

EXCERPTS FROM THE DRAFT "THESES – PROJECT OF POLITICAL RESOLUTION"
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Capitalism's crisis, the workers' and peoples' struggle, and the alternative: socialism

1.0. Introduction

1.0.1. The 19th Congress is being held at a **particularly demanding, complex and important time for the workers' and peoples' liberation struggle**. Confirming the prospects that we had outlined at the 18th Congress, the international situation is characterized by great instability, insecurity and by an acute and intensified class struggle.

As the PCP has warned and predicted throughout the past two decades, the intensification of capitalism's structural crisis lies at the epicentre of major developments in the international situation. **Its main outcome and expression has been the eruption of one of capitalism's most acute cyclical crises ever.**

1.0.2. Imperialism's brutal offensive, together with its violent response to the capitalist crisis, has been met by **an intensification of workers' and peoples' struggles, and by the fact that countries and groups of nations have asserted themselves**, seeking paths of development outside of imperialism's hegemonic domination.

Major economic, social, political and cultural changes are in the making, **with major geo-strategic implications**. Their outcome is as yet difficult to establish. It will depend on a long and complex set of factors, including: the role of States and how they coordinate their response to imperialism; peoples' struggles for their liberation and to protect their sovereignty and independence; and also the key role of struggles waged by the working class and the masses of the people, as well as the balance of forces between capital and labour that will emerge from these struggles.

Imperialism's offensive bears within it great dangers. But at the same time, the development of the struggle, and the growing awareness about capitalism's true nature – exploitative, aggressive and predatory – tell us that there is **real potential for resistance against imperialism and to develop the struggle to overcome capitalism through revolution.**

1.0.3. In the midst of a context where **more and more objective material factors favour the development of revolutionary struggles**, the communist and revolutionary movement still exhibits – in spite of some progress and more rooting in the masses – weaknesses and shortcomings. The time is still a time of resistance and accumulation of forces.

The **subjective factor of the revolutionary struggle is relatively lagging**. This increases the complexity of the situation. More and more challenges are confronting the forces of progress, and especially communists. They necessitate a careful theoretical and practical definition of alliances, pace and stages to overcome capitalism through revolution and to build **socialism – the necessary alternative, the only alternative to capitalism**.

For this alternative to materialize, working people and the masses of the people have a key role to play, with their struggle, participation and creativity. For this, there is a need to strengthen the International Communist and Revolutionary Movement and, in dialectical relation with this, to strengthen the anti-imperialist Front.

1.1. World developments, capitalism and its deepening structural crisis

1.1.1. Two decades have elapsed since socialism's defeats. **Imperialism's hegemonic rule is pushing the world into a civilizational regression of historic proportions**, destroying gains and rights that had been achieved by the struggle of workers and peoples throughout the 20th century. Its goal is to reinstate 19th-century levels of class exploitation and national oppression. Capitalism's exploitative, aggressive and predatory nature has been exposed further by the devastating consequences of the overproduction crisis that has been dragging on for over four years.

The **system's contradictions are becoming deeper**, especially the fundamental contradiction between the social nature of production and the private nature of appropriation. **The relevance and correctness of Marxism-Leninism's main theses** is being confirmed by events – and specifically the tendency for the rate of profit to fall, something that capitalism is seeking to counter using all possible means: financial speculation, more exploitation of workers and peoples, militarism and war.

1.1.2. The crisis that is affecting the capitalist world today is very deep. It differs from previous cyclical overproduction crises insofar as it spans the whole world, it is simultaneously affecting the financial, economic, energy, raw materials and

environment spheres, and it is happening in the midst of major shifts in international relations.

The deepening structural capitalist crisis is exposing and exacerbating capitalism's parasitic and decadent nature – and thus confirming its tendency to stagnate. This is visible in the major capitalist powers' difficulty in extricating themselves from the recession and stagnation into which they have plunged.

The fact is that the capitalist economy's degree of financialization is not a political choice, but rather a result of how capitalism operates at the current stage in its development.

The consequences of this financialization process in the world economy are huge. The result of **finance capital's hegemony is, on the one hand, huge wastage and destruction of productive forces - above all else, massive and rising unemployment - and on the other, the fact that the big economic and financial conglomerates are appropriating the lion's share of all surplus value created in the productive sphere.** This is leading to a speedy centralization and concentration of capital, and to an increasingly uneven distribution of income between capital and labour.

Through the spirals of debt and the mechanisms that service them – from ratings agencies to offshore finance – the USA and other imperialist powers are massively plundering the world of the wealth that is created, and thus impeding the development and social progress of countries that are formally independent but in actual fact are, to a greater or lesser extent, being subjected to veritable colonisation processes by big capital and imperialism.

1.1.3. The economic and financial crisis' social consequences, with the ensuing destruction of productive forces and the processes of capital concentration and centralization – that have been the hallmarks of big capital's response to the crisis of capitalism – are devastating. Capitalism sustains its growth periods by increasing the exploitation of workers and peoples, and then, in the periods of crisis that result from its very nature, it increases the levels of exploitation even more – a spiral of social devastation and concentration of wealth.

Social polarization is becoming deeper. The crisis has exposed even further the scandalous contradiction between the remarkable advances of science and technology, and the social regression that has since become stronger. Inequality in the redistribution of wealth has grown enormously. Hunger, poverty, malnutrition, lack of

medical care and access to medication, and child mortality have not only persisted as scourges for humankind, they have spread to large regions. According to the ILO, unemployment is affecting 200 million workers, and poverty is spreading among those who have managed to keep their jobs. Child labour is on the rise, as are criminal activities like the trafficking of human beings, slavery and sexual exploitation. Life expectancy has dropped in many countries..

1.1.4. The ecological effects of capitalism's deepening structural crisis highlight **the unsustainability of an organization of economic production based on irrational, intensive, continuous and growing capture and extraction of abundant flows of energy and raw materials** – from the topsoil, subsoil and the hydrosphere – guided by the quest for maximum profits and for the incessant accumulation of capital it entails.

The facts are making it obvious that capitalism is unable to ensure medium and long-term social and economic development while preserving natural living conditions for humankind – this is happening in agricultural production and mineral extraction, in industry and transport (where petroleum-derived liquid fuels play a major role).

Access to agricultural products is especially vulnerable to supply shortfalls, that are affecting many countries and are becoming critical especially for those countries with a very high food balance deficit.

Capital's competition for immediate profit-generating gains is accentuating – even if this means dilapidating natural resources and thus denying them to future generations, or evicting populations, or worsening the living conditions of resident populations. **The capitalist system is predatory when it comes to nature.** But, under pressure from the obvious environmental effects of its workings, capital is repeatedly using terms such as “sustainable growth” and “green economy” just to avoid talking about problems that are unsolved or are unsolvable by the system, and to give itself respectability while pursuing the same old predatory policies.

But **the concept of capitalist economic growth used by the ruling classes to confuse and ideologically control the masses is doomed to failure.** This is because it deliberately avoids addressing the growing gap in income distribution between countries and between social classes. It also avoids addressing the unavoidable fact that unrestricted material growth in an already globalised economy is limited by the capabilities of planet Earth. **The central issue at stake is not permanent and universal economic**

growth, without connection to, and in contradiction with, socially necessary development. What is at stake is planned and rational management of resources, according to economic and social development needs, to reduce income distribution gaps in a thoroughly unequal and unfair world.

1.1.5. The development of the crisis, and the main imperialist powers' need to counter their relative economic decline have very significantly accelerated the concentration of economic power in an increasingly restricted and powerful group of large economic and financial conglomerates, headquartered in capitalism's major poles (USA, European Union, Japan). They in turn exercise a growing political influence, both directly over States and over international and supra-national structures (both formal and informal) of imperialist coordination – thus reinforcing the merger of economic power with political power. **In the most powerful capitalist countries, the State is reconfiguring and strengthening itself so as to better serve big capital, by enhancing its repressive wing.** At the same time, **in capitalism's periphery,** imperialism's goal is to weaken the power and sovereignty of States and turn them **into protectorates and tools for their policy of planet-wide recolonisation and oppression of workers and peoples.**

In any case, **States are and continue to be essential institutions of political power, and the nation continues to be the unavoidable and decisive arena for class struggle and for the process of social change.** One of the things that corroborates this essential thesis in the present, is the fact that imperialism is increasingly using States to intensify the extortion of wealth produced. The situation is such that big capital in each country is increasingly associated to, and dependent upon, big transnational capital, and the big monopolies' power is increasingly merged with the supra-national institutions' political power. This suggests that there may be new developments in the concept of State monopoly capitalism.

1.1.6. Capitalism's law of uneven development is exuberantly revealing itself as the system's crisis deepens. Particularly clear expressions of this are the relative weakening of USA hegemony (especially economic and monetary hegemony), the crisis in and of the European Union, Japan's endemic stagnation, and the dynamic capitalist growth in several countries that aspire to regional power status. Together with this, there is China's growing economic and political weight and the booming development of its productive forces, and also significant sovereignty and social progress-seeking processes especially in Latin America, with a rise in anti-imperialist resistance in several parts of the world. All this adds up to a

dynamic realignment of forces on the international arena, whose outcome is as yet undefined and will be to a great extent determined by developments in the balance of forces and by whether several ongoing progressive-, revolutionary-, and socialist-oriented projects confirm their orientation.

Particularly important developments in this context are the formation and consolidation of multilateral cooperation and integration alliances, structures and forums in the political, economic and military spheres – such as, among others, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Mercosul, Unasul, CELAC and ALBA.

This is a complex framework, where some countries with considerable economic and political clout and some **convergences and alliances with different layouts and levels of stability** are emerging. Particularly prominent among these is **the so-called BRICS group** (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) that, in spite of the contradictions due to the different political nature of the processes taking place in each country, have played a role in containing the hegemonic ambitions of the USA and its major NATO allies.

These events are generating new cleavages of inter-capitalist competition and rivalry in the world. At the same time, they reflect, and exacerbate dynamic tension, resistance and rupture points.

The establishment of the (contradictory and still not fully defined) G20 itself, as well as the disagreements about UN reform and the recent clashes within its Security Council, are all indicators of ongoing **shifts in the balance of forces that, although not necessarily being the outcome of antagonistic stands from a class viewpoint, may end up having a direct impact on international law and on economic and political relations systems.**

1.1.7. One of the main contradictions is that between the imperialist centre and the workers and peoples of the least developed countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. International division of labour, internationalisation, cooperation and integration are objective processes that can serve different class goals. They can serve to oppress peoples, such as in the European Union, or serve their liberation, as is happening in particular in Latin America.

The advancement of the **ongoing cooperation and sovereign integration processes in Latin America** reflects the specific context within which workers' and people's struggles are developing

there. It confirms the favourable balance of forces in the region. This stands in contrast to the still-dominant worldwide trend, which is one of retreat. Therefore the assertion of ALBA's anti-imperialist core is a qualitative leap forward in terms of economic cooperation and integration instruments – built on the basis of sovereignty, solidarity, equity and social orientation, and having repercussions throughout the whole American continent and even in terms on international relations and institutions.

1.1.8. With respect to the **inter-imperialist agreement/rivalry duo**, while what is dominant is agreement, and even enhancement of some imperialist coordination structures, the current tendency – determined above all by the very nature of capitalism, but also by its deepening economic crisis – is toward the exacerbation of rivalries and conflicts between the big powers. This can be seen in the commercial and monetary wars between the big powers, in the disputes over raw materials (especially energy- related ones), in international trade (particularly within the WTO), in environment issues (very obvious at the recent Rio+20 summit) and in their competition for spheres of influence. The thesis according to which a **sort of “super-imperialism” has been set up, where the national issue has disappeared and contradictions among the big capitalist powers have become harmless has no basis in reality.**

The economic crisis that erupted in 2007 has accentuated **the capitalist triad powers' relative economic decline. In the capitalist centre, these are times of stagnation and recession, with a deep crisis in and of the European Union, threats of a fresh USA crash, with Japan still mired in stagnation. New speculation bubbles are growing and heralding fresh crises.**

The economy's development in the triad is confirming the tendency whereby the productive sectors are losing economic importance, while the sectors directly or indirectly associated with big finance capital's interests and domination are growing.

In parallel with the productive sectors' relative loss of importance in the major capitalist economies, the big imperialist powers have themselves been losing importance in world production. The continuous reduction of their share in international trade (including intra-European Union trade) is there to show it.

In the major capitalist powers the social situation has deteriorated dramatically. Unemployment levels in the USA have never been as high and persistent since the end of World War II. The European

Union and Japan are also following this trend. The European Union's unemployment levels are currently the highest ever.

1.1.9. In the **European Union**, the crisis has become deeper. This crisis has highlighted even more clearly the European capitalist integration's nature and unresolvable contradictions – it is thoroughly contrary to the interests of the workers and peoples of Europe and of other parts of the world. It is, for this reason, also **a crisis of the European Union's core principles and of its economic, political and ideological foundations**.

The behaviour of European capitalism's superstructure in the midst of this crisis confirms that there is a process underway, based on the European Union's three pillars – neoliberalism, militarism and federalism –, to **assert in Europe an imperialist bloc, a bloc that is increasingly militarised and serves as NATO's European pillar, and is dominated by the major European capitalist powers**. This bloc is itself riddled with contradictions. Contrary to the ruling classes' propaganda, **it does not serve as a counterbalance to US imperialism. Instead, it is an ally in their common imperialist strategy of exploitation, oppression and global recolonisation**. However they do, at the same time, compete (sometimes fiercely) with each other for control over markets, for economic and monetary power (as in the case of the so-called sovereign debts) and for spheres of political and geo-strategic influence.

The European Union's deep social and economic crisis, the fact that the power of finance capital and monopolies stands above European institutions, the ongoing ultra-liberal and federalist leap within EU institutions and the growing political and institutional contradictions within them, are all expressions of **a process that concentrates political and economic power**, operating as a veritable steamroller overrunning peoples' sovereignty and social, labour and democratic rights. But these facts also reveal quite clearly the **European Union's objective limitations**, and show that **the EU is not reformable**.

Building **another Europe, a Europe of workers and peoples**, will necessarily imply defeating the capitalist integration process embodied in the European Union and asserting sovereign European States entitled to decide on their own economic and social development. The struggle to defend national sovereignty is inseparable from the struggle for the social emancipation of workers and peoples.

Potential and prospects for the struggle of the workers and peoples

1.4.1. The ever-deeper crisis of capitalism has **sharpened and expanded the class struggle**. Policies that transfer the cost of the crisis to the shoulders of the workers and other anti-monopoly strata have brutally worsened their living standards, created more inequality, generated discontent and revolt and provided impetus for organized struggle, thereby **objectively expanding the social and political front opposed to imperialism**. **The narrowing down of capitalism's social base of support, together with the greater resistance and struggle for concrete anti-monopoly and anti-capitalist-oriented goals, make progressive and revolutionary advances possible**. **The more the revolutionary vanguards - which seek a break with capitalism and project socialism as the alternative - assert themselves, the more profound and consistent these will be.**

1.4.2. The struggle of the workers and peoples, despite the difficult conditions in which it was waged, was marked by a **great diversity, intensity and breadth of mass actions** of resistance against the policies of big capital and imperialism.

1.4.3. **The struggle for the right to work and for labour rights, together with the struggle in defence of peoples' sovereignty and self-determination**, took on a mass character. In this period, they represented the **main axes of activity by the workers and peoples** and their class, social and political organizations.

The struggle of the working class and of working people in general was marked by very powerful mass actions, in which the class trade union movement had the main role in raising awareness and mobilizing. Millions of workers from all continents took part in powerful actions and movements of struggle.

The struggle of other strata and sectors of the population to assert and defend their specific interests also registered important expressions throughout the world. This is borne out by: **the activity of peasant masses** – rural wage-labourers, landless peasants or those with small or medium-sized farms that are over-exploited or bankrupt – against the conditions imposed upon them by the major agro-industrial companies and by big commerce; **the struggle of youth** in defence of the right to a job and to education, in defence of peace and democratic rights; **women's struggle**, confronting significant regressions in their rights and the persistence of multiple forms of oppression and exploitation which deny them the most elementary right to dignity; **the struggle of**

intellectuals and technical cadres which, hit by unemployment and precariousness, are joining the more general struggle of wage workers.

1.3.4. **In Latin America**, the development of sovereign, progressive and anti-imperialist processes, with their bonds of cooperation, continues to decisively mark the evolving balance of forces and confronts imperialism's traditional hegemony in the region. The political orientation of governments with the participation of left-wing parties, including Communists, has played a fundamental role in ensuring important emancipating advances. The region is today an important stimulus for the struggle to build alternatives of development and social progress and one of the main pillars of anti-imperialist resistance.

The increasingly profound **mechanisms of cooperation and integration** – ALBA, UNASUL, CELAC – have contributed to advance those processes, based on the assertion of the sovereign rights of the member States and on the rejection of US imperialism's colonialism and tutelage. The case of ALBA, which was developed by socialist Cuba and bolivarian Venezuela, takes on special importance. It represents a qualitative leap with an anti-imperialist and even anti-capitalist content.

1.3.5. **The struggle against imperialism's recolonizing and aggressive offensive**, for progress and to assert national rights, represents an important trait of the peoples' struggle. The resistance against the policies of interference, aggression and war have taken on an undeniable importance in general, with the military defeats of the USA in Iraq representing a serious setback for US imperialism and with the defeat of Israel's military operation in the Gaza Strip.

In some **Arab countries**, the masses of the people rose up in defence of their economic, social and political rights. Dictatorships were overthrown in Tunisia and Egypt. In Yemen and Bahrain large-scale progressive struggles continue. But the course of the so-called "**Arab spring**" was strongly characterized by a multi-pronged imperialist intervention, in which the war of aggression against Libya and the destabilization and aggression against Syria play a prominent role. However, **the Arab peoples' resistance continues, confronting the simultaneous danger of an intensified imperialist and Zionist oppression based, on the one hand, on the imposition of dictatorial regimes, and on the other, on the promotion of reactionary forces with a religious fundamentalist basis.**

Also in **Africa**, the peoples have carried out important actions of struggle against interference and aggression, against the increasing military presence of big imperialist powers, acts of subversion, secessions and wars, as occurred in Libya, Guinea-Bissau, the Ivory Coast, Sudan, Somalia and other countries.

In the context of imperialism's violent offensive, the **struggle of peoples for their self-determination and independence** continued. Against occupation, the settlements, repression and the expulsion from their territories, the **Palestinian people** have heroically resisted in defence of freedom and their inalienable national rights, and the **Saharawi people** continue their tenacious struggle against occupation and for self-determination and the sovereign right to make full use of their territory's natural wealth.

1.3.6. In various countries the **struggle in defence of democracy, of labour, social and democratic rights** has had a significant expression.

1.3.7. **The activity of the forces of peace and solidarity acquires redoubled importance**, given imperialism's growing aggressiveness, its interference in the internal affairs of, and aggression against, sovereign countries, together with an ideological campaign of mystification. Despite the persistence of weaknesses and shortcomings in the movement for peace and solidarity among the peoples, there have been important and growing campaigns against militarism and NATO, for disarmament, against the deployment of the anti-missile system in Europe, against imperialism's aggressions, in defence of international law and demanding the respect for the principles of the UN's founding Charter.

1.3.8. In various countries there have been **movements of protest and "indignation", in which diverse strata and sectors have taken part**. Presented as spontaneous and informal, they are essentially characterized by their great social and political heterogeneity, by very diverse expressions, levels of conscience and organization and by nebulous, partial and even contradictory demands.

In some cases, prolonged actions with strong popular support and consistent mass scale have taken place. In others, there have been occasional movements which quickly evaporate. This evolution depends, in part, on prejudice against the working-class movement; on the lack of clear and coherent goals, and on the centrality given to partial causes, at the expense of the class struggle; on the

insufficiently clear position *vis a vis* the nature of capitalism and the championing of the “lack” of organization.

As was also the case with the so-called «anti-globalization movement», whose analyses and prospects were characterized by the PCP in previous Congresses – a characterization that has been fully confirmed – these movements reflect, in any case, an objective **narrowing of capitalism's social basis of support**, a reality that cannot be ignored. However, it is necessary to expose the **instrumentalisation of these movements** by the ruling class, in an attempt to dissipate discontentment and revolt, to oppose the organized people's movement and, at the same time, to counter the tendency to de-centre the struggle from the national level in the name of hazy “internationalisms”, to promote anarchic practices and to deviate real feelings of revolt towards reformism.

It is of the utmost importance to ensure that the readiness expressed by the most diverse social strata that are affected by the policies of imperialism, may result in a **convergence with the organized working-class and people's movement**. Only organized forms of struggle for concrete goals can ensure that discontentment is not dissipated by incoherent actions or absorbed by the system.

1.3.9. As the material conditions to overcome capitalism ripen, **the struggle of ideas acquires even greater importance, so that the masses can gain conscience of the superiority, relevance and need for socialism, and confidence in the decisive force of their organized struggle.**

The contradiction between the ripening objective conditions (namely the worsening crisis of capitalism and its ever-deeper contradictions) **and the relative lagging of the subjective factor** (namely on the ideological and organizational levels) **can lead to either a reformist capitulation and adaptation or to situations of voluntarism and sectarianism.** It is necessary to fight on two fronts: to fight against social-democratic reformism and against left-wing adventurism. Whilst valuing important processes of an anti-imperialist and progressive nature which invoke socialism, it is necessary to stress that socialism is not built forgoing the historical experiences of socialism, nor ignoring the key issues of the Marxist-Leninist view of revolution.

1.3.10. Imperialism's offensive, as well as the global nature of the crisis of capitalism, place added requirements on the development of the struggle, namely in what regards the **articulation and dialectic relation between its national and international expressions.** There is a need for steps towards more actions of internationalist

cooperation and solidarity, defining concrete common or converging elements of struggle.

However, reality proves that **supranational movements**, detached from the real processes of struggle in each country and built from above, with the imposition of «models» or «recipes», as well as the theorizing of concepts such as **«the movement of movements» or «supranational political and revolutionary subjects»** does not just not solve problems and challenges that can only be overcome by strengthening the struggle at the national level, as it may lead to the appearance of splits and the de-characterization of movements and processes of struggle, with their assimilation by the system.

1.3.11. In the context of resistance against imperialism's hegemonic domination, several countries acquire particular relevance on an international level (**China, Cuba, DPR Korea, Laos and Vietnam**). Not being part of the capitalist system, they objectively represent a factor of containment of the latter's goal of world domination. Asserting the construction of a socialist society as their orientation and goal, and essentially preserving the predominance of the social property of the means of production, these countries today confront new challenges, problems and contradictions, which are not just inherent to their own processes, but are made worse by the economic and financial pressure of capitalism and its crisis, and are vastly amplified by campaigns of destabilization and ideological offensive.

With very diverse realities and situations regarding the degree of development and organization of their economies, their social situation, their culture, the role of the Communist party and its links with the masses, the priority of their immediate and national tasks, these countries must continue to deserve permanent and careful observation and analysis, both because of their experiences and achievements and because of the question marks and disagreements, some of which on issues of principle, regarding certain guidelines in these countries. This, regardless of the specificities, paths and histories of each people that embarks on the construction of socialism and taking into account that there are no models or single paths of social transformation. This is the case, namely, of guidelines that distance themselves from principles and characteristics of the edification of socialist societies, whether in terms of economic organization – with options that lead to the emergence of a bourgeoisie that, as it becomes stronger, will tend to demand [political] power - or in terms of the political system, with

the enfeeblement of the masses' creative participation and of the democratic workings of the Party and the State.

The PCP reaffirms its unequivocal struggle against, and exposure of, imperialism's activities which permanently targets these countries with its policy of aggression, interference and destabilization, seeking to destroy examples of resistance, patriotism and persistence, or to contain, counter or even assimilate within its system of exploitation and world domination, important economic and geo-strategic realities.

It is in the interest of the forces of social progress and peace that, with coherence and persistence in the goal of socialism, the peoples of these countries oppose such pretensions of imperialism and that, as all other peoples of the world, they may decide their own course of development, free from all foreign interference or pressure.

The national situation and the break with right-wing policies

2.1. Right-wing policies and the situation of the country

2.1.1. Economic decline, social regression, impoverishment of the democratic regime, loss of sovereignty: this is the result of 36 years of right-wing policies determined by the interests of big capital and subordinated to capitalist integration in the European Union. These policies are responsible for the strangulation of the national economy, the accumulation of structural deficits and the destruction of the productive sector, with the resulting reduction of national production and waste of resources, and thus increased the country's vulnerability to the present expression of the crisis of capitalism.

The «national crisis» – whose main right-wing promoters invoke, to accentuate an unprecedented offensive against the rights of workers and the people – is without doubt an intrinsic expression of the development of capitalist relations of production imposed on the country, and is inseparable from the action of the successive PS, PSD and CDS governments. This crisis, although tied with the structural crisis of capitalism, did not come from abroad or invade the country unexpectedly. But that is how it is being portrayed and used – to shirk responsibilities for the consequences of right-wing policies, to justify the destruction of rights and achievements reached with the April Revolution, to impose new regressions, and to favour capitalist accumulation.

The international economic crisis – present expression of the structural crisis of capitalism – entails increased risk of deepening the national economic and social problems, while in its name the same

policies that led the country to the present situation persist and are intensified.

2.1.2. The capitalist management of the crisis, by deepening exploitation and what accompanies it, is itself a prelude to new crises. The answer of the ruling class does not solve any of the national problems. If not defeated, it will lead the country towards greater dependence and impoverishment, plunging it into an endless spiral in which austerity, imposed in the name of the fight against the deficit, will increase the recession and generate new demands for even more austerity, always built upon the ashes of the rights and incomes of those who work and the ruin of hundreds of thousands of families and companies.

2.1.3. The central issue – a way out of the «crisis» that is in the interest of the workers and people – necessitates a break with right-wing policies, and with the Pact of Aggression in whose name they are being pushed and intensified. This requires the construction of alternative – patriotic and left-wing – policies.

2.2. The evolution of the European Union – a process that is jeopardising Portugal's national interests and development

2.2.1. Together with more than 30 years of right-wing policies – and, as the PCP predicted – the nature and evolution of the capitalist integration process in Europe (the European Union) and the effect of its policies are one of the fundamental causes of the profound crisis in Portugal's domestic economic, social and political situation.

The evolution of the European Union is marked by the accelerated deepening of its neoliberal, federalist and militarist path, with dire consequences for workers, the people and the country. The fusion process between the large monopolies' economic power and the European institutions political power is intensifying. A directorate of big powers, under Germany's hegemony, is reaffirming its power in leading «European integration». Neoliberalism is being confirmed as the official doctrine of the European Union. There is a deepening of the interventionist and militarist character of the European Union, the European pillar of NATO.

2.2.2. One of the key pieces in this strategy is the Lisbon Treaty. Following on earlier treaties, the Lisbon Treaty institutionalized neoliberalism as the economic doctrine of the EU, deepened its federalism as a means of concentrating power in big European capital and the big European powers, consolidated a number of instruments

in the areas of so-called «foreign policy» and «security» geared toward supporting increased interventionism and militarism.

2.2.3. The creation of the euro has been confirmed as part of the strategic project of domination by big capital and the main European capitalist powers, as an instrument to serve the exploitation of labour and deepening of the conditions of capital's profitability.

Behind the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the so-called price stability lies the goal of reducing the unit costs of labor. The EMU emerged as one of the main instruments to allow greater liberalization of the movement of capital and, therefore, of multinational capital's degree of mobility in its quest for better conditions to exploit labour force and dominate markets within the European sphere. We can observe the consequences: degradation of living and working conditions; destruction of productive sectors and accentuated de-industrialisation in the «peripheral» countries, turning them into both «consumers» of surplus production and suppliers of cheap labour; increase in macroeconomic imbalance between the different countries of the euro zone – it is this latter factor that, together with the transformation of private debt into public debt, lies at the origin of the «net importer» States' debt, of their dependence and of the imposition, by their «creditors», of policies contrary to their interests.

Simultaneously, the euro is confirmed as a central instrument in inter-imperialist competition and rivalry. Artificially maintaining a strong euro, in the context of competition with the dollar, is the origin of profound economic problems for the countries with more fragile economies and of the speculative attacks targeting countries like Portugal. The European Central Bank policy fulfills the triple role of cheapening the refinancing of big capital, promoting the dependence of States by forcing them to rely on the big European economic and financial conglomerates to finance themselves, and promoting the over-exploitation of workers by covering the loss of wages' buying power by providing access to credit.

The path of the euro and the EU are inseparable. Economic integration led to the reinforcement of supra-nationality, and the successive federalist steps have aimed and aim at maintaining economic integration, in accordance with the interests of big capital and the main imperialist powers. This path is inseparable from the class nature, objectives and function of the EU. It is inseparable from the attempt to create an imperialist «super-State», with colonial relations of domination within it – at the expense of States'

sovereignty, of peoples' living conditions and right to development, and of democracy itself.

2.2.4. Having deconstructed the ideological propaganda about «economic and social cohesion», with which it justified the integration process, **the European Union has evolved toward a deep social regression, intensifying the relations of dependence and accentuating the imbalances in member-States' economic and social development.**

The profound social crisis that is spreading throughout the European Union, is irrefutable proof of the impossibility of reconciliation of the pillars of the EU with the rights of Europe's workers and peoples.

Heir to the failed «Lisbon strategy», the so-called «EU 2020» strategy intensified the agenda and priorities to impose a new stage in the processes of privatization and liberalization of fundamental sectors. This affects the basic strategic sectors and public services, destroying fundamental social functions of the State, imposing the dismantling of the public administration, a regression regarding labour relations, a decrease in wages and pensions, the increase of the retirement age, the destruction of public education, health and social security systems.

2.2.5. The «financial readjustment programs» are part of this goal. They are brutal programs of impoverishing countries, the working and popular masses and of transferring public resources to big capital. Their immediate role is to ensure the financing of banks by States.

New instruments of political and budgetary domination were developed (European semester, economic governance and the budgetary treaty, as well as the agenda of discussion around «constitutional elements essential to the future Economic and Monetary Union») that are in profound contradiction with the interests of peoples and countries like Portugal – and have devastating consequences for its development and its sovereignty.

The creation of instruments based on the total subordination of political power to economic power, and their promiscuity, aims essentially at safeguarding the interests of big finance capital. They are attempts to save the euro as big capital's and the big powers' instrument, nullify the increasing contradictions among powers, and create more speedy and efficient methods and mechanisms of transferring labour incomes and public resources to big finance capital. **The Financial Stabilization Mechanism – associated with the future of the EMU, the role of the ECB and the**

deceitful European debt securities (eurobonds) – is nothing but a speculative fund constituted by the contributions of States, to increase their sovereign debts and their dependence upon big finance capital. It is one more instrument to increase the centralisation of economic power.

2.2.6. A profound offensive of exploitation has associated itself with a powerful offensive against democracy. The profoundly undemocratic character of European integration was made quite clear in the Lisbon Treaty process; in the blatant interference and blackmail to prevent a referendum on the troika's memorandum for Greece; the campaign against the referendum on the so-called budgetary treaty in Ireland; the imposition of government «solutions» (as in the case of Greece and Italy) or government programs (as in the case of Portugal, where the Aggression Pact was signed before the elections).

The gradual expropriation of national sovereignty, together with booming poverty and unemployment, are opening the doors to xenophobia, racism and the ensuing enhanced media coverage and electoral expression of openly fascist and neonazi forces. The anti-democratic character of European institutions is deepening, as was made clear in the attempt to institutionalize and promote anti-communism.

2.2.7. Concerning agriculture, there was an **acceleration and intensification of the process of liberalizing agriculture** and deregulating the EU markets. The reform of the CAP deepens this path, turning agriculture into a bargaining chip in WTO agreements and agreements with third countries.

The **Common Fisheries Policy**, in its successive reforms, is based on centralized management, detached from reality, and that **disregards the specific situation of national fisheries**. It is a policy that promotes the indiscriminate elimination of fishing fleets, affecting the sector and the communities that rely upon it. In line with the Lisbon Treaty, the CFP's reform enshrines a vision of privatization of the seas, with the introduction of private property rights into the access to fisheries resources, and «free access» to exclusive economic zones.

Despite the increasing contradictions within the WTO, **the European Union has intensified its policy of bilateral, regional and multilateral economic relations, whose central axis is the liberalization of world trade and the negotiation, or even imposition, of agreements and economic «partnerships» that facilitate the access of economic and financial conglomerates**

to new markets and larger profits, at the expense of the exploitation of workers and the peoples of the affected countries and regions.

2.2.8. Because of the pressure by the major powers, that want to reduce their contributions towards the budget, the next Multi-annual Financial Framework (2014-2020) will predictably be reduced, in relative terms, relative to the present one and those before it. That means a period of seven years with even smaller budgets and less allocations for the so-called «economic and social cohesion».

Thus, enhanced capitalist integration, and the simultaneous relative devaluing of the instrument destined to promote a supposed and false convergence among member-States – the EU budget –, will have as their inevitable result even greater divergence among member-States.

The proposals to alter the financing of the EU budget, namely the creation of «European taxes» – inseparable from the enhancement of federalism –, if they are implemented, will jeopardize the current system based essentially on direct contributions by member-States, based on their respective Gross National Income. This would further undermine the redistributive function that the budget should have, and would constitute the institution of a EU fiscal policy and a blow to the fiscal sovereignty of States like Portugal.

2.2.9. The evolution of EU policies in the area of justice and internal affairs has deepened the path toward centralisation of justice (a sovereign competency of States) and the increased adoption of security and military measures of internal State security, particularly with the Stockholm program of cooperation among judicial, police and secret service agencies.

2.2.10. The militarization of the EU and its warmongering and interventionist policies are deepening. The application of the Lisbon Treaty has – in conformance with the 2012 NATO summit in Lisbon and the adoption of its new strategic concept – turned into a new and dangerous qualitative step towards the militarization of the EU, which is still the European pillar of NATO.

The Common Security and Defense Policy accentuates the centralization of the so-called «security policy» on the directorate of powers. It provides for member-States to place their civil and military capacities at the EU's disposal, in order to contribute to goals defined by the European Council.

The European External Action Service (EEAS), one of the central points of the Lisbon Treaty and fundamental piece of European federalism, constitutes a diplomatic mega-structure that undermines the representations and interests of member-States, and whose ties to military and secret intelligence structures are clearly assumed.

The European Defense Agency constitutes an institutional expression of the military-industrial complex and a «new impulse» to the development of a war industry and an arms race.

2.2.11. The path of the EU – particularly the Economic and Monetary Union – far from resolving the serious problems that affect all the peoples of the different countries and the EU structure itself, is merely deepening the contradictions and the crisis with no end in sight. The EU is drowning in its own crisis. Capitalism's classic solution of destroying productive forces – which has raised unemployment to historic highs, imposed economic recession on the peripheral countries as a way to contain the crisis in the main powers – has been unable to avoid the crisis's spread.

The path of the EU is, simultaneously, both cause and expression of the economic, social and political difficulties and contradictions arising out of the evolution of the EU itself. Their sources are the contradictions of the capitalist system in its imperialist stage. More than a «euro crisis» or a crisis resulting from «sovereign debts», the EU is deeply steeped in a crisis of its whole «structure». A crisis of the options and policies enshrined in the treaties and of its political and ideological orientations.

This crisis is already generating new escapes forward. Faced with contradictions between different sectors of big capital, and between different powers within the EU, it is trying to save one of its main instruments of domination – the euro – by a new federalist step in opposition to the so-called «austerity policy».

The present proposals and discussions around the concept of «more Europe, to overcome the crisis» are, in their very nature, identical to the «austerity» policies. That is, they are two expressions of the same neoliberal, militarist and federalist path, no matter how the ideologues of neoliberalism or the forces that claim to be «left Europeanism» may try to portray it.

2.2.12. The model and the system that the ruling classes try to impose on the peoples of Europe are not inevitable. The response of the workers and peoples of various European countries to the ongoing fierce anti-social offensive in the EU demonstrates that another Europe is possible: a Europe based on equal rights for

all States, on solidarity, mutual respect, guaranteeing the sovereign right of peoples to choose their own economic, social and political organisation, in defense of peace and cooperation with all the peoples of the world. What the peoples of Europe need, and what they struggle for, is for a true break with the process of capitalist integration in Europe, one that opens the way to building new forms of cooperation between sovereign States, oriented towards mutually advantageous social and economic development, that respects national sovereignty in its very diverse aspects, the independence of peoples, and the values of peace, solidarity and cooperation.

The intensification of Portugal's integration into the EU, and its increasing dependence and fragility, have accentuated the dependence and identification of the big national economic conglomerates on big transnational capital. **Portugal is today in an increasingly peripheral, dependent and vulnerable position with respect to the EU framework as a whole and, in particular, with respect to its participation in the EMU.**

Being a preferential victim of speculative attacks on the euro, Portugal was dragged by the EU and by successive national governments into the position of easy prey to the mechanisms of extortion of national resources by means of growing foreign debt.

2.2.13. The PCP has always alerted to the grave consequences for the country arising out of the so-called European integration: by clearly denouncing both its capitalist nature and its objectives of building in Europe an imperialist power, and also what joining the EU meant as a process contrary to the nation's needs and interests.

This integration has had serious consequences. But this does not exempt successive governments from their responsibilities: not only in supporting the orientations and options associated with the process of capitalist integration, but also in invoking them in order to pursue and intensify their policies at the service of the interests of big capital. The struggle for a break with right-wing policies – and, at this time, the struggle for the rejection of the Pact of Aggression – is an essential condition for the assertion and defense of national interests.

Determined in its commitment toward Portugal, its workers and people, the PCP reaffirms the Portuguese people's inalienable and full right to decide their own future and choose the paths it considers to correspond to its historic identity, rights and aspirations, to see national interests ensured and prevalent over any other projects that contradict their own. No integration, no matter how advanced in its development, can expropriate this right. **The Portuguese people**

cannot abdicate this right, given the irreconcilable conflict that exists between the nature of this integration, and the indispensable defense of national sovereignty and the interests of workers and people.

2.2.14. Affirming its steadfast commitment in defense of the Portuguese Constitution, the PCP reiterates its rejection of a European integration that is characterized by submission and by conditioning of Portugal's development. The PCP affirms and renews its commitment to fight for an independent and sovereign Portugal, for a project of cooperation among sovereign and equal States, that breaks with the capitalist integration process in Europe and promotes the improvement of workers' and people's living conditions and the progress of the country, and international solidarity and peace. This commitment is consistent with its goal of democratic, patriotic and internationalist development.

To develop mass struggles and build alternatives

3.0. Introduction

3.0.1. Obeying the schedules and objectives of the great capital and its centres of power, in the framework of the exacerbation of the present crisis of capitalism, towards the intensification of the exploitation and the annihilation of social rights and civilizational conquests, the right parties – PS (Socialist Party) , PSD (Social Democratic Party) and the CDS-PP (Centre Social Democratic-Popular Party), with the support of the President of the Republic, have accomplished during these last 4 years a new and drastic attack to the workers, the living conditions of the people and the national sovereignty.

During these last years, simultaneously with the deep concerns, difficulties and the many sacrifices resulting from the maintenance of the right policy, new perspectives for the increase in fights were opened, thus preventing the implementation of some restrictive measures for the workers and the people in general, and even succeeding in imposing one or other measure contrary to the interests of the great capital. In this context, it is worth stressing the struggles of the working class and the workers in general in defense of the right to work with rights, against precariousness and for salary enhancement, and the fight of the populations in defense of the public services and against the deresponsibilization of the state in what concerns its important social functions as health, education, and social security.

The development of mass struggles, expression of the fights of workers and other non-monopolist classes and strata, that, increasingly has incorporated all those that aim for a better life and do not resign in the face of injustice and exploitation and do not accept a policy of national decline, has constituting by its dimension and convergence of objectives , a decisive factor in the fight against right policy and the demand for an alternative policy thus confirming, by its expression and nature, the timelessness of class struggles.

3.0.2. In the present political context, the reinforcement of the organization and of the intervention of organizations and mass movements is a fundamental factor for the expansion of mass struggles.

The situation of our country, and its constant aggravation, has created conditions for wide sectors that have not so far participated in the struggles, to incorporate them more actively. Sectors and layers that, although prone to be attracted by populist dynamics and disperse and inconsequent processes, enlarge and bring new energies to the organized struggle of the Portuguese workers and people.

The workers, men, women and young, that rightly aspire to a better life, which do not resign in the face of injustice and exploitation, all those that do not accept a policy of national decline and abdication of sovereignty those who resist and fight for the right to have rights, can count with the PCP (Portuguese Communist Party) to help them get the necessary and indispensable strength to break with the right policy and to build a new policy for the country.

3.1. The struggles of the working class and the workers as a motor of mass struggles

3.1.1. The latest years have been characterized by na extraordinary development of the struggles of workers in which the CGTP –IN (National Confederation of Portuguese Workers – National Inter-Union) has assumed a central role in the mobilization of those who are the main targets of the offensive. A mass struggle, that assuming expressions of convergence never attained in the last 30 years, has been simultaneously wagged in companies and working places and in the streets. A struggle that, silenced in the media, has proved to be of strategic importance in the fight against all and each one of the measures the great employers, backed by the PS and PSD-CDS governments, have been trying to impose.

3.1.2. A struggle that has been wagged under very difficult conditions, under an intense ideological offensive combined with

pressures and blackmail, with fear enforcement and attempts to divide the workers and resorting to repressive forces and illegality, to the instrumentalization of the brutal economic and social difficulties and of situations of unemployment and precariousness. A struggle that thus assumes a greater importance not only because of the courage and determination it expresses, but also because of its role in the resistance and limitations to the objectives of the government and the great capital.

It was among the working class and the workers that the right wing policy met the greater, more consequent and permanent factor of resistance and reaction, crucial in the dinamization of the struggle and resistance to the greater transverse attacks against the population. With their example of resistance, determination, dynamization and involvement, the working class and the workers assumed themselves as motors for the development of mass struggles.

A struggle wagged in different forms (plenary sessions, undersigned documents, strikes and stoppages, demonstrations, meetings and marches) and around real problems in defense of rights in tenths of companies and work places from different areas of activity, either of the private or the public sector.

A courageous struggle to denounce and fight precariousness, wagged in the streets and workplaces, aiming at the unity of all workers and the effective hiring of workers in a precarious situation, with special reference to: the initiatives undertaken by the Interjovem/CGTP-IN (namely the collecting of more than 20 thousand signatures in a petition against precarious work); the Convivial Meetings in 2011 and 2012 against precarious work and unemployment that involved other structures; the actions and demonstrations developed around the National Youth Day.

An intransigent struggle **in defense of work posts, for the payment of overdue salaries and in defense of natural production** . A struggle for the **readjustment of wages**.

A struggle that **has mobilized several sectors** around their specific problems, showing the dissatisfaction and protest of thousands of workers, namely the great demonstration promoted by the *Frente Comum dos Sindicatos da Administração Pública* (Common Front of Public Administration Unions) on 12th November 2011 (that counted with more than 100 thousand workers), the struggle in the area of transports and communications (the strike on the 27th April) , the teachers' strike on the 19th January (2011), the struggles of the workers of the local administration (national strike in September

2010) the actions of the workers of the central public administration, in particular the demonstration on February 5th and the national strike on March 4th (2011), the national demonstration of nurses on June 18th (2010) the actions of the textile, clothing and footwear industry sectors (demonstrations on 13th December 2011, 23rd January 2012, 18th April 2012 of the IPSS (Private Institutions of Social solidarity) and CERCI (Cooperative for the Education and Insertion of Disabled Citizens)), the actions developed by the workers of Culture, the various demonstrations promoted by the Associations of security forces professionals (demonstration on the 28th September 2011) and by the professional Associations of military forces, with special reference to the National Meeting on October 22nd 2011 and the demonstration of 12th November 2011.

A struggle that has encountered in moments of convergence its greater mass expressions, in strong demonstrations of its capacity to mobilize that have counted on the organization capacity of the workers and the class union movement to guarantee their dimension. The National demonstrations (Lisbon, March 13th 2009 with more than 200 thousand participants, March 29th 2010 that joined more than 300 thousand demonstrators, the actions all over the country on the 8th July, the decentralized demonstrations in Lisbon and Oporto on the 29th September 2010 and October 1st 2011) and worth stressing the great demonstration on February 11th 2010 that turned the *Terreiro do Paço* (Palace Square) into the *Terreiro do Povo* (People's Square) are landmarks in the history of the fight of the working class and the workers that cannot be separated from the wide, deep and diversified struggle waged in hundreds of companies and workplaces.

Remarkable moments in the workers' struggle, because of their courage and determination, were the three general strikes against which all anti-strike forces were mobilized and against which all measures were valid to try and stop the people's fight. Strikes on the 24th November 2010, 24th November 2011 and 22nd March 2012, where the workers showed extraordinary illustrations of confidence, determination and availability to continue and even intensify their struggle.

3.1.3. An intense struggle that organizes, involves, mobilizes and contributes to increase the social and political conscience of those who wage and develop it. A struggle waged in very difficult conditions because of the action of the great capital and its govern, but that represents the only way to combat the increase in exploitation. A process where each struggle counts, even those considered as "the small ones", where each victory represents a gigantic step that must be valued by its example.

Worth stressing is the important victory achieved by the workers of CP (Portuguese Railways) in their great struggle for the right to strike, the maintenance of their rights and the effective hiring of all temporary workers of the CP-Carga, the refusal from the workers of Somincor to accept a grievous change of working schedules, the salary equalization in Valorsul, and the effective hiring of workers in BOSH, the JUMBO in Almada, Tempo Team, in Odivelas, CP-Carga, EMEF, mining industry, Webastos, Vanpro and Lisnave Yards and the nurses in Santa Maria Hospital.

3.1.4. The enemy of class knows the capacity and the potentialities of the workers' struggles. Hence the brutal attack to their class organizations, the investment in the ideological offensive and the attempts to change deeply the correlation of forces in companies and workplaces. An offensive in various fronts, with very concrete expressions in each company and workplace.

The development and intensification of the struggle will bring new challenges to workers, a probable intensification of provocative and divisive actions and initiatives that, as has already been attempted while often alluding to rightful reasons, have as sole aim to divert from the real objectives of the workers, to create false hopes and give excuses for the intensification of repressive actions next to the workers organizations in operations fully articulated and supported by the instruments of the great capital.

3.1.5. The offensive focuses in great measure on the reduction of salaries and wages, on an increase in the working hours, on the generalization of precarious work, on making redundancies easier and cheaper by attacking collective bargaining and by fostering the decrease of the power of labor in relation to capital. Such goals are made effective by the changes in labor legislation in private and public sectors. All and each one of the measures towards a greater exploitation can be barred in companies and workplaces by organizing and mobilizing workers to defeat them and, simultaneously, to demand for higher wages and better living conditions. To identify priorities of intervention and foster the struggle, as it is happening in tenths of companies, is the way. The victories achieved prove that it is necessary and possible to defeat this project.

An intense and prolonged struggle, where all battles count, in a process where great convergence actions, that must forcibly engage permanent sectorial action in companies and workplaces, will necessarily assume a very important role. A struggle, that going so far as the will of the workers and the organization and direction of

the Union Movement will take it, is integral part and central element in the defeat of the objectives and the right policy and block the path of destruction in this country and open the way to another policy serving the national interests and attending the needs of the workers.

3.2. The struggles of other strata, sectors, social groups and populations

3.2.1. The great mass dimension, intensity and multiplicity of the fights of the working class and workers has constituted a driving factor in the struggle of other strata, sectors and social groups and populations and in the definition of the objectives of each specific struggle , a stimulus to the understanding that the struggle is the way towards the defense of rights and an element of solidarity and support to its development.

A wide and gradually more extensive set of strata, sectors and social non-monopolist groups and the population in general have increasingly participated in the struggle against right policies and the consequences of the Aggression Pact, resisting to the anti-popular and anti-national orientations of successive governments , demanding the revocation and alteration of grievous measures and requesting for a new policy.

New intermediate social sectors and populations have participated in the struggle against this policy, as its adverse consequences are being felt by anti-monopolist classes and layers. That is the case of minute, small and medium-sized businessmen, strangled by banks and economic groups, disinvestment and recession. That is the case of populations whose rights to civic participation and development are at stake because of the abolishment of the small administrative divisions, the strangulation of the local power and the closing of public services.

3.2.2. Mass struggles involving widely diversified layers, sectors and social groups have been waged: in the struggles of small and medium-sized farmers in defense of national production and food independence and against the impositions of the PAC (Common agricultural policy) ; in the actions of tiny, small and medium-sized businessmen fighting for survival; in the struggles of fishermen against the Common Fishing Policy and the destruction of the fleet and national fishing; in the actions of tenants against the new law on compulsory termination of tenancy; in the protests of social sectors that have contracted home loans or borrowed money for purchases, against the robberies from Banks and in defense of their rights; the struggles of women fighting for their right and equal participation; in

the struggles of secondary school students against the destruction of state schools, against national exams and for better teaching/learning conditions; in the struggles of university students in defense of public schools, against fees, exclusivity and drop out and in defense of Acção Social Escolar (social/economic support for poorer students); in the struggles of retired citizens against the reduction of their rights, for dignified annuities and pensions and in defense of social security; in the intervention of handicapped against discrimination; in the actions of emigrants fighting for the teaching of the English Language outside Portuguese borders and consular support; in the actions of immigrants fighting for civil rights; in the struggles of the associative movement of firepersons towards a better service in the protection of citizens; in the struggles in defense of public supply of water and against privatization; in the intervention of thousands of agents from security services with their union and socio-professional demands; in the struggles for peace, against the aggressions of NATO and the imperialism ; in the struggle for freedom, for the rights of political and union propaganda, against authoritarianism and the lightening of fascism; in the affirmation of the 25th April, in defense of its popular and progressive content.

3.2.3. The struggle of the populations attained a new amplitude: in defense of the National Health Service, and against *taxas moderadoras* (charges for treatment, consultations or medical services inside the NHS), the closure of emergency services and other hospital services, the privatization of primary health cares and in demand of new hospital equipment; in defense of state schools and against the closure of kindergartens and infant´s schools and the creation of big school clusters; against the closure of Courts, police quarters, government offices, post offices, and state companies essential for the welfare of the populations; in defense of a public transport system, against a rise in fares, the closure, disqualification or privatization of some services; for the abolition of highway tolls and against the implementation of toll payment in former SCUTs (roads without costs for their user); against the negative impact of infrastructures upon populations, national heritage or sustainable development; in defense of public distribution of water; for public investment and population progress; against desertification and regional asymmetries,; in defense of civic participation and development; against the extinction of *freguesias* (administrative divisions of the territory) and in defense of local power.

3.2.4. With a higher and higher participation, the struggles of those layers, sectors, social groups and populations assume an increasing importance in the resolution of real problems, in the rejection of "inevabilities" and in the demonstration of the fundamental role

played by the mass struggles in the construction of a wide social struggling front and of social alliances – of the working class and the workers with the intermediate layers of the population- a decisive instrument to defeat the Aggression Pact and render possible a new patriotic left policy in our country

The reinforcement of the intervention of these social sectors and their organizations, with their autonomy, intern democracy and deeply popular roots, is of utmost importance for rupture and alternative. Communists must absolutely pay the maximum attention to the problems of these layers and social sectors and populations, support them and contribute for the implementation of their intervention and struggle. The Party must absolutely take the organizational measures of institutional and political intervention, together with the indispensable multiplication and intensification of mass struggles paying careful attention to their convergence.