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The five constituent points of the Movement for the Reorganization of the Party of the Proletariat

Published: "For a revolutionary political line" (1970) *Bandheira Vermelha*, No. 1. Reproduced at <https://vivelemaoisme-org>.

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1. Let us fight for the definitive emancipation of the revolutionary movement from the ideological and political tutelage of the bourgeoisie

The main and decisive contradiction of contemporary Portuguese society is the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The fundamental historical task of the true Portuguese Marxist-Leninists, organized as a revolutionary party of the proletariat, lies in revolutionary action with the aim of transforming this contradiction by replacing capitalism with socialism, and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, without which never the classless society, communism, will not be possible.

The overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the construction of socialism and communism are not the works of a single day. It is a complex, protracted and uninterrupted revolution.

The organized vanguard of the working class, its party, must study and apply the scientific laws of revolution and class struggle, so as to determine with accuracy in which phase of the revolution we find ourselves, what objectives we must pursue, what is the direction of the main blow to be struck, who are our friends and who are our enemies, what is the disposition of the revolutionary forces.

What characterized the Portuguese revolutionary movement was precisely the absence of proletarian leadership. The proletariat has not shown itself capable of elaborating its own class policy. It has always marched in tow of opportunism, under the ideological and political tutelage of the radical bourgeoisie.

An independent, truly revolutionary leadership of the proletarian movement is something that has never existed. The working class has always spoken through the mouth of the bourgeoisie. However, the proletariat gradually acquired an increasingly clear awareness of this situation.

The extent taken by the just struggle for liberation of the peoples of the colonies, the aggravation of exploitation by monopoly capital, the sale of Portugal to imperialism, the

extension of popular struggles, particularly in the years 1961-1962 taught the working class to distinguish its interests, the interests of the proletarians, from those of the radical bourgeoisie.

The current phase of the revolution in Portugal is the phase of Democratic and Popular Revolution. During this phase, the working class has the priority task of reorganizing its vanguard. Without this vanguard, without a real Marxist-Leninist party of the Portuguese proletariat, it is not possible to work out a proletarian political line, it is not possible to carry out and bring to an end the democratic and popular Revolution, and to take over the tasks of the Socialist Revolution.

It is only when it has a proletarian party at its head that the working class will begin to speak through its own mouth. Let us fight for the definitive emancipation of the revolutionary movement from the ideological and political tutelage of the radical bourgeoisie!

2. Portugal, one of the weak links in the world chain of imperialism

In the last years of the 1939-1945 war, an accelerated movement of concentration of production and capital began in the Portuguese economy.

This movement came from the investment of the high gains accumulated during the conflict, the penetration of foreign imperialism and the increasingly frenzied exploitation of the peoples of the colonies.

This concentration has resulted in our economy today being essentially dominated by monopoly capital. Only a few dozen limited companies own or control the main branches of national production and colonial exploitation.

Among these societies, some are directly under the management of foreign capitalism; this is the case in the mining, communications and transport sectors; others are administered by "Portuguese" groups (CU.F., Champalimaud, Sacor, Fonecas e Irmao and Nacional Ultramarino), which depend financially and politically on the big international trusts, in whose pay they find themselves.

As far as the agricultural sector is concerned, the penetration of capitalism, which has increased in recent years, has essentially destroyed the pre-capitalist and semi-feudal relations of production that had hitherto been dominant, so that the concentration is probably the highest in Europe.

Capitalist relations, the purchase and sale of labour power as a commodity, are therefore the absolutely dominant relations of production in our country. Monopoly capitalism is the predominant current reality in our economy.

Fascism-Salazarism, the form taken by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in order to be able to realize, in the specific conditions of the class struggle in Portugal, the historical interests of capital and its owners, is the political instrument which has served to bring about this transition from pre-monopoly capitalism to monopoly capitalism.

The Marcellist version of this dictatorship aims to complete this transformation, to consolidate the positions of finance capital, and to negotiate with international capitalism the place of lackey which belongs to the capital of the Portuguese bourgeoisie.

This concentration of capital, further aggravating the general conditions of exploitation of the working classes, only worked to sharpen the contradictions of Portuguese society, and in particular, to sharpen the main contradiction.

Thus the working class has tripled in quantity since the beginning of the phenomenon of capitalist concentration, going from 500,000 workers in 1940 to nearly 1,500,000 in 1970.

This explosive growth made the proletariat the numerically strongest class, and radically transformed the space of the class struggle.

More numerous, the working class is extremely concentrated in two or three central industrial zones, which has produced material conditions very favourable to the development of revolutionary unity, consciousness and combativeness.

On the other hand, the Portuguese proletariat, made up for the most part of elements recently coming from the countryside, does not find itself dispersed in a multitude of enterprises and craft units, but on the contrary is concentrated in large industrial units. and averages. The level of wages is very low, and the slightest increases won by hard fighting.

The penetration of capitalism into the countryside and the concentration which subsequently resulted from it, and continues to result from it, have created a veritable army of agricultural workers, whose number represents the majority of the peasantry.

The Portuguese capitalist structure and the class situation in our country make Portugal the weakest link in European capitalism.

And the insurrectionary, victorious and irresistible uprising of the peoples of the colonies will powerfully contribute to the transformation of the weakest link of capitalism in Europe into one of the weakest links in the world chain of imperialism.

The colonial war, insofar as it contributed to transforming the contradictions of Portuguese political life into a revolutionary crisis, already gives and will continue to give tremendous impetus to the revolution. Portugal is definitely part of the great "zone of revolutionary storms".

3. Let us raise high the flag of the People's Democratic Revolution

In the current phase, the revolution that the crisis of the bourgeois dictatorship and the contradictions of Portuguese society make necessary is the democratic and popular revolution.

This means that, in this first phase, the Portuguese revolution is not yet a proletarian socialist revolution, but a revolution which will culminate in the construction of a society of "new democracy", under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes. , with the proletariat at their head as the leader.

Only thus can the revolution progress to its second phase, the phase of building socialist society.

But these two phases do not constitute, and will never be able to constitute, watertight compartments.

“ To the extent of our forces, that is to say the forces of the conscious and organized proletariat, we will begin – said Lenin – to pass from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. We are for uninterrupted revolution. (LENIN, The Attitude of Social Democracy to the Peasant Movement, 1905)

The revolution is not only democratic, it is also popular, which means that it must be carried out under the leadership of the proletariat and the popular masses, with the aim of establishing a popular democratic dictatorship which uproots power. of the big monopoly and landowner bourgeoisie, which destroys the fascist military-corporate state apparatus, which expels imperialism and puts an end to colonialist aggression, immediately recalling the soldiers and immediately recognizing and proclaiming the right of the peoples from colonies to independence and separation.

The Democratic and People's Revolution is thus an anti-fascist, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist revolution, for democracy, for freedom, for peace, for bread, for land and for national independence (from Portugal and the colonies).

It is clear that such a profound and radical alteration of present Portuguese society cannot be achieved without popular insurrection, without violent revolution.

Only someone who has lost all common sense could think of defending the thesis that the democratic and popular Revolution can take place peacefully, within the framework of bourgeois “democracy”, which is designed strictly to maintain the hegemony of the bourgeoisie!

This complex and violent class struggle that is the revolution makes particularly clear the absolute and priority necessity of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party of the Portuguese workers; it shows us that, without a political and military instrument of their own, the popular masses will not be able to bring it to fruition.

The democratic and popular character, and the violent and insurrectional nature of the revolution are not the only characteristics which distinguish the proletarian line from the opportunist line, as regards the problem of the revolution in Portugal, in the present phase.

As Lenin taught: *“ The essential question of revolution is the question of power. (LENIN, On the Duality of Power, 1917)*

Insurrection and violence are absolutely indispensable means of seizing power. But the revolution does not end with the seizure of power. The seizure of power is the beginning of the revolution.

The decisive victory is obtained only with the establishment of the popular democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the other revolutionary popular classes.

Lenin writes, in Two Tactics of Social Democracy: *“ And this victory will be precisely a dictatorship, which means that it will have to rely imperiously on armed force, on the armed masses, on insurrection, and not on this or that institution constituted “legally”, “by peaceful means”.*

It can only be a dictatorship, because the absolutely and immediately necessary transformations of the proletariat and the peasantry are provoking desperate resistance on the part of the big landowners, the big bourgeois and tsarism.

Without a dictatorship, it would be impossible to break this resistance, to repel the attacks of the counter-revolution.

However, it is obviously not yet a socialist dictatorship, but a democratic dictatorship. »

The question of power in the democratic and popular revolution is the essential aspect which distinguishes the proletarian line from the counter-revolutionary line of which the revisionists are the leaders.

4. The abandonment of the worker-peasant alliance, a shameful crime of the opportunists

Similarly, with regard to the peasant question, the demarcation between the proletarian line and the opportunist line within the labor movement is very clear.

The peasant question is essentially the problem of finding the main ally of the working class in the democratic phase of the revolution. In *Two Tactics...*, Lenin defines the political line of the Bolshevik Party as follows:

“ The proletariat will have to lead the democratic revolution to the end, rallying the mass of the peasantry to itself, in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy, and to paralyze the unstable bourgeoisie. »

To overthrow the fascist, repressive apparatus, and the monopoly and large estate bourgeoisie, to definitively expel imperialism and put an end to the war of aggression in the colonies, recognizing the right of their peoples to separation and independence, the working class absolutely needs a consistent ally, otherwise it will not succeed in establishing its own hegemony, and emerge beaten from the great violent confrontation between the classes which is approaching.

Who is this main ally?

In the eyes of the opportunist and counter-revolutionary line, of which the revisionists are the leaders, the main ally of the proletariat in the so-called “national democratic revolution” is the democratic movement of the liberal bourgeoisie. Hence the pacifism, legalism and electoralism that these opportunists have shown.

For the proletarian line, on the contrary, the main ally of the proletariat in the democratic and popular revolution is the peasantry. The class interests of the peasantry will never be realized outside of this revolutionary alliance; and without this alliance, the class interests of the proletariat cannot triumph.

Within this alliance, the leading role falls to the proletariat, the only truly revolutionary class to the end. The working class must also bear in mind Lenin's teachings about the class analysis of the peasantry, its structure and its own interests.

“ The peasantry includes a mass of semi-proletarian elements, alongside petty-bourgeois elements. This situation makes it unstable, and forces the proletariat to organize itself into a strictly defined class party.

However, the instability of the peasantry differs radically from the instability of the bourgeoisie, because the peasantry is less interested in the absolute preservation of private property than in the confiscation of land from large landowners, which is one of the forms principals of this property.

Without becoming socialist for that reason, without ceasing to be petty bourgeois for that reason, the peasantry is capable of being a determined and most radical combatant of the democratic revolution.

[....]

Only an entirely victorious revolution will be able to grant it everything, in the matter of agrarian reform, everything that the peasantry desires, everything that it dreams of and that is really necessary for it, not for the abolition of capitalism, as the Socialist-Revolutionaries think. but to come out of abjection, semi-servitude, darkness, brutishness and servility, to improve one's conditions of existence... ”

Recent history has shown how the abandonment by the opportunists of the worker-peasant alliance has led the working class to the worst defeats. The fascist counter-revolution in Indonesia, and the physical annihilation of hundreds of thousands of Communists, is proof that opportunism on the peasant question, as in all other aspects of revolutionary theory and tactics, means alliance open with the class enemy, the annihilation of genuine Marxist-Leninists, the negation of the revolution.

The proletariat is the main, leading force of the revolution, and the peasantry its main ally in the present phase of democratic and popular revolution; the abandonment of the worker-peasant alliance is one of the most serious crimes perpetrated by the opportunists.

But all this does not mean that the working class should despise, abandon, or underestimate the other classes or strata of the Portuguese people. The revolutionary duty and task of the proletariat is to unite all classes and strata of the population which can and must be united.

All the exploited groups and classes, the revolutionary sectors of the urban petty bourgeoisie, the revolutionary students and intellectuals are classes and strata of the population which can and must be united.

The proper place for the revolutionary alliance of all the exploited, the organ which must express and seal this alliance of all those who can and must be united, is the anti-fascist, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist revolutionary front, for democracy, for freedom, for peace, for bread, for land and for national independence.

5. Long live the just national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of the colonies!

In the current context of the class struggle, the colonial question is of paramount importance. It is at the very heart of the contradictions of Portuguese capitalism, and it is the touchstone that allows us to determine who are the revolutionaries in our country.

As with any important question open in the revolutionary movement in Portugal, there is, to the colonial question, a proletarian response and an opportunist response.

The opportunists, with the revisionists at their head, largely repeat the betrayal of the Second International in this matter, limiting themselves to rare, vague and nebulous references to the "overseas problem" in which the question of independence, of separation, that of our support for the just cause of the liberation of the peoples of the colonies, is completely evaded.

The opportunists pass over the colonial question as if they were walking on eggshells.

For the proletarian line, on the contrary, everything is different and clear. The colonies and the subjugated countries exploited by finance capital constitute the main reserve of forces of imperialism.

The just national liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonies and of the oppressed countries results in the weakening and isolation of imperialism, insofar as it detaches from it its main reserve of forces.

In the particular case of the colonies under the control of the Portuguese bourgeoisie, the armed popular insurrection not only contributed to the weakening of international imperialism, thus accelerating the world crisis of capitalism; it also dealt a mortal blow to Portuguese capitalism.

The interests of the Portuguese revolutionary movement, and especially the interests of the proletariat and the interests of the popular national liberation movements in the colonies, demand that the two revolutionary movements form a united front against the common enemy - imperialism, of which Portuguese capitalism is the smallest of the lackeys.

However, it must be remembered that "*the formation of a common revolutionary front,*" said Stalin, "*is only possible if the proletariat of the oppressor countries directly and resolutely supports the national independence movement of the oppressed peoples against the imperialism of the metropolis, since "a people that oppresses another cannot be free".* (Stalin, The Basics of Leninism)

The peoples of the colonies, by taking up arms against colonialist and imperialist exploitation, give the Portuguese proletariat the example of how to fight, in a consistent way, the common enemy. The Portuguese proletariat must learn from this example and carry out its militant internationalist duty with determination. The Portuguese proletariat and the peoples of the colonies are natural allies.

The great Lenin taught that "*the center of gravity of the internationalist education of the workers of the oppressor countries must lie in the propaganda and active defense of the right of the oppressed peoples to separate themselves from the metropolis.*

Without this, there is no possible internationalism. We must give the names of imperialist and scoundrel to any socialist of an oppressive state who does not act in this direction. (In: Summary of a discussion. Italics are ours.)

Imperialist and scoundrel... said Lenin!

