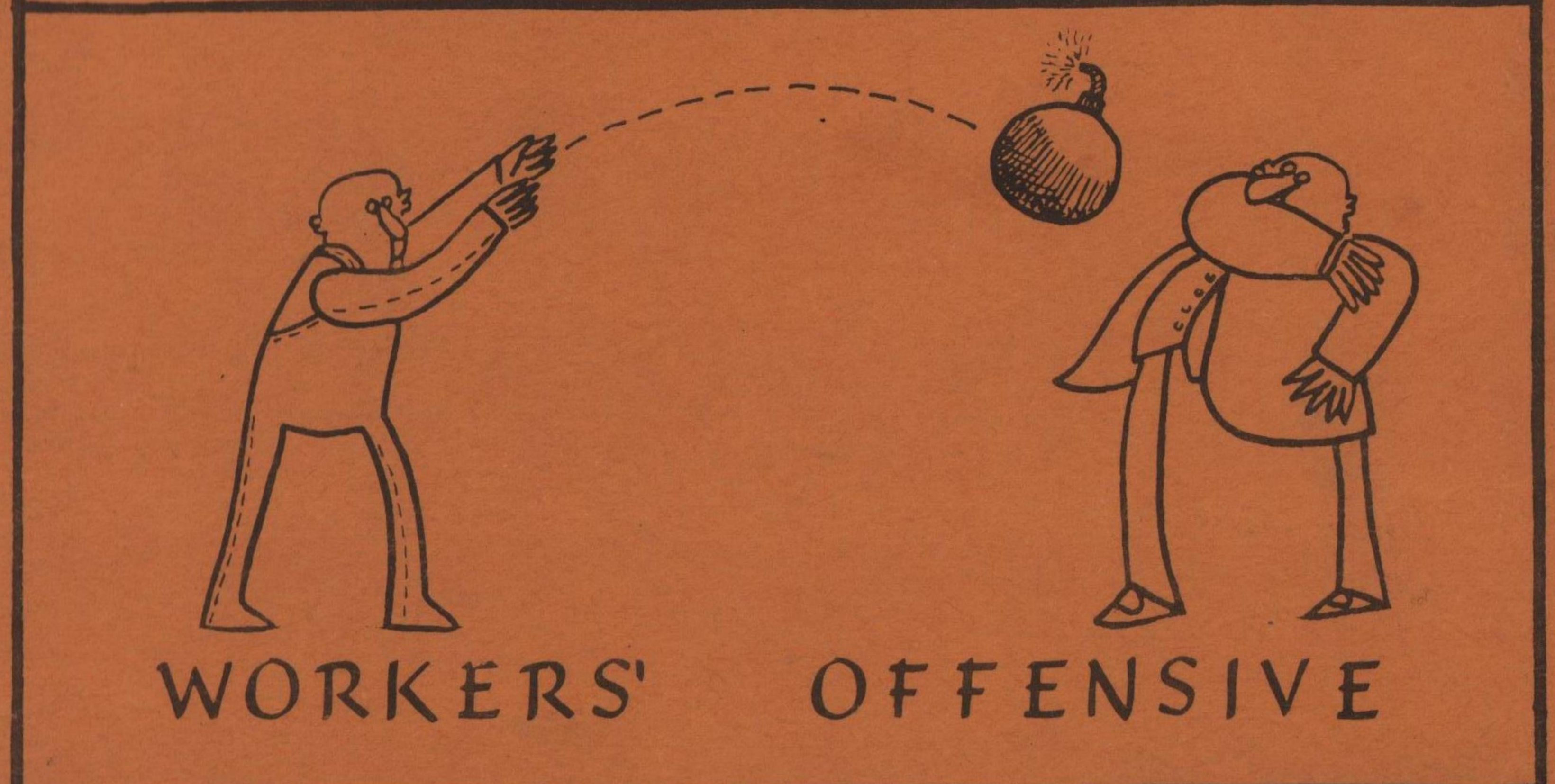


"... the working class tends, in Portugal too, to separate work and income: what is demanded is not the "just pay that the boss can give", but rather that which the working class needs. The autonomy of a working class objective is the result of the working class's desire to appropriate an ever-larger part of the social wealth of which it knows itself to be the collective producer, independently of productivity..." (p. 10)

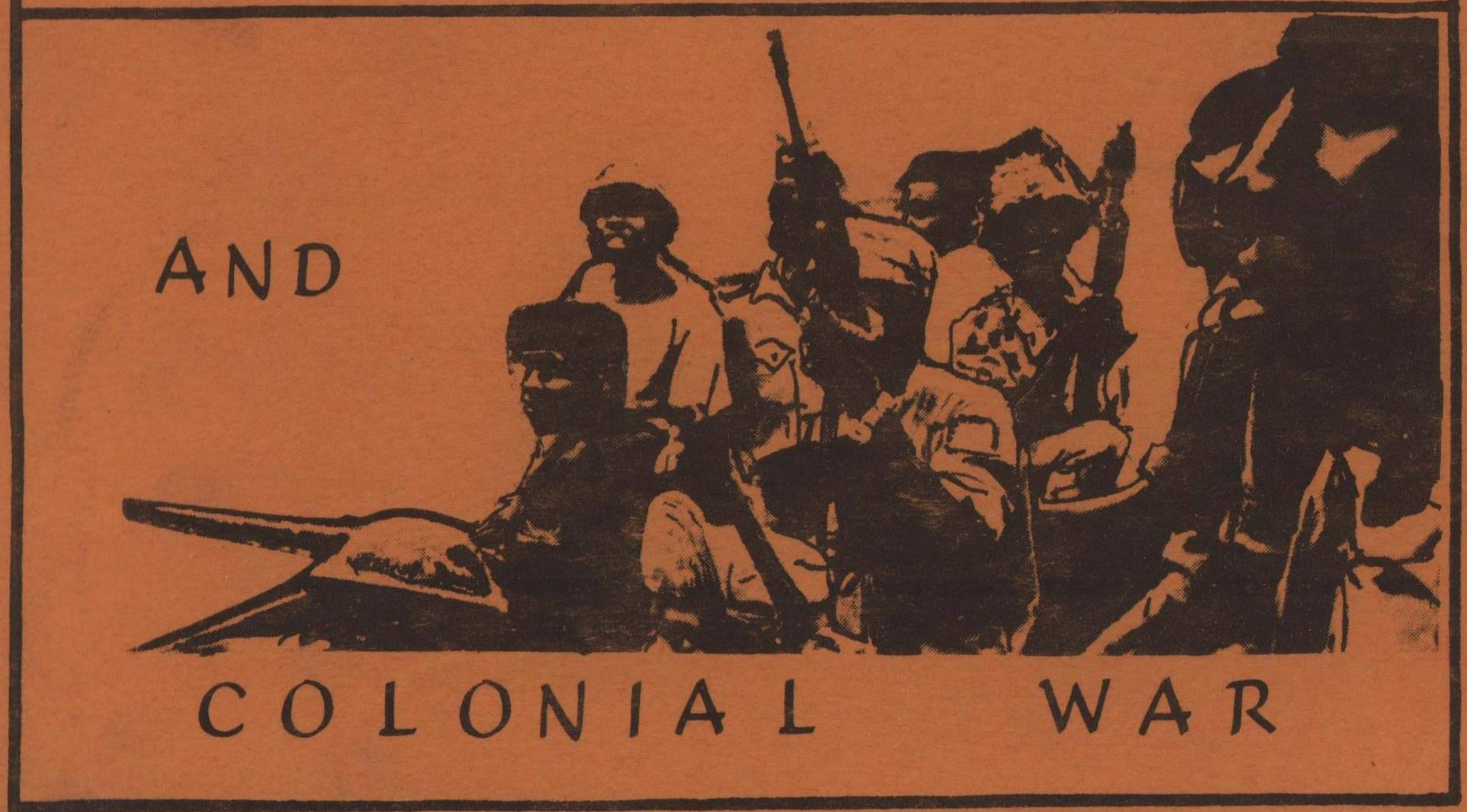
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CAPITALIST STRATEGY



WORKERS' OFFENSIVE

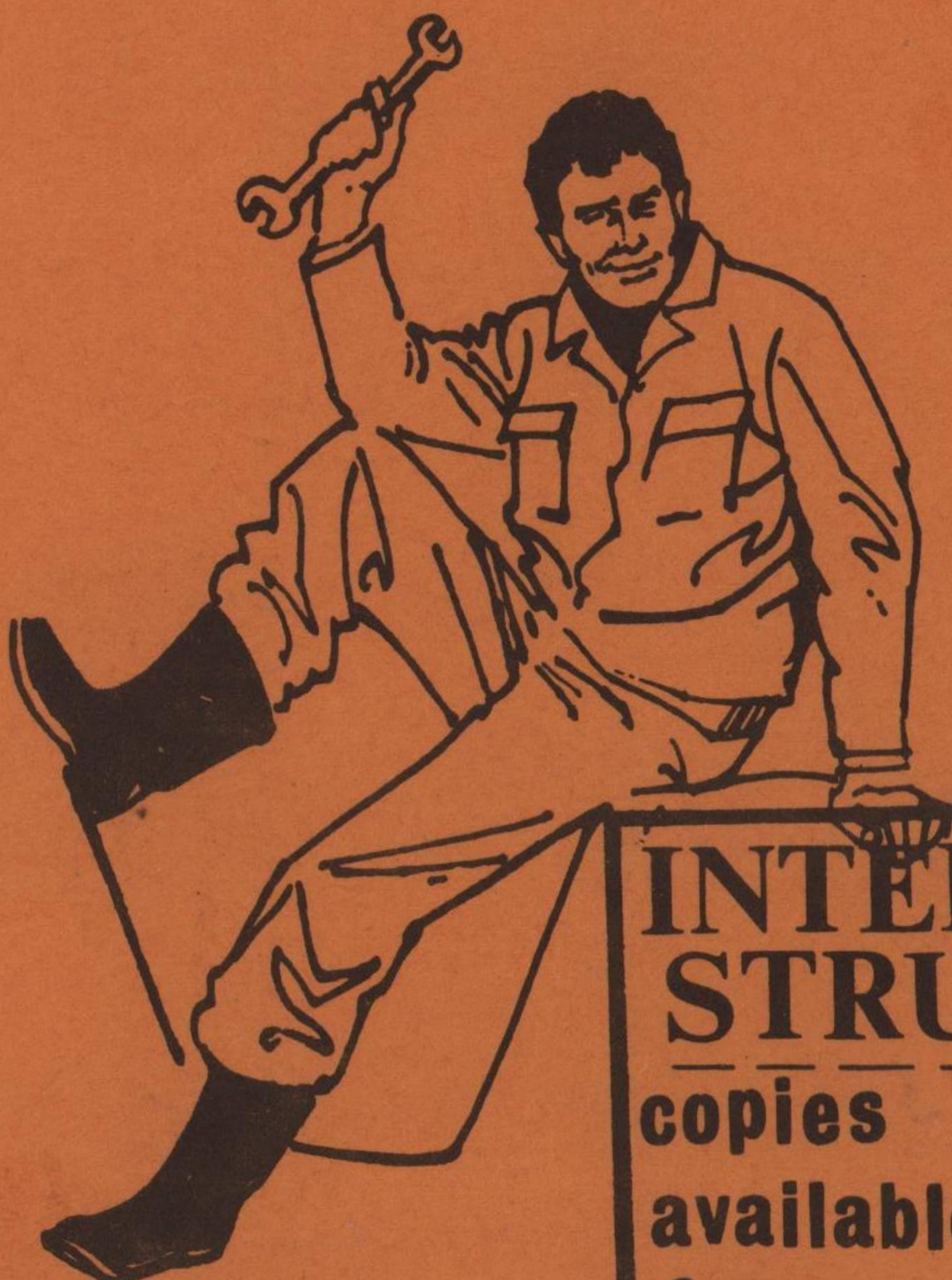


AND

COLONIAL WAR

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DOWN WITH WORK!

INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE - no. 1

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THE PARTY CAPITALISM AND THE WORKING CLASS



or how not to make the revolution....

ONE

FROM THE FAILURE OF THE OLD ANTI-FASCIST FRONT TO THE ERUPTION OF CLASS AUTONOMY.



Throughout the 1960's, 7000,000 Portuguese emigrants (that means 8% of its population) crossed the frontiers of their bosses, left their small farms, their villages, and later the factories themselves. They went to sell their labour power at the price fixed by the historical struggle of the European and American working class, to all the bosses of France, Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Luxemburg, Canada, United States....

A human flow of these dimensions is in reality extremely complex. From the standpoint of a class analysis, this flow cannot be explained through the mass of statistical reasoning characteristic of a certain kind of "progressive cretinism". One of the latest yields of this inexhaustible vein (B. Granotier: Les travailleurs immigrés en France - immigrant workers in France - Ed. Maspero, 1970) concluded that, for Portugal and Greece "... the primary condition for stemming the current exodus of men is a radical reorganisation - which only the Left could accomplish - towards rapid development." If it is true that Portuguese capitalists have not yet, on the whole, opted for the Left, it is certain that they are seriously worried by this "exodus"! They confirm it every day, word for word: lack of manpower, rising wages, strikes, etc...

It is incontestable that the bosses and the State have increasingly consciously encouraged this migratory flow, as the fundamental basis of a well-defined process of accelerated proletarianisation and of liquidation of the old agricultural structures (in particular types of ownership and agricultural production). The goal of this process is, in a longer run, that of the total restructuring of the productive apparatus and of the organisation of labour. On the other hand, it is no less true that, simultaneously, the activity of old and new proletarians has changed profoundly and that a parallel process of political recomposition of the working class is going on inside of, and against, the capitalist plan of development. Over a relatively short period, the working class in Portugal itself has come to include more than a third of the active population, or well over a million workers. The average age for this class is less than 30 and its recruitment puts side by side - in a kind of "explosive mixture" - first or second generation factory workers with workers recently emigrated from the countryside, in which had been formed the army of rural proletarians (about 75% of the agricultural population).

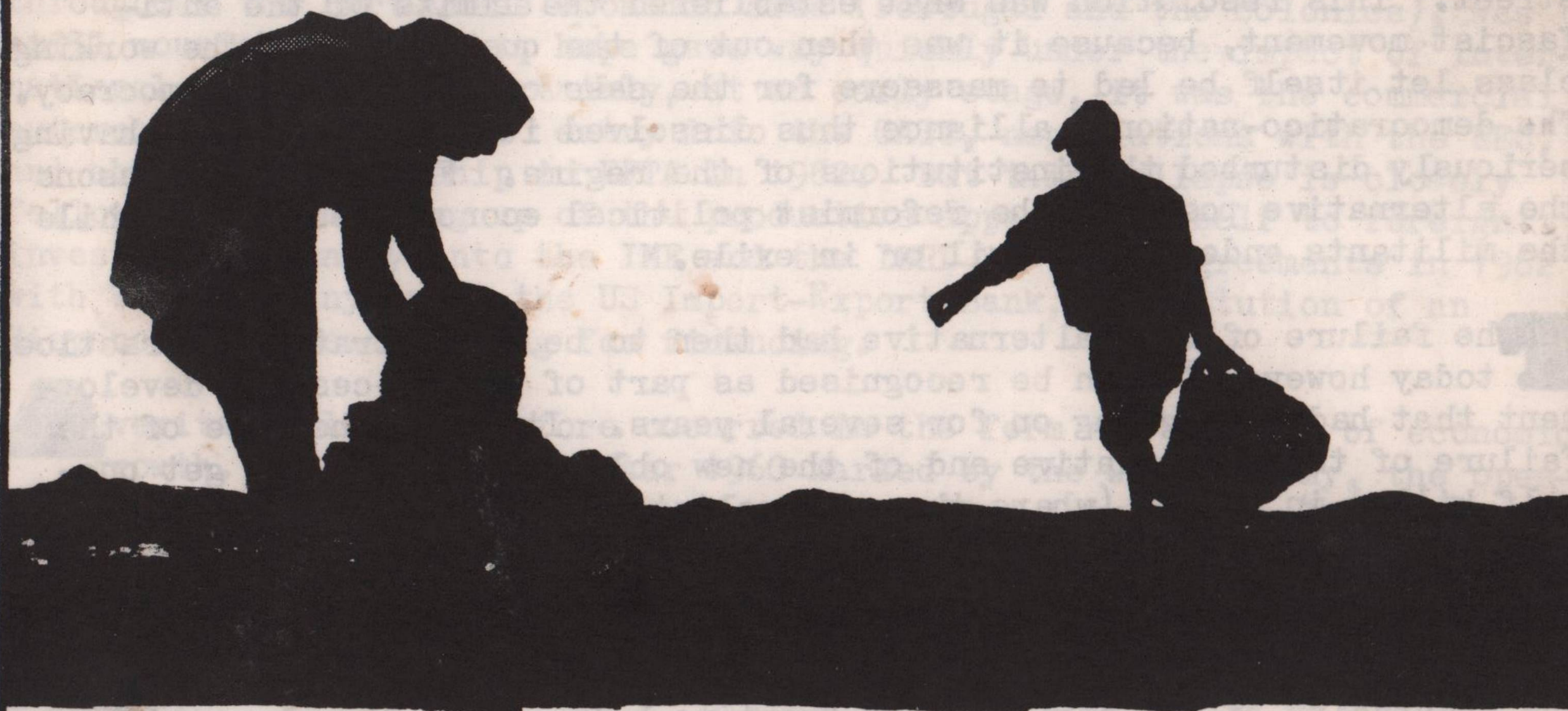
To the "progressives" conception of this emigration, which is used as a basis for frontist theories held by the Left (one happy family from the bosses to these progressives against the manpower exodus), we answer as did the Portuguese anarcho-syndicalists of the 1910s (already!) that travel forms the young!

In fact, the formidable exodus of the 60s represents the first form of massive rejection of the Portuguese and capitalism's backwardness during the Salazarist (relatively) autarchic period. This first form of revolt and insubordination developed as soon as there had been time to ascertain the total impasse which the extraordinary worker and popular thrust

under the anti-fascist and democratic political leadership had reached during the period from 1958 to 1962.

After a long period of relatively stable prices and of frozen or decreasing wages - a period that begins with the state financial intervention which characterised the rise of Salazar (coup d'etat on May 28th 1926), and which lasts, grosso modo, until the second World War - Portuguese capitalism began, at the end of the War, the process of industrialisation, utilising the reserves accumulated during the War (various supplies to the belligerents, notably rare minerals, price rise in colonial products). The 1950s saw the slow installation of industrial infrastructures under the leadership of finance capital.

The last years of this period are marked by the energetic popular struggles contemporary to the presidential elections of 1958 (Delgado's candidature), by the southern agricultural workers' strike (for the eight-hour day and obviously not for the "land to those who work it") (1), by the miners' strike in the same region, and finally by the very serious street battles which culminated in May 1st 1962. It is in fact under the imminently popular pressure (a large part of the working classes participated in it as members of the "people" and not as a class with its own distinct interests) of 1958 that the Communist Party took another look at its tactics and succeeded in dragging into an anti-fascist front, as coherent as such a front could be, important sections of the urban petit-bourgeoisie (intellectuals, students, white-collar employees, small merchants, and very small industrialists). The legislative elections of



PARTICIPAÇÃO

«O sector agrícola não tem tido qualquer contribuição significativa na expansão económica global»

"The agricultural sector has made no significant contribution to the overall economic expansion."

1961 offer a framework for the open release of hostilities against the regime: from October 1961 to May 1962 the situation never stopped evolving and becoming more radical. The working class participated in it massively but there was no expression of a really autonomous workers' movement, that is to say, unified in the factories around class political objectives - there were no large strike movements. If it is incontestable that it was the working class which gave the confrontations of May 1st their violence, nonetheless, it was still following behind the anti-fascist slogans of peace, liberty and democracy.

It is in this context that we talk of an "anti-fascist leadership". These different movements were not, in fact, a simple accumulation of partial struggles. But rather they converged, under this anti-fascist leadership, in order to create an alternative to the political leadership of the country. Its eventual success - that is to say, Salazar's overthrow (his ideas, if not his person) and the replacement of the old leadership by progressive technocrats - was based on an alliance of the workers, the peasants, and the non-monopolist bourgeoisie. Such an alliance the working class still could have accepted, due to its weakness, as a provisional solution to its fundamental demand during this period: work before all else. However, it never in fact came about. Since the first period of industrialisation, achieved during the '50s, this front no longer had any material basis. In fact, already during this period the working class's own interests tended more and more to come into conflict with the so-called general interest. The May '62 confrontations had shown the resolution of the capitalist front in the face of pressure from the street. This resolution was what established the limits of the anti-fascist movement, because it was then out of the question that the working class let itself be led to massacre for the sake of liberty and democracy. The democratic-national alliance thus dissolved itself even before having seriously disturbed the institutions of the regime. For the same reasons the alternative posed by the reformist political economy fell apart while the militants ended up in jail or in exile.

The failure of this alternative had then to be demonstrated in practice; today however it can be recognised as part of the process of development that had been going on for several years. It is in the face of the failure of this alternative and of the new obligation to go and get oneself killed in Angola (where the nationalist rebellion had broken out in February 1961) that the spontaneous and subterranean movement of mass emigration during the '60s rises up. If the "demobilisation" of the working class after the days in May (refusal to go into the streets at the call of the PCP on May 28th 1962 and later May 1st 1963) is a response to the incapacity of the anti-fascist front to bring about the change in Portuguese capitalism, emigration, for its part, is the immediate response to the insufficient accumulation of dead labour. (We consider the accumulation of dead labour to be the productive capacities that the capitalist plan can utilise immediately).

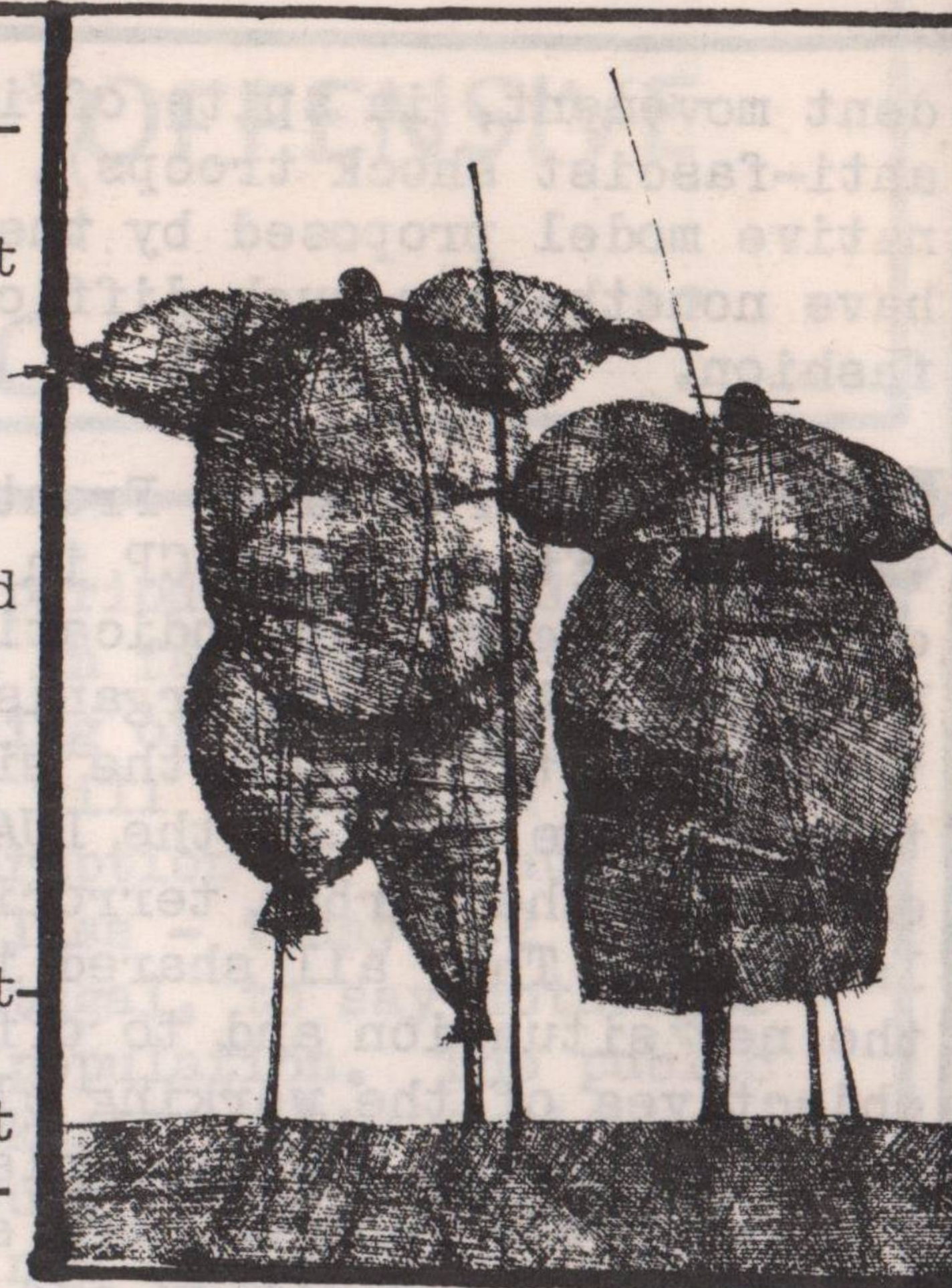
These struggles are thus at the same time the highest point in the

"anti-fascist movement" and the point which marked its end. That is, the moment such a political project had to leave the ideological sphere of speeches against the dictatorship, it was in practice set on the shortest road to a first-class burial.

But it is evident that such a working-class and popular thrust and an eruption of armed struggle in the colonies could not remain unanswered by the capitalist leaders. It is therefore from this time that the death of "Salazarism" dates, even though the old dictator stayed seated on the throne. By the "end of Salazarism" we mean very precisely the splitting open of the first cracks in the autarchic edifice laboriously constructed since the first world crisis of the '30s. It is in this framework that Portuguese capitalism ultimately got a grip on the productive forces and built itself a minimal competitive basis. It is Salazar himself who announced, in 1963 (International Affairs), the end of this stage of development: "A part of the human potential that is engaged in agriculture ... must be transferred to other sectors, of which one, the industrial sector - which has just begun to be developed - already realises that it needs to be reorganised in order to become competitive." The hope of an "enlarged autarchy", extending throughout the Portuguese economic area (Portugal and the colonies), was still nourished, but this hope gave way quickly under the impact of international capitalism. Certainly, at an early stage, it was the commercial autarchy that collapsed: entry into the GATT, negotiations with the EEC, and above all membership in EFTA in 1962. But this collapse is closely followed by an opening up of the productive apparatus itself to foreign investments: entry into the IMF and the IBRD in 1961, agreements in 1962 with West Germany, with the US Import-Export Bank, constitution of an Hispano-Portuguese holding for financing.

A veritable leap therefore occurred in the form and content of economic growth. The ten years after 1960 marked by the war economy, the opening up to international capital, the integration into the world market, the invasion of the towns by waves of new proletarians, the rapid fall in rural population, and the complete restructuring of agriculture, the equilibrium in the balance of payments (thanks to tourism, but above all to the currencies sent by emigrants: £200million in 1969), the first attempt of reform in the educational system and in professional training, and finally the investment of accumulated surplus value in new machines that were to be used to counter the workers' offensive, as we shall see further on (2).

With "Salazarism" dies "anti-Salazarism". The attempts to overcome the progressive crumbling of the traditional alliances and the diminishing control of the CP over the working-class movement (and even over the stu-



dent movement, in spite of its having been the uncontested bastion of the anti-fascist shock troops), in short, the general failure of the old alternative model proposed by the "opposition" during the 30 years of autarchy, have nonetheless much difficulty in expressing themselves in an organised fashion.

The Popular Action Front (FAP), born in 1963-64, through a schism to the left from the CP in the international framework of the "sino-soviet conflict", gives an indication of this situation. However, it couldn't help but fail in its organisational attempts to "reconstruct the revolutionary party" around the simple slogan of "armed struggles". Other attempts, like that of the LUAR (League of Unity and Revolutionary Action), extolling the "urban terrorism" in the style of the Tupamaros, had a similar fate. They all shared the same incapacity to discover the meaning of the new situation and to offer organisational openings to the autonomous objectives of the working class. Likewise, the fundamental question of the tie between the struggles in the factories and the struggle against the war never received the slightest practical answer, in spite of the massive insubordination and the recent multiplication of movements of revolt in the barracks against the material conditions that the soldiers suffer.

* * *

Notes

- (1) Slogan of the Portuguese Communist Party, reviving that of the Bolchevicks in 1917 but in a different historical context. Given the enormous majority of farm-workers over farmers (property owners) in Portuguese agriculture, their only demands can be those of the proletariat and not for agricultural land reform.
- (2) The following are some concrete aspects of this industrial development: in agriculture the old grain production is replaced by the production of fruit and vegetables (for food industry) and reforestation (for the paper industry); the mechanisation and irrigation works are accomplished with massive governmental aid. At the same time basic industries are built up in the Lisbon-Setúbal, Porto-Braga, and the Aveiro-Coimbra regions: the steel industry, metallurgy, the car industry (General Motors, Ford, Chrysler-Simca, Citroen, Renault etc), naval shipyards, the chemical industry, the electronics industry, paper, plastic, etc.. On the other hand, the industries traditionally strong in Portugal - textiles, fish canning, cork manufacturing, and so forth - are definitely on the down-swing.

TWO

THE WORKERS' OFFENSIVE

AND THE "NEW ECONOMIC POLICY".



This long period of so-called "reflux" was in fact that of an accelerated ripening of the objective conditions which will become the framework for the eruption of the autonomy of the working class - today 1.2 million strong in Portugal, to say nothing of the emigrant population. The public transport workers' strike in Lisbon, during June-July 1968, marked the beginning of a new cycle in the struggle against increased exploitation, a struggle on the level of the wage system and work conditions (hours, speed-ups, etc.), and therefore against work. These struggles - and their chronology itself proves this - are perfectly autonomous not only with relation to the official trade unions (ultra-bureaucratised transmission channels of centralised power), but also with relation to the organisational attempts made by the political opposition and to the politico-institutional limits they try to impose (Salazar's illness, the rise of Caetano, legislative elections, contract negotiations and reform of the unions, etc.).

The first thing to underline about this attack is the capacity demonstrated by the working class to extend its struggle ever more quickly and further: starting with urban transportation, the struggle reached the postal and railway workers and spread to the whole narrow strip of plants in a region centred around Lisbon and extending to a radius of over 50 kms around the capital (steel, metallurgy, car



ATLANTIC

SPAIN



- Rubber
- Oil refinery
- Steel
- Nuclear Energy
- Electrical
- Paper
- Glass
- Aircraft
- Cement
- Tobacco
- Wood
- Food
- Car factories
- Metallurgy
- Chemicals
- Textiles
- Industrial estates
- Ship-yards

works, shipyards, electronics, paper, furniture, glass, chemicals, and so forth). The second thing to be emphasised is the rapidity and extreme clarity with which the same unifying objectives spread throughout the working class as a whole. Through their objectives and the forms of struggle they chose, the Portuguese workers have put themselves on a level with the working class of Europe and the USA; this unified class has been in the process of developing its autonomy since 1967-68. Through this process it has been building the material basis for the organisation of the class against the world capitalist development.

During the first strike wave, lasting from the summer of 1968 to the autumn of 1969, the only demand that appeared as the expression of this autonomy was that of equal wage increases for all. But already the second wave - launched in November of 1969 by the 5,000 workers of the LISNAVE shipyards (one of the biggest and most profitable businesses of the Portuguese economy, key sector in which the fusion of "national" and "foreign" capital has been accomplished with great success) - is entirely against the new government, which had facilitated the access to power of the "anti-fascist technocrats" (i.e. the Minister of Planning and the Minister of Industry). This second wave of strikes is also directed against the democratico-reformist alternative presented by the "opposition" during the legislative elections of October 1969. Finally, this wave is directed against the considerable rectifications made in the IIIrd plan by the 1970 Budget Law which plans an energetic restructuring of the productive apparatus and of the organisation of labour.

The LISNAVE strike brought an end to the hopes held by the government and the opposition, especially the hope that reforms could be manoeuvred calmly, in relative peace, by means of a few wage concessions quickly taken back through inflation, by speed-ups, by the modernisation of machines and thus by an intensified enslavement of the worker to the organisation of labour. The five thousand of LISNAVE proposed to the entire Portuguese working class, through their hard struggle without the slightest compromise (no discussion with the bosses!, refusal to elect the commission that the bosses demanded and which fell in line with the CP slogans, physical resistance to police intervention), the objectives which constitute today a unifying platform: substantial pay increases, equal for all (100% for the dockers, and recently 120% in the merchant navy), payment of 30 days a month (whether working or laid-off), payment of the 13th month. Numerous factory movements which developed one after another, reaching this time the old industrial centres of the North (textile and metallurgy) that had until then been isolated from the rest of the movement, added new demands to these three, and these, in their turn, very quickly become mass demands and spread all over the country: against overtime, for 40 hours a week or 36 hours for shiftwork, for one month's paid holiday.

This series of objectives, born spontaneously from the struggles and controlled by the workers alone, shows clearly how the working class



within the framework of that very tight relationship between lots more work and a little higher wage.

Foreseeing (and rather belatedly, at that) this offensive, the State has taken the initiative of building an institutional framework capable of absorbing the conflicts. At the very moment when the workers of CARRIS (Lisbon Transportation System) went out on strike, the Parliament gave a very favourable report on the proposed reform of the unions (3), and insisted explicitly on "the necessity of giving a representative character to these institutions, or else ...". Soon, however, the government realised the slowness and the limited success of this initiative. At this point it intervened on the level of the factory in putting pressure on the bosses in order that they negotiate and above all push for a free election of "workers' councils". But these negotiable and "institutionalisable" (capable of being utilised) openings were quickly outmoded by worker initiative, which forsook them for its own organisation of the struggle.

In fact, capitalism is obliged to give an immediate answer in the form of development to the pressure of the working class: intensification of work discipline, new forms of control on workers through more modern machines. Since the 1st Development Plan (1953-58) average working time has increased progressively, above all through the disappearance of "under-employment" (a low employment offer to a large labour force), to the point of reaching today the 48-hour week. This simple recuperation of wage increases by means of an extension of the wage labouring population has seen its day; as for the intensification of work time it has also reached its limit with the 48 hours. But this increase, relative and absolute, in surplus-labour during the period ending in 1965 (the Intermediate Plan) permitted the bosses to accumulate the capital necessary to achieve an accelerated industrialisation plan. In fact, even during

tends, in Portugal too, to separate work and income: what is demanded is not the "just pay that the boss can give", but rather that which the working class needs. The autonomy of a working class objective is the result of the working class's desire to appropriate an ever-larger part of the social wealth of which it knows itself to be the collective producer, independently of branch, of classification, of speed-up, in sum, of productivity. All the current hesitations of the leaders of the Portuguese economy are created by the increasing difficulty they have in containing the workers' offensive and the form that it takes

the period covered by the Intermediate Plan (1965-67), in the midst of a recession and with 40% of the State Budget consecrated to "defense expenses", the programmed rate of gross formation of fixed capital (capitalist accumulation) was realized at 100%.

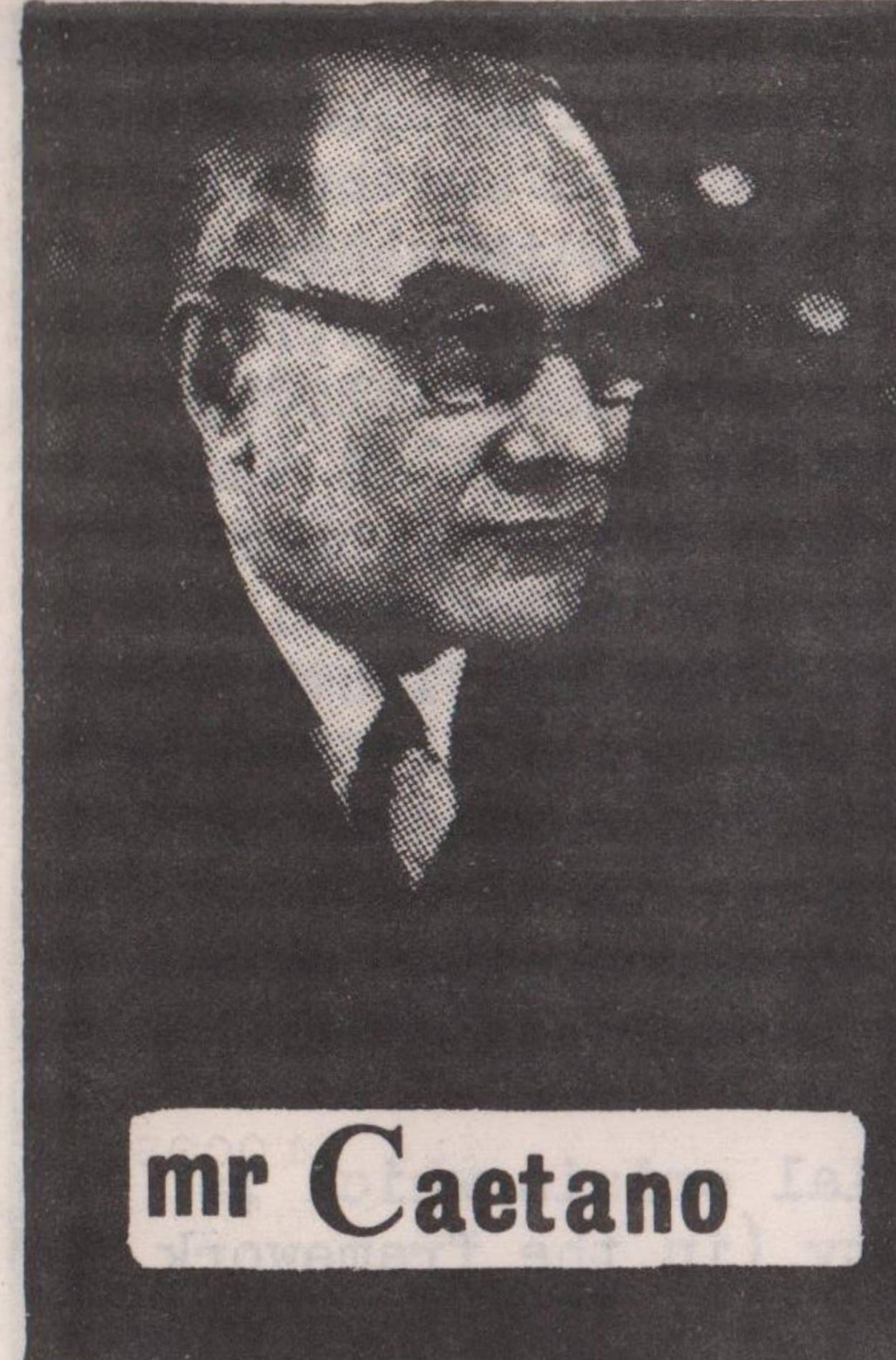
It is in fact this answer, in terms of development and not in terms of institutional reforms (the former does not exclude the latter, but only considerably diminishes its significance), that the Secretary of Industry tried to formulate during a famous speech in February 1970, which literally shocked the bosses' good conscience. This speech, which explicitly brought an end to the last autarchic whims of the local capitalists, is the proof of the very strong self-consciousness which the capitalists in Portugal have already. (This implies, in a good dialectic, that they face a working class very much more mature and much stronger than would have hoped the last partisans of the anti-fascist front. After having confirmed the narrowness of the manoeuvring space allowed by the world market to an economic structure such as Portugal, this government spokesman established a vigorous evaluation of "national" options in order to strictly define the place in which the Portuguese economy could lay claim within the framework of the existing division of labour: raw materials, such as uranium and pyrite (for the creation of a significant heavy metal-lurgy-chemical sector); geographic situation (as a European oil reception centre, with auxiliary industries from refining to naval repairs and construction, and including transportation); availability of a labour power with a minimum of educational and technical formation (to be culled from the vast, but backward, agricultural sectors that are being attacked by mechanisation and by the redefinition of the structures of ownership and production; to be taken also from certain traditional industrial sectors destined to undergo a complete restructuring, the most significant example of which is that from textile to textile-chemical (cf. opening of a second refining centre in the North); redefinition of the current division of labour in the Iberic Peninsula of which the recent economic agreements with Spain are the first formation, the embryo of an "Iberic Bloc" reinforcing Spain's and Portugal's negotiating power when discussion come up with the Common Market.

The Minister of Industry is not in the least blind to the great backwardness which weighs on the local economy: ... It is not by forcing or by ignoring the economic laws" - he said very recently to the big wheels of the Institute of Advanced Military Studies - "that we will succeed (in a rapid industrialisation), but on the contrary by using them to their fullest, by exploiting fully their potential. There are no decrees or administrative measures that can modify them. One can prevent them from acting freely, but sooner or later the economy takes its revenge, and this revenge takes the form of a strangulation of progress, of a backward climate, albeit couched in grandiloquent speeches." Lately, moreover, one of these "grandiloquent speeches" has been made by the President of the Businessmen's Confederation, who attacked the "young who denigrate and want to overthrow everything ...". Here we face a contradiction

between that which the ruling class wants to do and that which it can do. It is for this reason that the Minister of Industry handled with caution such issues as concentrations and foreign investments, but there can be no doubt as to the general orientation of the "new economic policy". Important steps have already been taken toward concentrations (notably in banking, in energy; petro-chemical and steel are monopolies in which the State participates actively; in the old textile sector, the government backs up, with the use of subsidies, the movement towards concentration necessary to its total restructuring). Concerning foreign investments (in which the US portion, let it be said in passing, is clearly inferior to that of the European countries, Germany being at the head), Portugal already participates - because it probably couldn't do otherwise, but also because the "self-sustaining" period allowed it to set up the bases of a productive apparatus having a minimum competitive capacity - in the extensive international movements of capital (in the form of commodity and labour power as well as money) which is currently achieving the process of unification on a world-wide scale of the capitalist mode of production (cf. the German-Soviet pact, second edition).

But if the Minister of Industry was discreet on these delicate issues in order not to frighten more than necessary the multitude of small bosses who watch powerlessly the rapid weaving of the rope to be put around their necks, he remained completely silent about two other regions of capitalist backwardness in Portugal which constrict his plans: that of the colonial war and that, closely linked to the first, of the political, economic, social and educational institutions, in sum, of the State. This plan, impeccably put together by the government, must come about more and more through the reform of the State and this latter, in its turn, through the liquidation, by one means or another, of the colonial conflict.

URBANIZING THE CLASS STRUGGLE



mr Caetano

CAPITALIST
AUTHORITY

the
ELECTORAL
CHOICE



NA OPOSICAO
DEMOCRÁTICA

AUTHORITARIAN
CAPITALISM

OR

Further on, a certain number of questions on this latter point will be clarified. The government must immediately come to grips with the price to pay in order to crush the resistance of the backward sectors of the capitalist class. The government counted heavily on "getting help" from the workers in this task, as it had counted on the students for helping it get the educational reform (required by the "new economic policy") through. However, it has now been proven in fact, that no-one is ready to give it "gratuitous collaboration".

It is in this framework that "left reformism" (we distinguish it from capitalist reformism already in power) comes forth as trying to control the price to pay by the traditional bourgeoisie in order to push forward the apparatus of exploitation under a new form. "Allow us legal existence and we'll keep the masses in check!". In fact, a government always finds it easier to pay an institutional price than an economic or social one. On the factory level, the CP - the most active group within "left reformism" - puts forward the slogan of unitary commissions (one asks oneself what kind of unity: of whom with whom?) as institutions of permanent negotiations; "the exploitation is permanent" - writes the central committee of the party - "so the commissions must be permanent too." This means that, amongst other things, the very end towards which the workers movement tends spontaneously, that is to say, the end of the exploitation, is excluded from the beginning! It is true that the CP can still control the struggles closed up inside the factories (contrary to

that which happen in the countries where it is no longer a question of economic policy but of political economy). However, as soon as the CP tries to control the passage of the struggle from the plant to society, it is forced to appear more and more openly as the agent of the repression of class autonomy. For reformism, to go beyond permanent negotiation, beyond the isolation of the factory, means proposing the reform of the state, that is to say, the revival, formal and explicit and no longer implicit and tacit (as it was before, in the framework of the "fascist dictatorship"), of the mediations destined to reabsorb the conflicts between the working class interest and the interest of capitalist development. In other words, this means, for reformism, the repression of the movement and its redirection within the margins predetermined for it by the Development Plan, and the participation in one way or another in the management of the capitalist social equilibrium, of social peace.

However, it so happens that the depth of the social crisis which is breaking forth in the heart of Portuguese society (in the framework of a much vaster crisis which determines it) is such that the space still available for the intervention of reformism - capitalist as well as "socialist" - is diminishing evermore quickly. To a hoped-for extension of the internal market and to the capitalist desire to use the wage demands as a means to precipitate the concentrations, the rationalisations, and the restructuring of the productive apparatus, to all this the workers have opposed an insubordination incompatible with the controlled increase in wages and with their complete subordination to increases in productivity. To the attempt to institutionalise the negotiating space by means of "free and representative" unions, the answer of the masses has been to refuse this space and to keep close to the simple relationship of local forces.

In the university, the dynamic of the student agitation was greatly over-determined by the draft and the war. In the face of the reformist initiative to participate in the control of the educational system, this over-determination, rather than aid the "reform", has resulted in the obstruction of certain universities (Coimbra in 1969, the University of Law, the Economics Institute, the Business Institute in Lisbon in May 1970). In the University of Fine Arts, rather than "rebel against the authoritarian university", the students in their terminal year succeeded in obtaining the graduation diploma for all. In the Economics University another reformist hope was destroyed, that of the unity between students and assistants (an assistant in Portugal has a very different position from one in the UK in that his is as important and as secure there as a professor's). The importance of these events, to be linked by all evidence to the "student movement" around the world, lies not so much in their "violent" or "anti-authoritarian" aspects as in the fact that they constitute the material expression, though greatly mediated by a thousand and one different ideologies, of a more and more generalised revolt of the productive forces, in this case "knowledge", against the relationships of production of which the unbearable character becomes ever more objective on every level, from the deterioration of every-day life to the impossibi-14

lity to appropriate all social wealth produced. For the moment, and in what concerns the specific Portuguese situation, the educational reform is an absolute necessity for economic growth. "The great battle of education" of which the president of the Council, the Minister of Education, the Minister of Industry, and all the other spokesmen of the government talk, is neither a hypocrisy nor a concession to the "democratic forces". Each obstacle which the realisation of this reform runs up against is another difficulty for the regime. Each struggle led by the students, as labour-power in formation, against the capitalist objectives concerning the university, is another step in the direction of the unification of the working class against the capitalist objectives on the level of the whole society.

* * *

Notes

- (3) The corporative organisms (of Mussolinian inspiration) have been for a long time moribund. The CP however had, during the Salazar period, advocated entering and working within these fascist unions. - that was where the workers were. Only now is the government trying to give an honest aura to these unions.




«A juventude universitária procura com entusiasmo impaciente os pilotos e as forças espirituais que têm algumas ideias quanto à maneira de dominar esse inelutável futuro»

“... our enthusiastic, impatient youth ...”

uma empresa
portuguesa
espalhada no mundo



sonap



portugal (europa)
madeira · açores
moçambique
república da áfrica do sul
suazilândia
botswana
lesotho
malawi

combustíveis · lubrificantes

a "world"-wide Portuguese firm

THREE ON THE COLONIAL WAR.



Simultaneously, the capitalist leadership struggles with the question of the war. The working class had already shown that it refused to make the patriotic sacrifices amiably demanded of it. In the barracks, insubordination grows each day as an attack against the material conditions of the soldiers' lives - from the bad meals to the repressive hierarchy. The cease-fire takes more and more the form of a mass demand. This perspective is not so much determined by the military pressure of the nationalist movements (which on the contrary shows signs of weakening) as by the conjugation of two historical elements: the disintegration of social peace in the rear-guard, and the success of the answer given by world capitalism to the popular uprisings. This capitalist answer is very simply that of developing the productive forces in the countries where these uprisings have erupted.

The diplomatico-pacifistic steps which have been taken recently (Kaunda, President of "socialist" Zambia: "Africa is ready to negotiate. We are ready to consider Portugal as a friend", Conference of the

African Unity Organisation, Le Monde 5th September 1970) are proof of the failure of the nationalist organisations due to the disappearance of the only alternative that they had really proposed, that is, the development of the productive forces of their countries. This, as we have said, is what capitalism has begun to assume as its own task. With the possible exception of Guinea (which the economic viability is almost zero), in Angola and Mozambique, world capitalism has taken on a task that up until a certain period had been left up to the political forms of the popular movements for national liberation (China was the last historical example). What is happening in the Portuguese-dominated African territories has to be linked to the answer that capitalism must everywhere give to the popular movements. Rather than allow the establishment of social nationalist governments, which as in China develop the productive forces too slowly through a strict isolationism vis-a-vis the worldmarket, today capitalism needs to assume itself this historical task. This it needs because it must respond to the necessity for growth and for accelerated expansion of capitalist reproduction. It must make room, through a series of crises, for a "technological leap", opening a world process of restructuring of the productive apparatus.

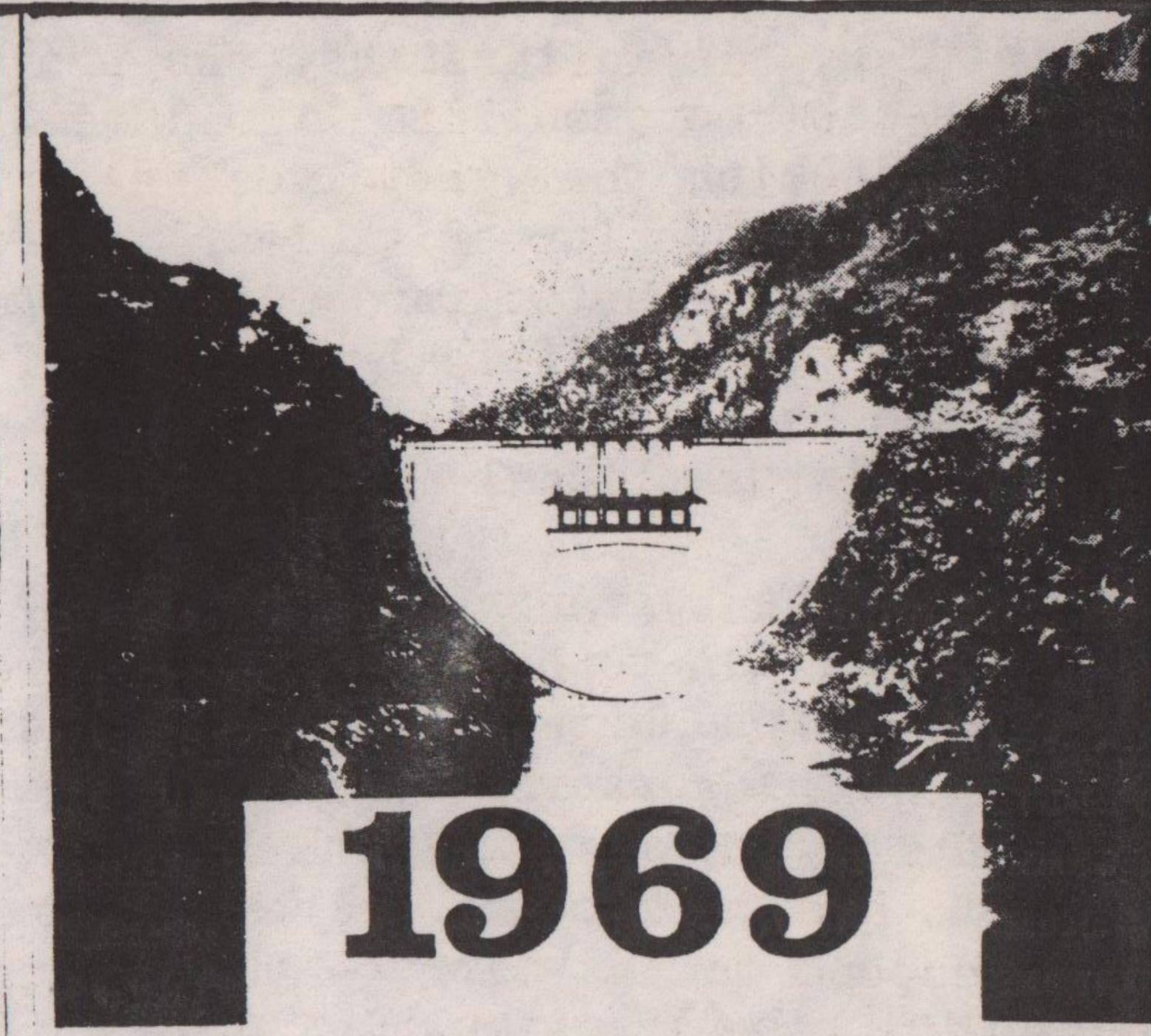
This is less a defeat of the popular movements, which have in fact forced world capitalism into intervening, than that of the political organisations that they could produce. The defeat of these organisations lies in the disappearance of the very objective for which they had been formed; the cause of this disappearance lies in turn in the conjugation of the class struggle, in the highly developed capitalist countries, with the popular struggles. The situation in Latin America, where the Peruvian and Bolivian generals nationalise while Castro Taylorises, this at the same time as workers' autonomy erupts in Argentina and Chili (Cordoba workers' revolt 1969-70), doesn't even need commentary. Let us look rather at what is happening currently in Viet-Nam. While NLF leadership is at the stage, after 30 years of popular struggles, of demanding "the formation of a national coalition government", the massive destruction of whole provinces where there is no one left to liberate and the exodus to the towns reinforce the urban proletariat's struggles (see the last general strikes in Saigon). This expresses at once the capitalist determination to liquidate the nationalist organisations' projects and the changes in the content of popular movements, which evolves in an urban proletarian direction (the Palestinian popular movement finds itself at this stage). Furthermore it is not possible to separate the least attempt of American capitalism to find a political means of blocking the war in Asia, from its own internal problems, that is, the political attack of the American working class of which the car-workers' strike is the current manifestation. As a poster said during the last student strike: "If students strike there is no school, if workers strike there is no war."

One thing is sure in so far as the countries under Portuguese domination are concerned. Portuguese capitalism is menaced by the workers' attack on the wage system, at the very moment that it fights the African movements with development (that is, with the establishment and generali-



1966

ponte salazar



1969

barragem
cabora-bassa

SEMPRE

BANCO NACIONAL ULTRAMARINO

presente na colaboração aos maiores
empreendimentos

"OVERSEAS BANK

always present in the big undertakings"

sation of the wage system). There is much talk of Cabora-Bassa, the enormous anti-guerilla dam, to be built by a huge international consortium in Mozambique. There is less talk of Gulf Oil's oil fields in Cabinda (north Angola) that forced the MPLA from that zone. There is even less talk of the whole project that the Portuguese Minister of Industry has just made public: steel in Mossamedes (Angola), natural gas in Panda (Mozambique), phosphates in Cabinda, transfer of the Portuguese textile industry to Mozambique, aluminium industry in Portugal using African mineral wealth, and so forth. It is evident that the Minister of Industry does not count on the limited Portuguese accumulation for the implementation of these projects, but on the participation of world capitalism in 19

this plan. It is thus that the project of development proposed by the nationalist movements is liquidated. Blocking the war through development; blocking the war to weaken the working-class offensive in Portugal, that is the opening of a clearly reformist way to resolve society's problems - these are the fundamental tendencies around which capitalism searches for a political solution of the colonial conflict. This reaches into the heart of the global situation of class relationships in Portugal and her international implications.

Since the beginning of this year, through May and until June 16th, the industrial towns of the Lisbon region were the theatre of innumerable confrontations between workers and the police. These were the first signs of the workers' capacity to get out of the factories and to look for violent confrontations with the State, and no longer with the individual owner. In the face of the backwardness of local capitalism - in both its war and its institutions - the Portuguese working class is in the process of developing its struggle in an autonomous fashion in that very space which had, a short time ago, been controlled by left-wing reformism. Until the 1960s, the working class was not fighting for its own objectives and a fraction of the workers could be used by reformism - that is, by the project of an alternative political model of the same system.

Today the working class hangs on tightly to its own objectives while reformism becomes more and more closely associated with the management of this capitalist backwardness.

It shows itself more and more obviously on the other side, that of capitalism, to the degree that collaboration in the re-establishment of an equilibrium of the capitalist system prevents it from taking a part in the control of the great pressure in the factories. The very dynamics of the class struggle are in the process of pushing the evolution of all the current contradictions toward an open crisis in the entire society. Within this crisis, still capitalist, worker autonomy will measure itself by its capacity to keep control of its own class objectives, to combat them being drowned in the wave of "democratic liberties".

To the PCP and the democratic opposition, therefore, the task of negotiating the political price of this crisis, the reforms, the cease-fire in Africa, the imposition of an institutional space for negotiations on worker insubordination; to the working class, the task of asserting itself as a force capable of coercing capitalism into all of that, while all along reinforcing its autonomy through the construction of its organisation and rejoining thereby the highest levels of the worker offensive on a worldwide scale. The emigration itself, after having been controlled all along by capitalism against the class, has spontaneously escaped reformist control and already plays its role fully in the unification of the class throughout Europe.

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QUOTATIONS from ROGÉRIO MARTINS ... - secretary for industry -

6/5/69: The best way to the formation of technical capital is to increase wages. The worker invests what he earns in the most socially useful manner, that is, by elevating the level of education of his children and contributing therefore to industrial progress by increasing the level of culture of the future labour force as a whole.

8/5/69: Our smelting industry has to restructure itself - it is not with a hundred and fifty units that it will create the conditions for increasing quality and productivity.

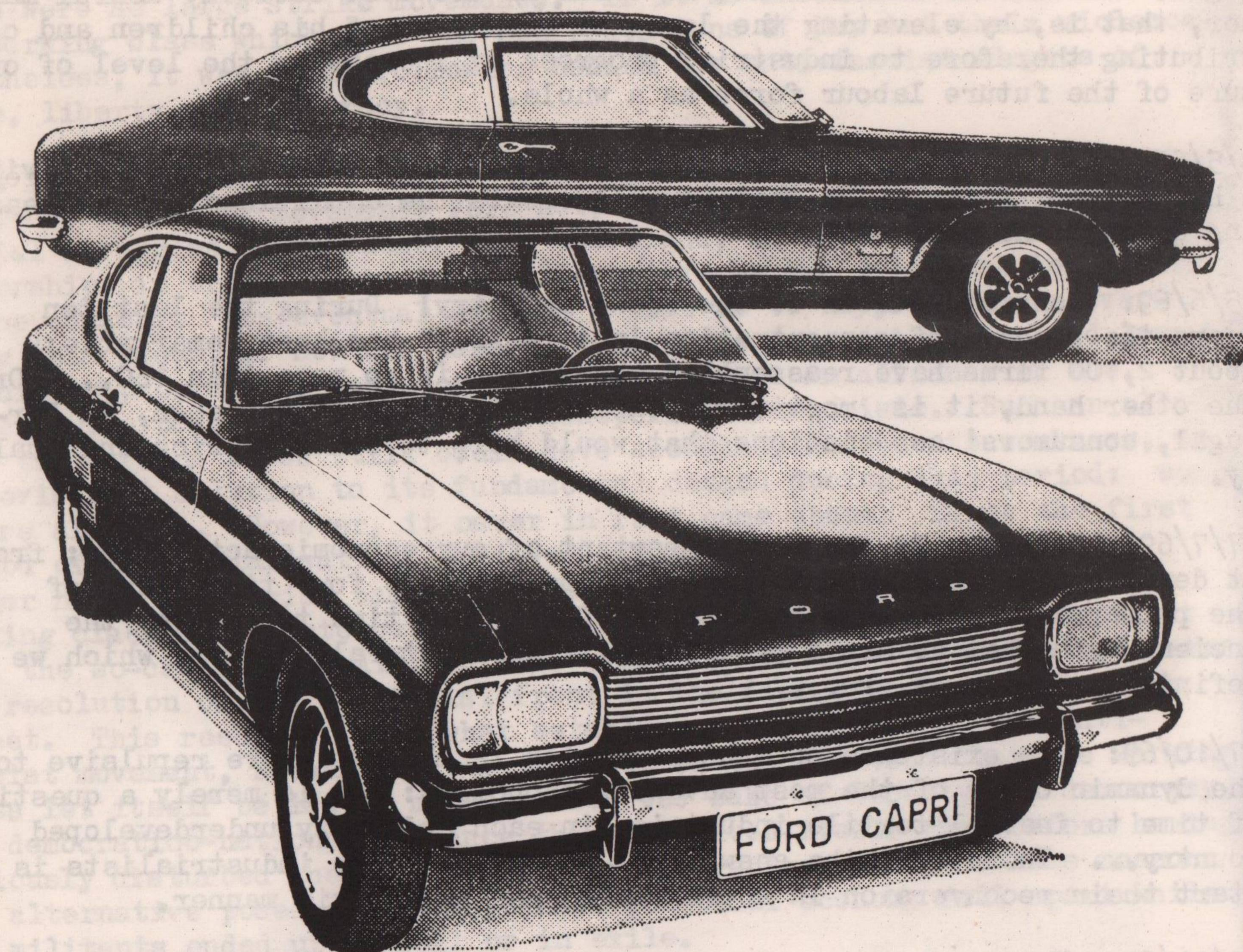
25/6/69: Congratulations to the bread industry! During the last ten years the process of concentration in this field has been remarkable: about 2,100 firms have reassembled themselves in no more than 160... On the other hand, it is most regrettable that we've not yet seen, in Portugal, consumers' associations that would help to control price and quality.

17/7/69: Industry is the most important of our economic activities; from it derives about half our GNP, and productivity is four times that of the primary sector. I've been trying for a long time to destroy the ancient myth that we are a predominantly agricultural country, which we definitely no longer are...

27/10/69: The existence of economic voids is more and more repulsive to the dynamic order of the most advanced economies: it is merely a question of time to install textile industries in each and every underdeveloped country... Therefore, the answer for our own textile industrialists is to start their reconversion in a programmed and systematic manner.

14/11/69: The gap between economically advanced countries and underdeveloped countries is increasing. The good wishes formulated by governments are not followed by the private activities of those who hold economic power. And the main question is still to know if, within the pure logic of a market economy, it is possible to find a solution to that problem... Recently, some foreign investments have been made in our country, mostly to take advantage of the relatively abundant and, consequently, cheap labour force, which is rare and expensive in the industrial countries. There was however no concern for the country which offers such an advantage. There is therefore no implantation of productive techniques, design, commerce or management techniques. Business is dominated in all its aspects by foreign investors, and all that remains Portuguese is the range in the occupational hierarchy from shop floor to assistant foreman... What we need in Portugal are those investments which bring with them advanced technology.

A Organização Ford tem o orgulho de apresentar os Ford Capri montados em Portugal



assembled in Portugal

20/11/69: What is the measure of our success? Only one, easily quantifiable: the progress of our country, expressed in growth rates of industrial wealth to be distributed among all the sectors of the population, faster, and in greater quantity, than ever.

3/12/69: During the third week of last October, the most important fact of our modern economic life took place: five firms in the Primary Electrical Network voted the merger into a sole concessionary for the production and transportation of electrical energy in our country. Thanks to the managers, thanks to the shareholders. Only by means of big economic groups like this one can we possibly become a large-scale economy... Our public and semi-public companies have to work by a rentability principle. This, even Marxist societies - with Liebermann - had to recognise.

3/12/69: King Pedro I came here, to Oporto, in 1861, to inaugurate the Industrial Fair. He was then already quite aware of the transition from feudal society, based on vested interests, towards the modern society, moulded by the dynamic notion that only the most interested, alert, perseverant, open participation ensures a new and better position.

26/1/70: Back from Germany, where I had the honour of being the first member of the Portuguese Government to get into contact with the new Government of Chancellor Brandt, I can announce that - thanks to new German investments - we are able to create between 8,000 and 9,000 new jobs, during the next two years. And this is the only valid method to make emigration redundant. The German investment will be of 90 million DM between 1970 and 1972 - whereas the total amount of German investments in Portugal was up to now of 62 million DM. It is not for our beautiful eyes, or for the excellence of our climate, or even for the "grandeur" of our past navigators, that foreign investors will accept to come and play among us this game of economic adventure. We have a lot of competitors looking for experienced capital: Ireland, Turkey, Spain, Greece, Italy, Norway....

14/2/70: "States with no factories live in poverty, reduced to extreme decadence and, moreover, in a less than honourable dependence on other nations." This was the advice of a minister of King Joao V, in 1734, and should be, even today, included in the introduction to our present Development Plans.

16/2/70: It has already been publicly announced that the Government has begun to examine concrete proposals for a new industrial policy, within the framework of the revision of the present Development Plan (1971-73). We have to concentrate our efforts on the fields where we can get competitive advantages in the world market. The industries which satisfy such conditions are: (i) those based on exceptional mining wealth (mining, chemicals and chemico-metallurgicals); (ii) those based on mediterranean agro-silvicultural products; (iii) those based on abundance of labour adaptable to the most modern techniques, and where the cost of transport is relatively low - intensive labour and advanced technology (optics, electronics, textile and quality furniture); (iv) harbour industries, based on our geographical position. These are what we consider preferential industries, which the new industrial policy aims to create or to revitalise. The others will be forced either to reconvert themselves or to disappear.

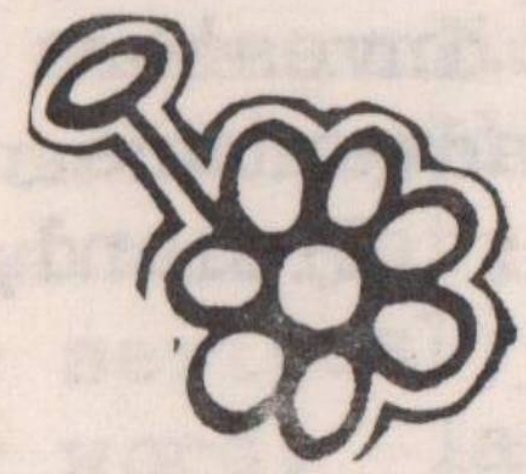
The essential of this new policy is a radical change of attitude: from protectionism to liberalism, from autarchism to a full insertion within the network of world exchanges, from immobilism to prospectivism.

18/5/70: (at the Institute of Advanced Military Studies): Today's world is dominated by the human desire for promotion. Industry is the big motor of human promotion. We need to industrialise and the faster the better. For two main reasons: our parents and grand-parents wasted too

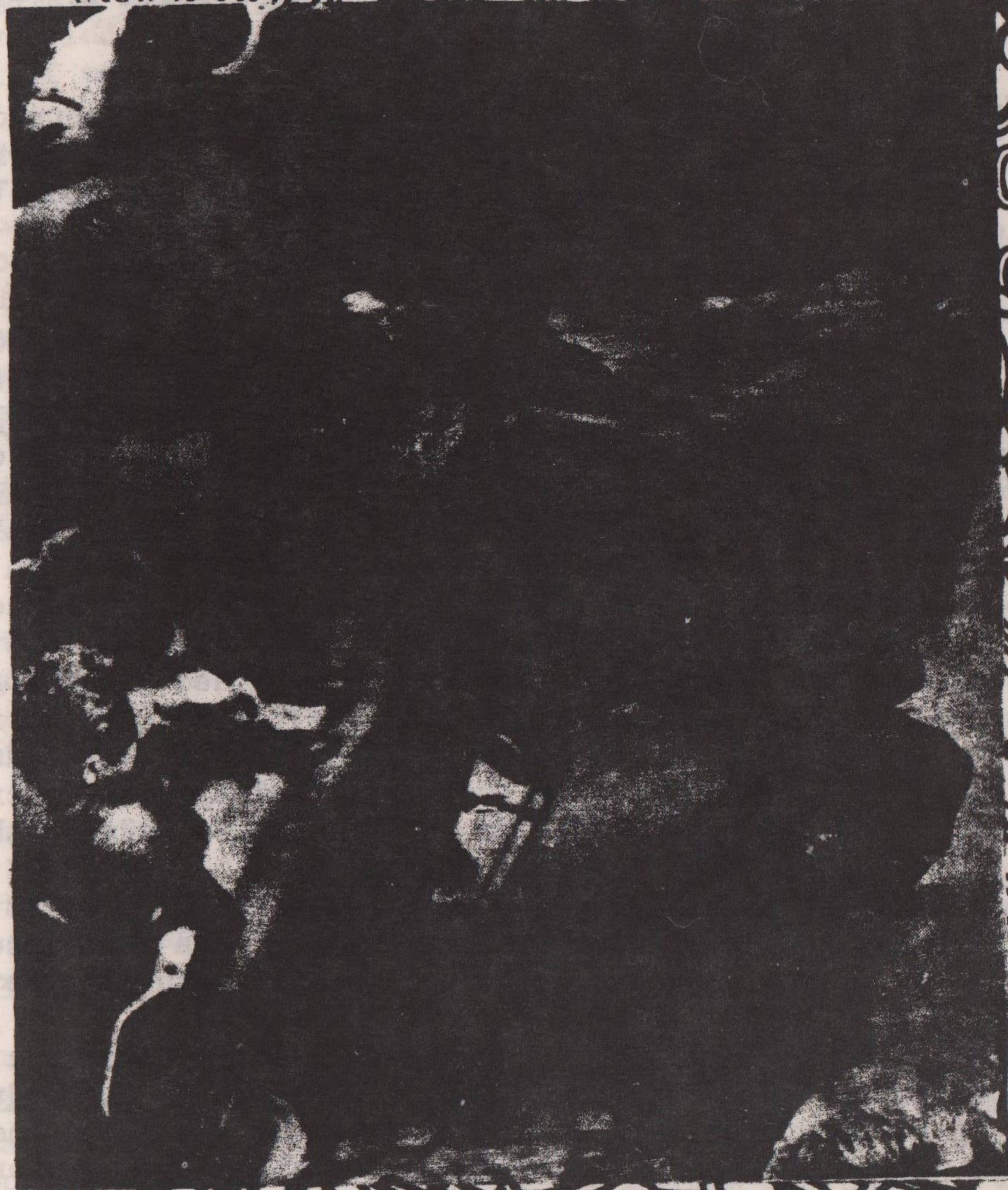
much time, and our present neighbours do not wait for us. At present, industry represents 45% of our wealth here, 9% in Angola and 11% in Mozambique.

I am hopeful to see from Abidjan (Ivory Coast) and Lome (Togo) to Pointe-Noire (Congo-Brazzaville) and Matadi (Congo-Leopoldville), tugs and cranes built in Lobito (Angola). From Swaziland to Tanzania the beautiful materials made in Vila Pery (Angola)...

We have to export our traditional textile industries to Angola... Instead of selling materials to Angola, we have to buy them from Angola and, in turn, sell them machinery which Angola now has to import from the rest of Europe... The practical measure of Portuguese humanism in Africa will be the number of black millionaires in the future in the Portuguese African territories.



...
THE FINAL BURIAL OF SALAZAR



“...the alternative posed
by reformist political
economy...”