strong government to survive in power, it needs a paternalistic democracy, a mitigated dictatorship. Bourgeois democracy cannot be realized in Portugal for lack of sufficient development of the productive forces under its control and the survival of the present government is only due to revisionist collaboration and social democratic opportunism.

The gallop of capital in Portugal faces the contradictions of the decay of world imperialism. Having reached its supreme stage, imperialism, the system of capitalist exploitation opens cracks at full speed and width. Victim of its own contradictions, imperialism disguises its claws with cotton to try desperately to survive them. It does so instinctively. It was Portugal, it was Greece, Ethiopia, maybe it's Spain. It is certainly in Cyprus that Turkey shows the Yanque tooth. Different in the way the pseudo-democratic process broke out, they coincide in the ends and mechanisms set in motion: they mean the retreat of imperialism (and a certain advance of social imperialism), a calculated retreat, a pause for attack, a retreat which will be fatal to her however and portends a new inter-imperialist world war.

The bourgeois interests, at this historic moment in Portugal, count on the collaboration and the ideological weight of 50 years of terrorist repression, and alongside this weight, with a party that seeks to exploit it to its satisfaction, to the satisfaction of the petty bourgeoisie of the social-imperialism it represents - the so-called communist party of Álvaro Cunhal.

The class consciousness of the workers, the awareness of the high degree of strong exploitation and strengthened more and more in the new political situation. The revolutionary political consciousness, the consciousness no longer of degree but of exploitation itself, is still weak. Tied by bourgeois ideology in 50 years of fierce repression, now deluded by the reformist promises after April 25, the exploited easily fell into the struggle for the sheer diminution of exploitation, the trade unionist, trade unionist struggle, as in teaches history through Lenin's mouth. The bourgeoisie will soon reap these fruits.

It is this situation which, however, the revisionists, spokesmen for their pacts with the rest of the bourgeoisie in power, find unsatisfactory and excessively "revolutionary" and want to repress. Everyone at one shout "here d'el king that if, ruins the national economy". That is, the capitalist economy, its common interests of exploiters. Each in turn shakes the scarecrow of the 'economic chaos', sometimes the scarecrow of the 'return to fascism'. It is the scarecrow of your own fear. Soon they will move from fear to provocation.

Disorganized, trapped in its own contradictions and devoid of a leading Party, the working class, and with it the exploited masses, cringes under the threat. But soon he rises again, missing the bread. Gradually revisionism is forced to repress more blatantly, to abandon without shame the ragged rags of the flag of struggle, to

take on the face of the “guardian of bourgeois peace”, the defender of the bourgeois order, since there is no other order in the capitalist system. .

If it is great because the political disorientation of the masses, if it generates (and is at the same time provoked) the sluggish organization of its vanguard of struggle the Communist Party - teaches us the dialectic which, likewise, is its greatness revolutionary energy for unleashing. It is for the organized and demolishing release of this energy that the Communists fight. It is not, as some think, a war against time, but a war on the side of time, which is the same as on the side of history. The bourgeoisie has already set in motion its armies of war and repression.

Spinola, Galvao de Melo and other spokesmen of the old overthrown bourgeoisie, Trojan horses of the great reactionary capital change tactics: they throw away the democratic and liberal mask and take back the Palma flag, that of the strong government, pre-announcing a return to fascism. Alongside a puppet popular support, which is not indifferent to the mass of frightened petty bourgeoisie and the rural and urban sub-proletariat, they assemble the masquerade of the “silent majority” and provoke the great affront of 28 September. Too late though. This time, the weight of social-imperialism is too strong and imperialism hesitates to engage in adventure. The People, in turn, sniff the danger instinctively and stucco out. The government is caught in the tongs and fragments. The fascist intent aborts and social imperialism reinforces their positions. Torn by contradictions, the unstable equilibrium of the MFA recomposes more to the left. The dismissal of Spinola - the last act of the intent - aborts also in order to provoke the reactionary civil war in his abandonment speech. Vasco Gonçalves, Melo Antunes, Pinheiro, etc., jacks of social-imperialism, climb the last stages and take the reins of power euphorically. Costa Gomes covers their backs betraying their former allies and trying to sell themselves to the strongest. Once the danger of fascist restoration was overcome and waged with reformist aid, that of popular insurrection, the bourgeois democratic government found new stability. Now, by driving, the main question remains: the colonial problem, namely in Angola. Reinforcing its weight in government, the MFA seeks to demilitarize itself. It will not be able to do so without being the door of national socialism with "democratic" paints.

The bourgeois military coup re-establishing the so-called “fundamental freedoms” in the country sought to equate the social and political superstructure with the economic infrastructure.

Indeed, in Portugal, there was a distortion between these two things. A developed capitalist-type infrastructure with a high degree of concentration and a very strong proletariat representing more than thirty percent of the working population, corresponded to a superstructure of backward relations of production, backward corporate political and social reality.

Having served for tens of years to accelerate the process of capital concentration, corporatism generated within it the germ of its own destruction.

Alongside the gross growth of capital and its financial concentration, its antithesis also developed: the national consciousness of the colonized peoples and the class and political consciousness of the Portuguese proletariat. The increase of

financial capital Banking, Insurance, etc. - when already found economic application in the country led to its "marriage" in a disadvantageous position with foreign capital. In dowry the Portuguese bourgeoisie still carried the free - transit for foreign imperialist penetration into the colonies. Then, as we have cautiously seen, imperialism shifted from the colonies to Portugal: a certain national conscience accompanied this enlargement, a conscience that did not have time to extend to the popular strata where it would assume dangerous forms of anti-imperialism, dangerous for our bourgeoisie. Hence the anticipation and the coup d'état.

At the level of the classes interested in the Revolution and its objective forces, some special data is verified.

Craftsmanship is a special part of the petty bourgeoisie - it is in the process of disappearing as an economic and social element. Destroyed first by the normal development of manufacturing and industry, it was still able to maintain itself until the monopolistic pressure was exerted and the consequent increase in the price and cost inflation rate. From then on the process sharpened, corresponding to the historical stage of capitalism in Portugal. With craftsmanship a reasonable dose of radicalism also disappeared in the ranks of the labour movement. Similarly, much of the "left" pressure exerted on the positions of the current Revisionist Party, albeit opportunistic and vacillating, has diminished.

The remaining urban petty bourgeoisie in its various extracts is as follows:

That of the top extract merchants, liberal professions, great officials, teachers, etc. which suffered fascism in the field of superstructure, was also part of the social base on which fascism was based. Corporate breakdown has not been covered as it has always been by fiscal measures, cost subsidies or high profits and wages. Nor has the growth of the inflation rate affected it, even - for example, trade - its direct beneficiary. In the case of homeowners this "enrichment" to "accelerated even more has been noted. The upper extract of the petty bourgeoisie is today objectively interested in maintaining the present social state from which they do not touch, nor consent to touch, their privileges. Its predisposition at this time is to support or attack on the right the MFA Program and the Government. This layer is most insensitive even to the anti-imperialist national consciousness because of its parasitic placement in the production process. The weak means of competition at its disposal, compared with the great bourgeoisie, cannot even create serious contradictions for it, particularly as it shrinks, distances and grows in concentration and financial power.

The other two extracts, intermediate and inferior, differ in quantity rather than in the quality of their characteristics.

In the lower extract, however, the phenomenon of radicalization is much more pronounced, particularly in large cities such as Lisbon and Porto. Then prices are higher and the range of wages is the same. This results in a sharp drop in real wages and purchasing power. The demands of consumerism and the artificial needs that are accentuated in the big cities have sharpened this phenomenon even more. Hence the natural radicalization of political positions that sometimes approach those previously assumed by its artisan members. Bending politically in various directions, it now fills the ranks of the Revisionist Party and ultra-leftist groups, a variation that is

almost possible to determine from the ages: youth is ultra-leftist and anarchic; the oldest are conservative and rightist.

The 50 years of fascism, ignorance and obscurantism preached by the agents of fascism-priests, teachers, etc. - collaborate with material conditions in the rather less restlessness that occurs outside the major centres.

In the field, these characteristics are underlined in the opposite direction. That is to say: while the upper extract is not so neutral but genuinely interested in the economic situation of fascism, the other two, although suffering the brunt of the weight of the great bourgeoisie and feeling dragged to ruin, lack of engine revolutionary preferred to emigrate to fight. The process of their launching into the proletarian hosts was quite pronounced and caused their natural combativeness to diminish as they were penetrated by the conservative spirit of the ruined, proletarianized but hopeful and nostalgic peasantry of return to the land. Even here, the eventual radicalism stood for moral, anti-fascist positions, and thickened the revisionist ranks and the revisionist weight in the whole movement.

University students from the upper and lower middle and large bourgeoisie provided these layers with the critical critique and structuring of longings in political attitudes. Through them - their conscious element, albeit poorly organized and fragmented into various groups - the radicalized urban petty bourgeoisie sought to win the proletariat from its side and suck it in the grip and decision, using it as a battering ram against the regime that choked her. Today, the new conditions of April 25 have drained much of this force and threaten to strip students of the petty-bourgeois "class power of attorney" into hatred of what was once love. Revisionism, in effect, has now won the race once the old government is overthrown, and again gave "Peace and Hope" to the tormented petty bourgeois conscience. As student groups, trapped by their own dynamism, threaten to "spoil the film," hatred is natural, and revisionists simply feed and use it, throwing it at the "ghetto" wherever they want to put it, in particular. the authentic Communists, children of the working class, petty-bourgeois by economic and social situation, and communist by the proclaimed goals, the groups become petty-bourgeois by the methods of struggle and tactics and effectively mobilize the social base and the social element most available to their type of work apart from the social and political ideological reality of the workers. And without the strength to live in the ghetto where they got into,

The semi-proletariat and the rural and urban proletariat take very similar positions except for the permeability to the ideas of scientific socialism.

Less obscured by the fascist anti-cultural withers, more advanced in class consciousness because of their greater concentration in the same workplace and under the exploitation of the same boss; better paid also because of the greater specialization of the work they perform (also less able to see exploitation as a system and more willing to identify it with their own boss): the proletarians of the cities, namely the large urban and factory centres, march at the head of the exploited hosts. Not to mention that the "working-class aristocrats", the product of the great financial concentration and unconsciously benefited by the inflationary outbreak of colonialism, are among them the vanguard of the masses.

With the return of the colonial front soldiers and their progressive demobilization, as well as the decrease in emigration, there are already major changes. More or less in the short term, the rise in unemployment, already caused today by the defection of the reaction of big capital from the land of industrial investment, threatens to worsen with those movements in the mass of the working population. This will quickly lead to the constitution of a large phalanx of the unemployed, a genuine “industrial reserve army”, a lever for pressure and the division of capital against those exploited in their struggle for bread, allowing the land lost in wages to be recovered in prices. . If, on the other hand, protectionism to monopolies continues, the price increase in the level of essential products,

Such a situation, if well exploited by the Communists, nevertheless allowed for a correct transformation of the present class consciousness into political consciousness within the labour movement and could allow the economic contradictions of the system to worsen. This will be opposed by the revisionists and all other social democrats in their eagerness to maintain the status quo and not to frighten the bourgeoisie. But also in this process will be its increasingly unmasked before the class vanguard, the Revisionist Party is approaching its most serious crisis, or was it not, as an appendix that is in the interests of capital, equally affected by the profound contradictions of capital. It is already possible to say at this moment that only opportunism and fear hold it together.

If it is a fact that the political weight of the backward mass is great and that this weight serves the reaction and reformism in the electoral game and within the mechanisms of bourgeois democracy, it is no less true that this mass offers in the economic field an excellent objective situation to revolt. Dangerous revolt because devoid of definite political north is certain, but no less capable (if well framed and conducted through work in the middle mass) to mobilize in the great struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois, military and paternalistic democratic power.

A factor of the utmost importance will be the solution found by the bourgeoisie to its serious economic problems regarding colonial exploitation and the way it can free itself or impose itself on foreign imperialism and social-imperialism.

On the side of the middle and big bourgeoisie, visceral enemies of the Revolution and willing to slow its pace at all costs but equally fearful of it to terror, unity has not yet reconstituted itself. The contradictions we pointed out in the first part are too strong to allow for quick peace, the interests at stake too great for it to be minimally lasting. Bourgeois unity demands the crushing and recovery of workers' achievements and this process generates its contradictions in its turn.

The new capital government, post-28 September, is, however, willing to serve the fundamental interests of the various parts of capital correctly. The escalation of the crackdown on freedom, alongside the reformist struggle against the economic struggle for bread and the withdrawal of the advantages granted by force in this field, seek to reassure patronage. But it will not be easy. The colonial slice was too large for much of it and today threatens to slip from its hands. The national bourgeoisie feels it cannot compete under conditions in a neo-colonial system with the interests of imperialism and social imperialism. Much of it, profoundly parasitic of

colonialism and anti-entrepreneurialism, born of a tendency born of the ease of tens of years of rapid fattening with prey and commerce, is hardly resigned to being thrown aside, and ruined once and for all by the new conditions of the "democratic" system. It will remain in ambush for a long time and will be the main focus of the fascist restoration. It will be joined by the remaining bourgeoisie - middle and small wealthy - displaced from colonies, parasitic and small-scale trader, returned to the shores of Fear and remorse as soon as the colonial army is forced to leave Africa. Large and middle bourgeois ex-colonialists, petty bourgeois merchants rich in the blood of the people of Africa, and frustrated settlers in their dreams of wealth, will constitute the great right-wing burden in the future as it is today. They will be the foetus of fascism and a support pole to the right of the ruling layer.

At national level, if the coup pleased and satisfied the wishes of the bourgeois middle, it is no less certain that the consolidation of these interests requires the victory of the national bourgeoisie as a whole over the foreign economic tourniquet. Such a victory we have already seen is unlikely, given the current intertwining of the interests of the great bourgeoisie in power today and foreign imperialism.

This results in a sharp and general imbalance to the right, that is, a marked tendency for the need for strong government to increasingly and clearly take the form of popular repression, unbridled exploitation, the return to models fascists of containing the class struggle within the confines of the power game of interests.

Popular demobilization led by reformism, fear around fascism, calm and pacifism, class collaboration and the defense of the bourgeois social, political and economic order, preached by the lackey revisionists of capital, prepare all the conditions to facilitate this return.

It has to be opposed by the Communists, without excesses or utopian slogans, but with determination, tenacity and intelligence, even though they may at some point or other risk in the present relationship of forces, be isolated from the great mass. It will be an evil to be avoided except when it takes on - and forms of a necessary evil. It is necessary for this to happen easily today - the courage to do so.

THE PROVISION SUBJECT TO THE REVOLUTION OF THE CLASSES INTERESTED IN IT!

Since the new political conditions in Portugal opened the possibility for the sudden development of the economic struggle (and the resulting opportunistic illusions) and the presence of the ruling revisionist party gave to the overthrow of the old fascist regime, the false prospects of an evolution "slow" and "peaceful" to socialism as the lackeys of social-imperialism propagate it, the current general disposition of the overwhelming majority of the People is for attentiveness. All its energy runs out in the trade union struggle and the very struggle for the defense and consolidation of bourgeois liberties offers the risk of remaining deserted or not very intense, due to the demobilization and betrayal work of the revisionists who agitate for everything and nothing, fascist scarecrow.

This popular disposition is not, however, stable or lasting. Quite the contrary. The very sharpening of economic conditions and the contradictions of the

social system of capital in Portugal, at the level of the various bourgeois interests at stake, make it easy to foresee a change in the situation. A great confusion of objectives and political positions within the labour movement will be followed by a great clarity of political objectives and positions regarding the march of history to socialism in Portugal.

Today only a small part of the proletariat and other workers have an exact awareness of the political problems facing the people. This part is scattered and framed by revisionists, and extremely sceptical of the possibilities of anti-revisionist groups. Although in a different way from the radicalized petty bourgeoisie of which we speak, its practice frightens her; Leftism and growing isolation of anti-revisionists make her disbelieve in the chances of victory on this side. Only the gradual imposition of a revolutionary, non-petty-bourgeois, student-based, authentic Party composition and methods, taking into account the present situation, can, through a difficult work of struggle and propaganda, gain its confidence and determination support. When this happens the main task of the Communists can be considered completed today and the consolidation and growth of the Party under construction can begin. The road to the struggle for state power will be open.

Strangely in these circumstances, the middle mass offers better fighting disposition than before. As it has been worked by some and abandoned by others, this layer is today not a bridge but a gap between the forefront and the rear of the movement. This means that some work should be developed within it, considering not only (as the "leftists" have done so far) the importance of the avant-garde, but also the middle mass. A sudden and foreseeable deterioration in the economic conditions of the workers and the people will create the conditions for the rapid transition of part of this intermediate mass to leading positions. The thickening of the vanguard must be the main objective of the Communists in mass work, along with the organization and armament of that vanguard.

It is generally bad, backward and inert to the position of the majority of the rural population, which also constitutes the majority of the country's population. This is not, however, as bad a thing as the lackeys of capital claim. Its inertia, apparently apparent, is also exercised in reverse. That is, its prolonged withdrawal from political participation also removes it from the obstruction of the Revolution once it is set in motion. And if this fact - apoliticality and neutralism - always counts in favour of the ruling class, it does not count it here and now in a decisive way, if faced with a popular process genuinely geared toward the Revolution.

It is man's material needs that impel him to struggle, a struggle that takes on a political character when it involves or calls into question the social system of production or the question of the class exercising power. It is therefore important to dispel the hastily established confusion between the level of cultural awareness and the degree of participation in political struggle. This confusion is based on the fact that no distance is established between politics as man's social activity within the production process and calling into question the established relations of production

- the economic and social system - and bourgeois politics that is, made by the ruling class defenders and their lackeys and servants seeking to deceive the People.

In this last sense, the Portuguese people are "depoliticized", in fact. And thankfully, as this also means that they have not been touched by politics, bourgeois ideology (of the holders of the means of production) and the corruption of their lackeys.

In the first sense, when the worker affirms, as it was used in the days of fascism, that "my policy is the soup plate", he says a great truth. It is the elemental consciousness of the exploited producer that asserts itself. And, of course, it does so in the field of economics, practicality. This, then, is how that apparent "neutrality" we were talking about is not in itself a grave choice or a decisive argument for the ruling class under the conditions of bourgeois democracy, even defective and para-fascist as we live.

Once left to themselves, the propagandist reactionary forces of bourgeois ideology and fascism easily retreat and fall under the blows of revolutionary forces acting in bourgeois freedom. Indeed, the masses are the engine of history in the class struggle, which means that the exploited classes advance and progress, while the exploiters retreat and disintegrate, undermined by their own contradictions. The bourgeois terrorist dictatorship cannot be eternal because its very existence creates the conditions of its death. Only the incredible colonial exploitation allowed the regime to stand for so long, but now its time has now come.

The attentiveness and apparent disinterest of the rural masses today already carries within it the formidable revolutionary energy of tomorrow.

THE RELATION OF FORCES IN PRESENCE

At this moment, the forces present are in an unstable equilibrium position. Only history and the way in which the Communists can overcome their present problems of organization, enlargement and deployment, can lead the broad masses into advantageous and secure positions in the short term, precipitating the outcome of imminent combat. Neither imperialism nor social-imperialism remained indifferent. Their possible intervention is not a chance to move away from, given the strategic and logistical interests at stake in the offensive-defensive system of both contenders in the area of Europe and the Mediterranean. Imperialism, however, is a "paper tiger" and current history has shown it.

Much of the process of the decline of bourgeois power in Portugal, however, depends to a large extent on the general relationship of imperialist and social-imperialist forces and how they have resolved the present war of zones of influence and market sharing. The worldwide "strain" was such a farcical and obvious deception that it took little time to show its true aggressive face. The anti-imperialist national wars of liberation and the progress of the forces of socialism in the so-called Third World caused the worsening of Western inter-imperialist contradictions in Europe and America. It gave Russian social-imperialism the breath it needed to take certain positions of strength and consolidate its influence inside and outside the Warsaw Pact.

It is in this case that we should study and predict the current conditions of class struggle in our country, until recently, the safety and security of the dollar's economic and military system. The power of "world police" is no longer up to the US. The anti-Nixon campaign was nothing but dust in the eyes of the restless American. The economic recession and the general capital crisis are ongoing. In the face of this, the cannon prepares to replace reason. The next "distensive" pacts will be signed to the bomb. Cyprus is an example today.

In Portugal, the national bourgeoisie chose too late to join the game. It could have been far more costly to him if it had not been for the shameless and treacherous collaboration of the revisionists. It will cost you anyway, even in the longer term. History never forgives mistakes, let alone those who try to stop it. The present reinforcement of bourgeois power is already the dialectical pre-announcement of the fall of bourgeois power. To the Communists the task of rushing it and orienting it towards socialism. To the working class the task of preparing for the first lines of combat and the exercise of dictatorship over the overthrown bourgeoisie. All workers have the main role to play in the new one-page turn in the history of class struggle. The task of continuing to make history.

- We should practice materialism and not idealism!
- You have to analyse things dialectically!

The transition from power, even short and fleeting, to admit that power can be "vague" for a moment, is in its idealistic aberration to admit the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. This is the aberration of the Trotskyist thesis of "double power", a variant which admits that at a certain time in the class struggle both classes that dispute death from hegemony can rule over the same territory, within the framework of the same relations, production and in the same historical period.

Double power, or double powerlessness, are two faces of the same alteration of Marxism, of the same revision of Marxism-Leninism, hidden behind a well-identified "left" language of the classes that adhere to it and Marxism-Leninism so as not to fall into such deviation: it is enough to know how to understand the people and the workers as they are and not as we imagine them. Just practice Marxism and not confuse the criterion of practice in determining concrete truth with the criterion of unbridled activism that many call Practice for convenience or myopia.

Such a situation of mutual ungovernability therefore does not exist.

A very different thing is to say that the contradictions already manifested before April 25, and those that were released afterwards with the essential process of democratization, create many difficulties for the government of capital within the national framework and within the framework of the relations of force with imperialism worldwide. These contradictions will perhaps be insoluble in the conditions of bourgeois democracy. This, however, cannot, under penalty of making a mockery of history, lead us to fall into the hasty and mechanistic conclusion that the working class "just needs a step" to seize power and that alone will be the solution possible for the current situation, so power is at the mercy of whoever takes it first.

Do not.

The "democratic" bourgeoisie of imperialist longings, while being obliged to do the math with its proletariat - in Portugal as in the colonies - is also obliged to do them with foreign imperialism. And only its general and world crisis It allowed him to be able to balance himself in such a situation.

Also the proletariat in Portugal has its own accounts. It is precisely the way in which their so-called "representatives" want to resolve the situation, the class interests they defend or even involuntarily reflect, that distinguish revolutionaries and Communists from reactionaries and revisionists. Admitting the existence of a profound contradiction of interests between the new national bourgeoisie fattened in colonialism and imperialism would give the present situation the characteristics of a national struggle, would generate unity of action against imperialism, postponing the adjustment of accounts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Portugal. This seems to be the way of view of the revisionists and so they actively collaborate with the great "democratic" bourgeoisie,

This is not, however, the reality.

It is not political cretinism but class collaboration, blatant betrayal of the interests of the proletariat what revisionists do.

There is in fact no such contradiction. There is merely competition in market sharing and zones of influence between them, competition which has led the ruling bourgeoisie to seek the help of their own workers by throwing them against the economic pressure of imperialism as cannon fodder. And because the workers are not docile, as the peoples of the colonies were not docile, the bourgeoisie feels itself losing ground and losing it exactly on both fronts of struggle mentioned above. Hence the need, sooner or later, to throw certain democratic illusions overboard and to take a few steps back towards strong government and corporate interventionism. It will do so much more easily as the response of the workers in the anti-fascist struggle and surveillance permits. The September intent is a test. It is only essential and decisive to force the bourgeoisie to remain within the framework of fundamental freedoms, to fight for and consolidate them, this does not even mean that this can be done above the class struggle and cut the fright of the bourgeoisie so that it do not have a fascist birth, nor can this be done without the slightest respect for the contradictions within the People and the real organizational weakness of the proletarians in the field of political struggle, dragging them into adventure and certain and heavy defeat.

Nor can the proletarians today and here deal with their weaknesses, the national bourgeoisie and imperialist pressure. Any of those errors leads to the same result: the reinforcement of bourgeois power with a heavy defeat for the proletariat.

Firm up the achievements made; CONSOLIDATE POSITIONS WITHOUT SKILL BUT NO CONCESSIONS IN THE PLAN OF CLASS HISTORICAL INTERESTS; DO NOT WASTE ONLY OCCASION OF ADVANCING CAPITAL ON ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LAND, CONDITION TO ENHANCE OUR POSITION; These are the indispensable conditions for the effective conduct of the struggle against capital and imperialism.

One does not truly consolidate without advancing and one does not advance if one is afraid. Spreading the fear of the return of fascism means demobilizing, abandoning positions, since the question of advancement does not even arise for the lackeys of the new bourgeoisie.

Recent economic measures against popular interests clearly show the true face of democracy in the “reconstruction of the country” and the “fight against economic chaos”: THE WORKERS PAYING! The important thing is that bosses can get rich quickly to avoid “economic chaos”. Now, the wealth of the bosses means the increase of the poverty of the workers. Only the sharp increase in the rate of national exploitation, allowing the bourgeoisie to recover lost colonial profits and even increase them to face imperialist competition, will enable it to survive "democratically" in terms of equality or advantage over imperialism. BUT BURGUESIA'S STRENGTHENING IS NOT MADE WITHOUT OUR WEAKNESS! This is what revisionists conceal from us the "betrayal. Swedish or Dutch prosperity, for example, today, moreover in deep crisis,

The anti-colonial struggles of the peoples, however, have put a brake on this "democratically" stolen flow of wealth. Not only does Portugal not even today have the development of the productive forces that Sweden and the other European democracies had in the post-war period, but it is no longer possible to repeat history today. “Bourgeois democratic prosperity” is therefore not possible in Portugal. And the people of Africa are very unwilling on their side to allow it even on a small scale. So the growth of the bourgeoisie's profits will have to be done at the expense of lowering our real wages: the more oranges they get out of the basket, the less there they are. It is evident to all but the revisionists, lackeys of social imperialism.

The reasons for the present situation, which are already due to the revisionist pacifist opportunism of the last 20 years, are still today based on their alliance of historical betrayal that puts the backward mass at the service of the division and intrigue of capitalism in the within the proletarian hosts. Were it not for that and the reinforcement of the proletarian position would quickly unbalance the balance by putting it - then yes! - the bourgeoisie in a position to be unable to govern, since the proletariat would be in a position to do so.

Today (conditional time has no value in politics), only the effective and growing mobilization of revolutionary energy latent in the working class and growing with the development of the class struggle in bourgeois democracy, alongside and in defense of the achievements achieved, Through a just policy of popular unity in base and action, without losing sight of the capitalist enemy for a moment, they can lead to the transformation of the present conditions into better conditions on the way to the seizure of power. This is our goal of Communists.

POPULAR UNITY ON BASIS AND ACTION; CLASS VS CLASS!

FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND NEOCOLONIALISM AND SURVEILLANCE AGAINST FASCISM!

POPULAR UNITY - CLASS FIGHTING TRANSFORMATION OF CURRENT POWER RELATIONS!

Firmness in the Principles of Marxism-Leninism and the Fight against Opportunistic Unitarian Illusions That Place Quantity Above Quality!

UNITY - CRITICISM - UNITY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PORTUGAL!

FIGHTING STERILE PRACTICISM THAT IS BORN FROM THE FIGHT AGAINST SECTORY THEORICISM !

AHEAD FOR A WIDE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI FASCIST POPULAR MOVEMENT!

FOR POPULAR DEMOCRACY!

DEATH TO FASCISM, FREEDOM TO THE PEOPLE!

The Political Commission of the Central Commission COMMUNIST PARTY OF PORTUGAL Under Construction)