

MRPP/ *Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado*

People War, the colonial-imperialist war

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WE LAUNCH AND ORGANIZED UNDER THIS WORD OF ORDER, A VAST AND VIGOROUS ANTI-COLONIAL POPULAR MOVEMENT. BOLDLY MOBILIZING THE LARGE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE - WORKERS, CAMPONESES, SOLDIERS, SAILORS, EMPLOYEES, STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTIONARY - ON A POWERFUL FRONT OF REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT AGAINST THE COLONIALISM AND THE EXPERIENCE OF THE COLONIALISM EXPERIENCING THE COLONIAL ALTERIUM EXPANSION SACK AND KILL THE HEROIC, VICTORIOUS AND UNCONVINCIBLE BROTHERS OF THE COLONIES.

1. Until 1970, the struggle of the Portuguese people against colonialism and against the colonial-imperialist war that the Portuguese bourgeoisie moves to the heroic peoples of the colonies was practically non-existent or assumed to be absolutely spontaneous, individualistic and dispersed. Nine years had passed since the day the Angolan patriots dared to wage their just and glorious popular war of national liberation, assimilating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that "power is at the end of the shotgun" and the proletariat. Portuguese had not yet succeeded in laying the foundations for a strong and consequent anti-colonial popular movement, uniting all the people who could be united and organizing them to combat the common enemy and to fulfil its proletarian internationalist duty.

Everything that had been done so far in this field had been spontaneity and had resulted in almost always individual and unaccompanied desertions of arms expropriation and some agitation among the youth, particularly the students, which were the most they were directly aware of the reactionary and criminal character of the colonial war and that it was most immediately suffering its effects.

This spontaneous movement took on a relative size in 1970, when the number of defections and refractors surpassed 10% of the mobilizable contingent, creating panic in the colonial-fascist bourgeoisie, and deserving of several cabinet minister ministers, including the puppet minister of defense, hysterical discourses of impotence.

This year, there are the first desertions accompanied by the expropriation of weapons to the bourgeoisie and the first street demonstration specifically against the colonial war and colonialism is held in Lisbon on 21 February.

The anti-colonialist demonstration of 1970, despite its still strikingly spontaneous character and essentially student nature, represents a step forward in the radicalization of the struggle against the colonialist-imperialist bourgeoisie and revealed three important characteristics, namely:

- the form of struggle adopted; the correctness and correctness of most of its watchwords; the denunciation on the street of the revisionism and chauvinism of the PCP and of its quality as the support of colonialism and the bourgeoisie; and the creation of the Anti-Colonial Fighting Committees (CLACs) as organisms of revolutionary unity in the uncompromising and barracks-free battle against colonialism and colonial war.

This shows us - as Lenin teaches in "WHAT TO DO" - that the "spontaneous element is not, at bottom, but the embryonic form of the conscious."

2. Why was the Portuguese proletariat unable to launch and organize a strong, brash and triumphant Anti-Colonial Popular Movement until 1970?

First, because the proletariat was totally disorganized; because it did not have a party that was the political expression proper to its genuine and legitimate class interests, it was a revolutionary party founded on Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary theory and practicing a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary style. Without such a party, the working class without a north can never define its interests autonomously with the whole existing social and political order, clearly does not materialize its revolutionary objectives at every stage of the struggle, has no fair idea of the means and the forms of struggle which you must at any moment use and combine to achieve your goals, does not answer the question of who are your friends and who are your enemies at each stage of the Revolution,

Secondly, because the colonial-fascist bourgeoisie has succeeded in introducing into the Portuguese labour movement a heavy "fifth column", which is called the "Portuguese Communist Party". In the colonial question - as in all the important questions of the Revolution in Portugal - the revisionists of the PCP, lackeys of the bourgeoisie in the Portuguese labour movement, do not analyse the colonial war in terms of class, and therefore do not distinguish between just and unjust wars and, therefore they do not argue for the necessity and duty for the proletariat to firmly uphold the former and to intransigently attack the latter: and the necessity and duty to militantly support in words and deeds the wars of national liberation of the oppressed peoples of the colonies to attack without fading,

By dragging itself on its knees and licking its boots at the bourgeoisie, the PCP states in the report presented at its 4th Central Committee extended meeting that the mission of the peoples of the colonies is to fight alongside the Portuguese people against the dictatorship of Salazar, "for Democracy, Peace and Bread ", without saying a word about their right to National Independence and presenting their armed struggle as a struggle against the Salazarist regime and not as a just war against colonialism and imperialism; it was the PCP who attacked the first nuclei of African Marxist-Leninists in Portugal, slandering them of "would-be theorists who wanted to escape the anti-fascist struggle", it is the PCP who signs a statement published in the "Free Tribune" in August 1961 condemning the "terrorism of African organizations"; It was the PCP who issued a manifesto in May 1961 expressing this odious thesis: "Workers: Let us show our bosses that only the independence of Angola serves their interests" that "once independent (Angola) will become a market for our articles "; to the PCP which, in 1963, speaks of "the danger of the sabotage actions being triggered in Portugal by the colonial movements;" It is still the PCP which, in the 1969 electoral farce advocates "a national debate" to solve "the overseas problem" etc., etc.

Without a revolutionary party of its own, without a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization to which its avant-garde, its educator and its guide, the proletariat was being deceived, mystified and deluded by the PCP's chauvinism and revisionism. As a result, it has been towing the bourgeoisie and has served as its instrument by collaborating objectively as a riot troop in the criminal war of destruction, prey and genocide against the glorious brother peoples of the colonies.

3. Is it possible to lay the foundations for a strong Anti-Colonial Popular Movement today?

The answer to this problem depends on the position taken on the tasks of the Revolution in Portugal and, in particular, on the urgent issue of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. In this question, there are also three alternatives:

march ahead of the broad masses of the people and direct them.

stand behind them gesturing and criticizing.

to rise before them to fight them;

Each Portuguese is free to choose from these three alternatives and events will force everyone to make a choice quickly.

We have seen how the PCP has always risen before the masses, raised white clamps, and fought them. He therefore chose the third alternative. We know how the MRPP, since constituting the embryonic core of the Proletariat Party, has united and regrouped its still weak forces, raised red armbands, marched resolutely before the masses and, to the extent of its forces, sought and sought to direct them in attack on the common enemy of the Portuguese people and the peoples of the colonies. He therefore chose the first alternative.

But there are those who, calling themselves Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, fly pink armbands, taking the opportunistic and criminal position of being behind the masses, gesturing and criticizing. So choose the second alternative.

This is what happens to the neo-revisionists of the so-called Portuguese "Marxist-Leninist" Committee. These gentlemen who look like distinct and distant intellectuals... - indeed, they are very distant... - find themselves somewhere in Europe "reorganizing the Communist Party of Portugal"... in number 4 of its theoretical organ "Red Star" - which costs three francs - they say on page 18, that it is up to the proletariat to "direct and unleash a broad front of anti-colonial struggle against the various layers of the colonial bourgeoisie and thus join hands with the people of the colonies fighting the common enemy, to tear them from the bourgeoisie the workers who, in the ranks of the colonial army, play the role of world reactionary forces and imperialism and turn them against the colonialist power in a powerful class struggle. "

Discounting the preciousness, certainly only accessible to different and distant theorists, that it is to "unleash" (...) a front "... every Marxist-Leninist would accept this statement of principle. But the true Marxist-Leninists not only accept that statement, but immediately put themselves to work, they move from words to deeds and shout to the distinguished and distant intellectuals: "We have joined hands with the peoples of the colonies!" Let the workers bourgeoisie! " "Let's unleash a front!"

But then the distinguished and distant intellectuals - who write theoretical organs that sell to three francs, who for seven years have been somewhere in Europe "reorganizing the Communist Party of Portugal" - despite the colonial-imperialist war of destruction, prey and genocide last For thirteen years, however, the ignominious crimes of the colonial-fascist bourgeoisie and its army, notwithstanding the increasing oppression and exploitation of the Portuguese people and the peoples of the colonies, there the distinct and distant intellectuals, nevertheless, oppose if they take a step, they put to practice only one of their words, they oppose to perform

a single concrete act that is objectively anti-colonialist. It is, by pre-justifying its primary opportunism and its abject reactionary, (in fact, at least) hurry to write on p. 19: "

What in concrete and revolutionary practice do the "good intentions", the "beautiful phrases", and the distinct and distant "sermon" of these opportunists mean?

What these opportunists, the "Marxist-Leninists" of the eleventh hour mean, is, after all, "we have joined hands with the peoples of the colonies! .. in the future." Let's unleash a front! ... in the future. " Let us run a broad anti-colonialist front! ... in the future. "" Let the workers get rid of the bourgeoisie! ... in the future. " "proletarian internationalism," but only in the future will they deign to "descend" to the masses ... to "direct" them. In the meantime, the masses that soften themselves, continue to kill their exploited brothers, strengthen the power of the bourgeoisie, colonialism, imperialism! They say they are ahead of the masses ... in the future. And in the present? in the present,

Gesturing and criticizing, therefore, that when there in Europe, where seven years ago they claim to "reorganize the Communist Party of Portugal", the echo of the revolutionary work of the MRPP in the preparation of the anti-colonial days of February 1971, especially the echo, came to them. from the intense agitation and propaganda carried out in Lisbon and on its industrial belt by these "distinguished" and distant intellectuals, authentic political fossils, attacked our Movement, in a crude and provocative March communique of this master accusing him of splitting off and saying that "never one should take the initiative to create a new organization unless one is fully convinced of the opportunistic nature of the existing one "(p. 6 of the communiqué).

This is the case: MRPP has always been, of course, and is "absolutely convinced of the opportunistic nature" not only of this but of the other organizations that already exist...

But in any case, it would always be legitimate to ask this C-ml squad. Q: Should an organization exist that implicitly claims that it does not exist? Should revolutionaries cross their arms, quit fulfilling today the tasks that the Revolution puts on the agenda, just because some people decided to contemplate the belly button and ensure that, contemplating the belly button, the Revolution will take place in the future?

We note the declaration of these people that they are not among the masses, that they cannot, do not know or want to direct any of their forms of struggle which, to that extent, do not exist. But because there are their opportunistic, upstart and criminal theses, because these theses aim to disarm the proletariat to the people, preventing the constitution of the working class party, our duty, our duty: the communists are to mercilessly unmask them. , uncompromisingly fighting them and relentlessly isolating them.

4. Can the MRPP lay the foundation for a vast and vigorous Anti-Colonial People's Movement? To this question the Lenin Committee replies that not only can the MRPP but it must dare to undertake with all its energy, determination, imagination and initiative this eminently revolutionary work.

Analysing in the light of the principles and methods of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist science the contradictions of Portuguese society and the concrete conditions and characteristics of the class struggle in our country, the MRPP synthesized and defined as the priority practical task of the Portuguese communists at the present stage. Revolution, the creation of the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Aware that the line to follow in building such a party is a matter of prime political importance, the MRPP as the party's organized embryonic core has also begun to wage a protracted and difficult war against the anti-Bolshevik conception of those who - like the "C" ml "P" ranting - understand that a party is built away from the masses and class struggle, separated from the concrete practice of popular struggle, in the secret of the gods and anarchist circles of frustrated petty bourgeois.

The people of C "ml" P defend, for the reorganization of the party, a theory taken directly from Trotskyism and known as the "cadres theory", according to which Portuguese communists should not act to penetrate the masses and organizations but remain enclosed in the cells and deal only with the theoretical formation. Therefore, these cells do not even need to be in our country, and can fully fulfill their tasks abroad. And that is why they promise to come in the future ... a denunciation of this "theory" is an undeniable task, as a defeatist and opportunist conception that separates the communists from the popular masses keeps them in tow, turns them into a sect that ultimately leads not to creation but to the liquidation of the party even before birth.

Now the revolutionary party of the proletariat, in order to be truly - in content and not just in name - because name is only the envelope of things - must be erected within the masses and especially within the working class. ; it will have to be organized in the practice of class struggle, it will have to be raised in the heart of storms, forging, shaping and tempering in all these struggles.

That is why our role - MRPP militants and allies - is to penetrate the masses, learn from them and organize them, stand in front of them and direct them. Therefore our role is not to put ourselves in the tail of the revolutionary movement, which is useless at best and at worst extremely harmful to the movement.

The MRPP knows that the party will be created and can only be created in the fight, will be organized and can only be organized through the fight, will grow and can only grow in the fight and that only through the fight will it be consolidated. In order to achieve the immediate objective - the constitution of the party - the organized communists of the MRPP will have to march resolutely ahead of the masses and direct them. This is true in all areas of the class struggle and therefore also in the field of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism and, above all, in the field of the fight against the criminal imperialist colonial war. The MRPP played a brave pioneer role and raised the red flag of proletarian internationalism that PCP chauvinist socialists dragged through the mud of compromise and trod at the feet of the bourgeoisie.

MRPP can and should remain on the glorious path it has embarked upon; can and should deepen and widen and develop it. It can and should lay the foundations of a strong, brash and triumphant Anti-Colonial People's Movement. You must dare to do so.

5. What can be done to lay the foundations for a vast and vigorous Anti-Colonial People's Movement?

No sensible person will start to build a house without previously having a more or less detailed plan for its construction, so that, at the end of the work, the result of all the combined efforts is actually a house and precisely the right one. fulfilling the intended function. In possession of the plan, he will not go to work without making sure of the existence and availability of the indispensable material means and the qualified and able men to carry out the many and complex tasks of the building. If, nevertheless, he has a plan, the necessary material means, and men no one will start the work by building the roof, but, on the contrary, will begin by opening the caboucos, and laying the foundation,

So should we do all our work, and therefore should we also act to create a strong and powerful Anti-Colonial People's Movement.

The aim that we set ourselves with the building of the Anti-Colonial Popular Movement is to create a powerful and invincible front against Portuguese colonialism, imperialism and colonial-imperialist war. Such a movement not only fully fits in with the objectives of the Popular Democratic Revolution (which is, furthermore, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist), but represents the practical and militant materialization of the principle of proletarian internationalism, sealing an indestructible alliance between the People and the sister peoples of the colonies: the Portuguese bourgeoisie, the front dog of imperialism, and the international bourgeoisie. This alliance is absolutely indispensable both for the triumph of the liberating National Revolutions of the brother peoples of the colonies and for the triumph of the People's Democratic Revolution of the Portuguese people.

Our plan for the construction of a brash and triumphant Anti-Colonial Popular Movement is to unite, under the leadership of the proletariat, all the classes, layers and elements of the Portuguese population that could be united by the workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors, employees, anti-colonialist students and intellectuals - not just to remove from the bourgeoisie this immense strategic reserve where it recruits the men who will fill their state power; but also to organize and turn against the exploiting class by destroying the state of the oppressive class and building the state of the exploited classes.

The material and human resources available to the MRPP to build this powerful building, which is the Anti-Colonial Popular Movement, are enough to open the caboucos and lay the foundation. But at this moment, they are reduced and scarce to lift the walls and set the roof to it. So our task is in this field, doubles - on the one hand, we can and should lay the foundation, the foundations of the Anti-Colonial Popular Movement; On the other hand, we will have to strengthen, expand and improve the material and human, political and organizational resources at our disposal, their quality and quantity, in order to achieve the transformation of the MRPP into the revolutionary party of the Portuguese proletariat. As the great Lenin teaches: "If there is no strong organization capable of leading the political struggle at any time and under all circumstances, then a systematic plan of action, clarified by firm principles and rigorously applied, is the only one that deserves the name of tactic. " (What to do?)

To lay the foundation for this revolutionary work, to lay the foundations for a strong Anti-Colonial Popular Movement, the MRPP must:

Firstly, to strengthen the unity and discipline of our movement and constantly raise the political and ideological awareness of our cadres on the basis of a living study of the principles and methods of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and their practical application to the concrete reality of the Revolution. Portuguese Make combat slogans "Proletarians of all countries unite!" and "Proletarians of all oppressed countries, peoples and nations unite!" the centre of the political and ideological education of our comrades, the red flag of the political education of the communists, the workers and all workers, and to stick firmly to the practical translation of those principles as the only genuine and true expression of proletarian internationalism. The practical attitude towards colonialism and colonial-imperialist war in general, and especially towards colonialism and colonial-imperialist war of the Portuguese bourgeoisie, is a sure criterion for distinguishing in our country the true communists from the pseudo-communists and chauvinists, to distinguish those who want to make the Revolution from those who don't want to make it. Internationalism and the worldview of the proletarian party. Let us form and

temper in the glorious school of proletarian internationalism! Internationalism and the worldview of the proletarian party. Let us form and temper in the glorious school of proletarian internationalism! Internationalism and the worldview of the proletarian party. Let us form and temper in the glorious school of proletarian internationalism!

Secondly, unleash an uncompromising ideological struggle against chauvinism, patriotism, the main ideological vehicle of the interests of the bourgeoisie within the proletariat and the people. Without this struggle, the proletariat will not be able to define its own political line in the colonial question, clearly demarcating its class interests in relation to the interests of all other classes of Portuguese society. The bourgeoisie uses the means of oppression and ideological repression at its disposal such as the church, the school, the radio press, the television, the cinema, the trade unions, etc., to introduce and spread among the popular masses - in particular among the proletariat and the peasants - chauvinism, patriotism, hiding the bourgeois class character, colonial domination and war, seeking to unite the proletariat and all workers with the colonial interests of the bourgeoisie. Racism, paternalism, constantly fostered in relation to the "poor Indians", the fables set on the congenital laziness of the colonial peoples and their "intellectual and mental inferiority", the grotesque exaltation of the figure of the "Lusíada conqueror" ", etc., etc., are themes that the class enemy uses to expand and root chauvinism. We will make a serious mistake in assessing reality if we believe that chauvinism has not contaminated the Portuguese people and even the proletariat, including large parts of its most advanced sectors, the fables set about the congenital laziness of the colonial peoples and their "intellectual and mental inferiority", the grotesque exaltation of the figure of the "Lusíada conqueror", etc., etc., are themes that the class enemy uses. to expand and root chauvinism. We will make a serious mistake in assessing reality if we believe that chauvinism has not contaminated the Portuguese people and even the proletariat, including large parts of its most advanced sectors. the fables set about the congenital laziness of the colonial peoples and their "intellectual and mental inferiority", the grotesque exaltation of the figure of the "Lusíada conqueror", etc., etc., are themes that the class enemy uses. to expand and root chauvinism. We will make a serious mistake in assessing reality if we believe that chauvinism has not contaminated the Portuguese people and even the proletariat, including large parts of its most advanced sectors.

The brainwashing that is permanently subject to those passing through the ranks of the colonial-fascist army contributes powerfully to the spread of chauvinism among the working classes.

Down with chauvinism, long live internationalism! It is the watchword that should guide our action in this fight.

Thirdly, wage a resolute battle against social chauvinism and neo-social chauvinism. The essence, nature, and class content of social chauvinism and neo-social-chauvinism are the same; its difference is merely formal and resides in the fact that neo-social-chauvinism is the social-patriotism of those who, like the C "ml" P squeal, nevertheless shout: "Down with Social-Chauvinism." Both constitute an ideological, bourgeois current, and the organizations that disseminate it are political detachments of the bourgeoisie, agents of this class within the workers' movement and its main social pillar. Lenin characterized the social chauvinists as those who were "socialist" in words and patriotic in their acts. The patriotism of PCP agents and C "ml" P is more subtle than the patriotism of the Marcellist clique and therefore more effective in its task of deceiving, deceiving and mystifying the proletariat and the people. The fight against chauvinism is of little value if we do not complete it

and combine it with the fight against social chauvinism in its various forms. Down with social-chauvinism, live internationalism.

Fourth, to constantly and steadily maintain and develop revolutionary propaganda and agitation against Portuguese colonialism, imperialism and colonial-imperialist war and to periodically trigger, or concerning relevant events (eg, trial of Cuban militia taken prisoner) in Guinea, popular forces attack Bissau) intense and widespread agitation and propaganda campaigns in order to educate the broad masses of the people, raise their level of political awareness, unite them and mobilize them into increasingly daring forms of struggle. . We must pay particular attention to the essential character and content of our political unrest in this, as in all sectors of struggle. Our aim is to establish a seal between the Portuguese people and the peoples of the colonies, an unshakable alliance against the common enemy, for the purpose of destroying its political power in the first place. To destroy political power, Comrade Mao said at the tenth Plenary session of the 8th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion and work on ideological ground. Thus the revolutionary classes proceed to the counterrevolutionary classes as well. To create public opinion and work on the ideological ground, revolutionary agitation and propaganda play a huge role. All manifestations of colonialist, neo-colonialist, imperialist and social-chauvinist ideology, however small and whatever the social class or layer in which they manifest themselves, must be the object of our attention and our struggle. We must spread among the broad masses of the Portuguese people the political lines of the popular liberation movements of the colonies and the successes they are having in their just wars of emancipation. To popularize and spread to the broad masses the slogans of combat against colonialism and colonial imperialist war. Down with colonialism and colonial-imperialist war! Long live the great, glorious and just war of national liberation of the oppressed people of the colonies!

Fifthly, to unite and organize all classes, layers and elements of the population that can be united to combat colonialism and colonial-imperialist war. Without organization, all the work that is done in the fields of agitation and propaganda, of ideological and political struggle, however well planned and executed, however aroused, enthusiastic, and imaginative, will be but fruitless. The seeds of agitation and propaganda can only germinate, grow, grow into trees, bear flowers and produce fruits if they are sown on the right ground, if they are in good germination, flowering and fruiting conditions and can count on the care of an experienced farmer. The land suitable for sowing exists and is the broad masses of the people, for the harvest to be abundant and rich, the land is not enough, and all the work of the experienced farmer is necessary and indispensable. And this work is not just about sowing, a task that is relatively easy compared to the complexity of other tasks. These are the tasks of land organization, germination organization, etc., until harvest organization. In laying the groundwork for the anti-colonial popular movement, the MRPP must pay close attention and enthusiasm to this work of organization: the MRPP will have to turn out to be a seasoned peasant who not only sows the seeds, but knows how to organize rich and rich abundant harvests. We dare to organize the broad masses of the people.

Sixth, to make all our work of political propaganda, agitation, and organization a sharp, bold, and combative one. We can and must mobilize and organize the masses, not to keep them shackled, bound and locked, but to unleash their fantastic creative energy, their inexhaustible revolutionary power, and direct them whole upon the class enemy, setting ever more blows upon them until they destroy it and annihilate it. Colonialism, however old it may be, as is the case with

Portuguese colonialism, does not willingly and willingly abandon the bloody prey in which its jaws were screwed. Colonialism will not crumble by itself; it must be fought, attacked with all weapons and destroyed by the revolutionary violence of the peoples. If we advertise, if we launch the unrest, If we go to all sections of the population that can be united and organize them, it is for the struggle that we do it. We must use all forms of struggle, use all means and weapons, combining them correctly, bearing in mind the level of consciousness of the masses, their willingness to fight and the organizational and political capacity to lead them to victory! We dare to fight, we dare to win!

What does the experience of the MRPP teach us in the struggle against colonialism and colonial imperialist war?

Namely the emergence of a proletarian leadership of the movement, still frustrates, through the MRPP, a marked turning point in the direction of anti-colonial propaganda and agitation, which now orientate themselves and decide decisively on the proletariat and the other working classes; the intensity, extent, audacity and content of our political upheaval, and the penetration and support it has elicited in broad sections of the People.

If only for that reason, we should always consider the political balance of the February days as objectively positive. But if we bear in mind the extreme youth, the almost greenness of our movement, its limited political and organizational experience - things that can only be acquire in the heat of the struggle, the numerical weakness of their forces, the scarcity of material and technical means; and if, at the same time, we remember the innovative and pioneering character of the fight against colonialism and imperialism and the colonial-imperialist war in Portugal - a country that is one of the oldest colonialists and that for more than 500 years has had colonial wars of destruction , prey and genocide - then the positive sign of the political balance has taken its real dimension in our eyes.

However, a number of mistakes have been made. Some of them could have been avoided; others can only be corrected at present, and still others will have to be repeated before it can be eradicated. We all learn from our successes, but what truly teaches men and classes is the mistakes they make as long as they are able to understand why they made them.

The anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist revolutionary unity work unleashed by our Movement fell short of what could and should have been done, both politically and organizationally.

First, the unitary movement erected at the base of the Anti-Colonial Fighting Committees (CLACs) tended to dissolve past the "hot" period of the February days. This tendency towards the "demobilization" and "passage to availability" of the unitary organisms has to justify the inertia acquired at the time of their original constitution, formed for the anti-colonial demonstration of February, and fulfilled the mission. This drawback can and must be overcome. And the Lenin Committee, in its internal document on the preparation of the February days, estimated that ways of overcoming this problem would be found as long as the fight against colonialism and war was withdrawn, the data-driven character and boldly set out to create a strong and powerful Anti-Colonial Popular Movement.

Secondly, the unitary content of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle had far from being deeply assimilated and correctly practiced. Some sectarianism and some bureaucratic style made their appearance, preventing many unassisted activists, non-communist men and women, but with militant anti-colonialist positions, who could and should be called into the struggle and linked to

it have realized a fruitful revolutionary unity. Some comrades might be said to be reluctant - or difficult? - by the work that presents itself as unitary, scalded from the revisionist slogans about the "anti-fascist unity" of the PCP's people - placing the working class at the service of the bourgeois middle, sustaining and realizing the interests of this exploiting class.

Thirdly, it was not always possible to stimulate and unleash the creative energy, the powerful imagination, the inexhaustible potentialities of the masses, because a correct mass line was not practiced in our action and a correct style of work. Some Anti-Colonial Committees have renounced - or some bureaucracy has prevented them - renounced seeking their own forms of agitation and propaganda, merely utilizing what came to them centrally when it came and went.

Fourthly, they revealed some signs of a stereotypical style of unrest not always taking due account of the political characteristics of the sector to which it was primarily addressed. The anti-colonialist general slogans were not "illuminated" with the appropriate slogans for each sector layer, factory, and so on or la quarter. This has in some cases resulted from too centralized and undemocratic leadership - which at best turns the unitary organism into a mere performer and ultimately paralyzes and stifles it.

Fifth, there propaganda and agitation against colonialism, imperialism, and the colonial-imperialist war decayed almost completely after the February days. This was due to the difficulties of the central propaganda apparatus of the MRPP, on the one hand; but on the other, it was due to some inability on our part to keep the unitary bodies active in arousing and stimulating their own agitation and propaganda.

Finally, anti-colonial work was virtually absent in two absolutely essential centres of struggle within the colonial-fascist army and in the countryside. As regards the first centre, the Anti-Colonial Popular Resistance is already a fundamental pillar of the Anti-Colonial Popular Movement.

We must carefully study all difficulties, discover their causes and methods of overcoming them. Ours can and will be won. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Party comrades must take full account of all difficulties and be ready to overcome them with indomitable will and in a planned manner. The reactionary forces have their difficulties and we have ours. However, the difficulties of the reactionary forces are unconvincing because they are dying forces, they have no future. Our difficulties can be overcome because we are a nascent force and have a bright future. "

How to overcome difficulties? How to overcome mistakes? How to lay the foundations of a vast and vigorous Anti-Colonial People's Movement?

The colonial-imperialist war, as stated in "Current Situation and the Tactical Tasks of our Movement", is the "central knot of all the contradictions of Portuguese capitalism", the weak link in the oppressive system of exploitation.

The Portuguese proletariat, led by its revolutionary headquarters, must resolutely attack the class enemy at the point where it proves to be weakest, where the contradictions are most acute, where the bourgeoisie is most rooted.

In the matter of colonial imperialist war, the tactical objective of the proletariat is not merely to sabotage war at all levels, to paralyze it. This is very important, but only half of your goals. The other half is to be able to transform the colonial-imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war by achieving the strategic objectives of the present phase of the Portuguese Revolution - the Popular Democratic Revolution.

The constant aggravation of the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and the People by the bourgeoisie, the increasing repression of the working classes,

constitute excellent objective conditions for undertaking a broad work of revolutionary unity against colonialism, imperialism and colonial-imperialist war. .

To begin to lay the groundwork for a strong, brash and triumphant Anti-Colonial People's Movement, we must bear in mind our own experience in this field of struggle, rely on our own strengths, openly and confidently rely on the strength, initiative and unlimited enthusiasm of the broader. People's masses and guide our work on the following five fundamental principles.

1. AGAINST SECTARISM IN THE WORK OF ANTI-COLONIAL REVOLUTIONARY UNITY

The Anti-colonial Popular Movement is unitary. It means that it groups, organizes and unites for the struggle, under the leadership of the proletariat, all classes, layers, and elements of the Portuguese population that can be united.

Such a unit must be based on a very concrete political program, namely:

1. Fight against the lackey Portuguese colonialism of international imperialism, against the colonial-imperialist war of destruction, prey and genocide of the oppressed peoples of the colonies.

2. Active and militant international support for the great, glorious and just armed uprising of national liberation of the oppressed peoples of the colonies.

3. Uncompromising defense of the inalienable right of the oppressed peoples of the colonies to self-determination, separation, complete political, economic and cultural independence.

4. Combat all bourgeois and colonialist and neo-colonialist "solutions" of the colonial question, such as those that hide about the ideas of "referendum", "national debate", "previous negotiations".

Whoever accepts these four points jealously defends them, shows willingness to take them into practice and even takes them, take a correct and revolutionary position in the fight against colonialism and the colonial-imperialist war is therefore likely to be united. Therefore, it must be united and the Portuguese communists have a strict duty to do so.

And it is also an important duty of the Communists to spread, spread, and shake widely among the broad masses of the People the four-point platform in order to make it known, understood, and assimilated by the masses to make it their own, to discuss and to make it their own enthusiastically practice. The MRPP must be able to begin by uniting activists around it with more conscientious anti-colonialist militants, constantly raising the political level of the intermediate elements of the masses and conquering the backward elements.

There are two things to keep in mind in anti-colonial unitary work.

The first is the need to maintain a constant, firm and vigilant proletarian leadership of labour and struggle. The proletariat is the only revolutionary class to the end and, therefore, the only class that can lead, without quibbling or abandoning the fight against colonialism and imperialist colonial war to the last consequences. We must therefore develop to reinforce, as the backbone of the Anti-colonial People's Movement, the proletarian base, while extending our action to all sections of the People. And in the same vein, the MRPP must keep within its Anti-Colonial Popular Movement its political, organizational and ideological independence.

The second is the need to guard against all sectarianism. We must establish a broad unity within the masses. The unity we must practice with all comrades is a revolutionary unity, not a "controlist" and bureaucratic unity that would paralyze the inexhaustible capacity of the masses and kill their creative enthusiasm and

power. Sectarianism would have the effect of isolating the communists from the masses, separating the working class from the other classes and layers of the people and detaching their vanguard from the proletariat.

Within anti-colonial unitary organisms within the Anti-Colonial People's Movement there continue to be classes, class contradictions and class struggle. However, the contradictions within the anti-colonial popular alliance do not assume an antagonistic character, although they may become antagonistic if they are not overcome correctly. To overcome the contradictions within the Anti-Colonial Popular Movement we must start from the desire for unity, through the democratic procedure of criticism and self-criticism, to return to unity, now reinforced on a new basis. Without sectarianism, without opportunism.

The mass line is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that must guide all the practical work of the Communists in order for this work to be truly revolutionary. The struggle against colonialism and the colonial-imperialist war must be supported by the popular masses and the participation of all its elements in order to be victorious. Hence it is deeply wrong and should be opposed the idea that the victory in this fight - like any other - always depends on "trust in a handful of individuals who dictate orders." To wash the proper performance of its tasks the Communists give dive into the masses and be in them like fish in water, should meet the aspirations of the masses and the mood of them, about the problem, their willingness combativeness, the way it looks at colonialism and war and has fought them.

Only in this way can we systematize all the scattered data and synthesize it, formulating slogans that will be returned to the masses to make them their own. It is by remaining closely united to the people that we can see to what extent revolutionary practice confirms the correctness of the ever fairer, more correct, and more appropriate words to the objective and subjective conditions of combat.

Our Movement already has some experience of fighting against colonialism and the colonial-imperialist war. In this directive, the Lenin Committee analyses our practice in this field and synthesizes the results of our experience so that we can leap forward in your revolutionary work while maintaining a close connection with the masses.

As Comrade Mao teaches, "It often happens that, objectively, the masses need a certain change, but subjectively, they are not yet aware of that need, do not want it or are not determined to do it." In our anti-colonialist work we have often encountered this situation of relative backwardness of the conscious, subjective element under the objective element. In such cases we should wait patiently, but not passively. "We should not make such a change," Comrade Mao continues, but when by virtue of our work the majority of the masses have become aware of this need and are eager and determined to realize it. Otherwise we are isolated from the masses. .

Each Anti-Colonial Fighting Committee needs to have a great spirit of initiative of its own, which is in every fight, on top of every event to explain, seize, denounce and appeal to combat. constant and regular internal political life, discussing its past experience and planning and programming concrete actions for the immediate or distant future, intervening in the struggle at all levels where it can be fought, wasting no opportunity to act in the slightest way of attacking colonialism and war. Only in this way can it be connected to the masses, constantly raise their ideological awareness and maintain the direction of popular struggle in this particular field. Each Committee shall for this purpose

We have to avoid in our work routine, dogmatism, authoritarianism, sectarianism and bureaucracy, precisely because these mistakes separate us from the popular masses. The Anti-Colonial People's Movement must be a combative, enthusiastic, imaginative and proactive army capable of surprising and attacking the enemy in all its weaknesses and simultaneously bewildering it and forcing it to disperse its forces for easy annihilation.

2. AGAINST THE STEREOTYPE STYLE OF AGITATION AND ADVERTISING!

The made, stereotypical, mechanical style of agitation and propaganda is a consequence of the move away from the mass line in the field of political agitation and propaganda work. In each class, group or layer, in each region, zone or sector, in each particular case, we must know how to educate, raise awareness, mobilize the masses, starting from their state of mind, needs, disposition and attitude towards colonialism, the colonial-imperialist war. In some ways our slogans, agitation, and propaganda can then penetrate the masses, because the masses, despite their profoundly affected by colonialism and the colonial-imperialist war, are politically backward or mystified by the reactionary propaganda of the bourgeoisie and for chauvinism. This is so often the case with the peasant masses.

Of course, we do not have to mechanically reflect this political backwardness or mystification, which generalizes them, in our central slogans, because we must bear in mind the situation of all sectors as a whole. But in cases like these, we will have to start from the concrete knowledge of the factors that hit the masses most, the ways in which the war particularly aggravates their exploitation and launch a careful work of agitation and propaganda that allows the consciousness of the masses to rise. and global understanding of all major policy issues.

We will have to be able to speak from within the masses, using their language and living images, knowing their problems, and through revolutionary propaganda and agitation to point the way to their resolution. If we speak from outside them, using only the forms of a made and mechanical style, our policy will be understood by the masses as a policy that is foreign to them, will not penetrate the People and they will not firmly support making it their flag.

It is important to propagandize and agitate the central and general slogans against colonialism and war, because in this way we will maintain the principle of the political unity of this work. But to do just that is to make the easiest and omit the hardest. The hardest must also be done, because as a rule the hardest is the most important and take the multiple contradictions that at all levels the colonial war arouses in concrete, knowing how to denounce and explain, knowing how to organize and mobilize from them: the deaths of soldiers and sailors, their known state of physical and mental destruction, the patriotic speeches of line-dog bosses and agents of repression of the bourgeois state, the dearth of life, the dependence of imperialism openly evident in countless factories, the militarization of labour, desertions, etc. if the leaders are not themselves concerned, in a concrete way (...) the detailed execution of the work to which we make general appeals (...) you will not be able to check whether the general appeals are fair, they cannot refine their content. : and then, these general appeals risk to remain dead letter. Linking the general with the particular, linking the direction with the masses: this is the mass-line method, this is what our propaganda and agitation work has to do and reflect. " if the leaders are not themselves concerned, in a concrete way (...) the detailed execution of the work to which we make general appeals (...) you will not be able to check whether the general appeals are fair, they cannot refine their content. : and

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4.

Without a firm proletarian leadership, no Anti-Colonial Popular Movement can be born, developed and consistently fulfilled its revolutionary goals. We have seen above that two important conditions must be fulfilled in order to maintain and deepen the proletarian leadership of the Anti-Colonial Popular Movement, firstly, to constantly reinforce the proletarian base of the Movement, secondly to maintain within it the fullest political independence, organizational and ideological approach to the MRPP.

The backbone of anti-colonialist combat, its main driving force, is the working class. This is where we should focus the best of our energy and political and organizational experience. As we read in "The Current Situation and the Tactical Tasks of our Movement", it is, in particular, the young classes of the working class, who most directly suffer the effects of the colonial-imperialist war which may be the spearhead of this prolonged struggle uniting and organizing around it, both the remaining layers of the proletariat, and the other allied classes, layers and social elements, always with particular focus on youth. It is no coincidence that it was the youth sector, particularly the student sector, that first dared to confront colonialism and colonial-imperialist war on the street.

Our work to set up a vigorous and consequent Anti-Colonial People's Movement we must pay careful attention to the interested organization and mobilization of the workers and peasants, as well as of the remaining Allied Marriages, in two key points; the countryside and the colonial-fascist army.

The camp represents and emerges at the present stage of class struggle in our country as a major strategic reserve of the bourgeoisie in its twofold military and political aspect.

Politically delayed, subjected to a massive campaign of mystical ideology by the bourgeoisie, unable to formulate politically the defense of their own class interests, the peasant masses are generally an easy prey of the ruling class and constitute the main reserve of forces it has to maintain its system of exploitation and oppression. In the case of the colonial-imperialist war, the peasant masses have been a docile instrument in the hands of militarists and colonialists, they say, "mirror the virtues of the nation." They represent the most substantial part of the contingent of soldiers and sailors, who have been transformed into twisters and criminals in the service of the colonial bourgeoisie, murderers of their own brothers, the large peasant masses of the colonies.

The fundamental reason why Portugal's peasant masses are in a state of political and ideological subjection to the bourgeoisie, the reason why they are easily manipulated, the reason why militarists and colonialists dismember the peasants' flesh as they please, lies in crime ignominious of the revisionists of the PCP who exchanged the worker-peasant alliance for the alliance with the bourgeois media and the doctors.

The Portuguese proletariat has as its historical mission, which it must urgently accomplish, to subtract the large peasant masses from the subjection of the bourgeoisie, organizing and mobilizing them for their own combat, conquering them for revolution as their main ally. Without it the Revolution cannot triumph. Without the peasant masses there is no revolution.

In building a strong Anti-Colonial Popular Movement, this need is equally urgent. How can there be a vigorous anti-colonialist movement without the peasant masses?

It is urgent to develop a broad and intense work of political education, propaganda and agitation among the peasant masses, to awaken their political and ideological conscience, to mobilize them, to turn them against the colonial-imperialist war. The main bourgeoisie must be removed from its bourgeoisie. Without it the continuation of the war is practically impossible.

This historical work must be started now!

From revolutionary peasants 'nuclei, from the newly arrived workers' layers of the fields, from peasants working in factories in predominantly peasant areas, from them they begin a patient, enthusiastic revolutionary working style, which allows for the first time in Portugal to launch the seeds of the worker-peasant alliance, the alliance that will unleash the most formidable revolutionary storm that has ever swept the Portuguese land.

Let us work hard and the slogan "people's war against imperialist colonial war" will also be a powerful red flag in peasant hands.

The second sore point of the enemy, the main instrument and support of his state is the colonial-fascist army.

If through the colonial-imperialist war capitalist exploitation is aggravated, sharpened and the class struggle, if the growing oppression is abated, it is within the bourgeois army that the criminal and political of its state arises more clearly and brazenly towards the working people. But this is also where the enemy has its most sensitive point. Seemingly powerful and fearsome, the fascist colonial army has feet of clay. It can be vanquished, it is vanquished, and it will be totally liquidated when the gigantic wave of the popular masses rises in the sea of Revolution and destroys all the obstacles that arise in its passage. The colonial-imperialist war needs the "effective" imperialist colonial army to maintain itself, but its "effectiveness" It will end on the day when a strong anti-colonialist movement of soldiers and sailors rises from the barracks, barracks, and establishments and military units of the bourgeoisie. To attack the enemy in the army is to attack him in a nerve centre, to attack him within his main weapon of oppression, repression and exploitation, to attack him in the rear that he needs safely. It is about it. The recent hysterical reactions of the Marcelist clique, their panic, at the first anti-colonial agitation campaigns within the army of the colonialists are proof that the enemy feels these blows as truly deadly. We boldly attack him in the nerve centres that paralyze him. It's attacking you inside your main weapon of oppression, repression and exploitation, it's attacking you in the rear that you need safely. It is about it. The recent hysterical reactions of the Marcelist clique, their panic, at the first anti-colonial agitation campaigns within the army of the colonialists are proof that the enemy feels these blows as truly deadly. We boldly attack him in the nerve centers that paralyze him.

5. WORK HARD AND PRESERVE IN THE FIGHT!

The Portuguese people's revolutionary struggle against colonialism and the colonial-imperialist war had only begun to take its first steps. The tasks that lie ahead

for us to build a strong and brash and triumphant Anti-Colonial People's Movement are indeed great, and the difficulties we have to overcome will certainly not be minor. But it is through hardships and vicissitudes that we have to overcome will certainly not be minor. But it is through difficulties and vicissitudes that all that is new grows, that the new overcomes the old, that the revolutionary crushes the reactionary and creates the radiant future.

The colonial-imperialist war is the continuation of the bourgeois colonialist and imperialist policy by other means. One might think that the fact that the colonialist bourgeoisie, the lesser lacuna of international imperialism, had resorted to the criminal colonial-imperialist war to quell the just aspirations of the peoples of the colonies to national independence was proof of its strength. In reality it represents nothing other than an irrefutable demonstration of its weakness and weakness.

As Comrade Mao teaches "in the history of mankind, all reactionary force on the threshold of his death invariably launches itself in a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces. Often certain revolutionaries are temporarily deceived by this phenomenon of apparent force. , masking an inner weakness, not seeing the essential fact that the enemy is near the end while they themselves are near victory. "

Building a vast and vigorous Anti-Colonial Popular Movement requires that we work hard and we will persevere in the struggle. No reactionary class willingly leaves its historical situation unintentionally. Only the revolutionary violence of the masses will force itself to yield and annihilate them. None of this can be accomplished without hard work, sweat and blood. But the true communists are those who, the greater the difficulty of a task, the more desire they have to begin it.

In every sector of our work, in every region, in every factory, in every quarter, in every school we must know how to gather all the particles of popular indignation against the colonial-imperialist war, to form with them a torrent that will grow as our work grows. of propaganda, agitation and organization within the masses.

We must start now, on the basis of this directive, in all the cells of our Movement, allied organizations, the study and planning of the work of revolutionary unity against colonialism and colonial imperialist war. We must structure the anti-colonial unitary organisms now, stimulate their own work, help and encourage fellow soldiers and overcome their difficulties, awaken their creative energy and imagination and learn modestly from their practice.

Maintain the closest links to the masses, openly trust their revolutionary enthusiasm, resolutely unite activists, raise the level of consciousness of the intermediate elements and conquer the backward elements. Our comrades working in unitary organizations must maintain a firm revolutionary vigilance, guarding themselves from all sectarianism, and stimulating the democratic procedure of criticism and self-criticism.

They must fight routine and bureaucracy so that unitary organisms sprout up as a free and dynamic body within the broad masses of the People.

They must incite them to revolutionary work and appeal to their own possibilities for washing it.

Anti-colonialist revolutionary unity organizations must walk, walk.

LONG LIVE THE WAR OF THE PEOPLE ON THE COLONIAL-IMPERIALIST WAR!

LONG LIVE THE GREAT, GLORIOUS AND FAIR NATIONAL LIBERATION FIGHT OF THE OPPRESSED COLONY PEOPLE!

DOWN WITH THE COLONIAL-IMPERIALIST WAR, DESTRUCTION,
RAPINE AND GENOCIDE TO THE HEROIC PEOPLE OF THE
COLONIES!

PROLETARIES OF ALL COUNTRIES!

PROLETARIES OF ALL OPPRESSED COUNTRIES, PEOPLE AND
NATIONS, UNITE!

LONG LIVE THE ANTI COLONIAL POPULAR MOVEMENT!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

LONG LIVE THE MRPP!

LENINE COMMITTEE

October 1, 1971
