CENTENARY

PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

1921-2021

Freedom, Democracy, Socialism

The future has a Party

DEP/PCP • **PCP.PT**

Formation of the PCP

The foundation of the PCP, on March 6, 1921, was not a matter of chance. It resulted from an objective need of the development of the Portuguese proletariat, the maturing of its social and political experience and awareness and its struggle, and it is also an expression of the influence that the October Revolution had in Portugal.

Partido Comunista Português

Conforme tínhamos anunciado, ele-ceiçoe-se ontem, na Associação dos Empregados de Escritório, a secretaria dos corpos administrativos, tracionando também a comissão elaboradora das bases, realizar uma sessão de propaganda, mas não se efectuou porque a participação que foi entregue ao governador civil não chegou a ser deferida, devido a estar demissionário, e o comandante da polícia não querer tomar a responsabilidade.

Aberta a sessão, foi apresentada, por Nuntinento Cunha, a lista dos camaradas que em sua opinião deviam constituir os corpos administrativos, o que a assembleia aprovou por unanimidade, sendo escrutada por entre vivas ao P. C. P., à C. G. T., e outros agremiações.

After the second half of the 19th century, capitalism develops in Portugal. The railroad is built, industrialisation advances, capital accumulates, banking grows in importance and foreign capital explores the country's wealth and the labour of the Portuguese.

The working conditions of the working class are deplorable. Exploitation grows with long hours, poverty wages, exploitation of child labour.

It is in this context that the organised workers' movement is born.

With the establishment of the Republic, on October 5, 1910, there is a notable increase in the struggle of workers and an important quantitative and qualitative leap takes place with the creation of Trade Unions, Federations and Unions.

Massive mass actions against exploitation and unemployment take place.
But republican governments not only do not respond to the workers' main aspirations, but they repress their struggles. It soon became clear to the working class that the Republic had not been established to meet its demands.

The workers' movement spoke out against the entry of Portugal in World War I, alongside the imperialist powers.
The Portuguese government's option to participate in it had disastrous consequences on the living conditions of the Portuguese people.

Workers respond to rise in the cost of living with significant struggles in 1918, including, a general strike in November.

The bourgeoisie tries to crush the workers' movement through the establishment of a dictatorship whose main promoter is Sidónio Pais. But it is the continuation of the struggle that, despite many hesitations, will defeat Sidonism.

The impact of the October Revolution in Portugal

The October Revolution had an echo among the most enlightened sectors of the Portuguese proletariat who not only understood that the social revolution was possible but that, for its materialisation, a revolutionary party was necessary.

In 1919, the Portuguese Maximalist Federation emerges which, through its newspaper *A Bandeira Vermelha* [Red Flag], proclaimed the objectives and achievements of the young Soviet Republic. It is in this context that in January 1921 the Organising Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party was formed and Communist Centres were opened in various places. Thus were created the conditions for the foundation of the PCP, which takes place on March 6, 1921.

O Comunista

SEMANARIO—Orgão do Partido Comunista Português

The PCP's first manifesto is published in July 1921 and *O Comunista* - its first central paper - comes out in October of that year. It was also in 1921 that the Communist Youth was formed with its newspaper *O Jovem Comunista* [The Young Communist], which later became *O Jovem*.

The PCP holds its I Congress in November 1923 in which it adopts a Declaration of Principles and an Action Programme.

The II Congress was convened for May 29, 1926. After its beginning, it decides to interrupt the proceedings because on the 28th the reaction carried out a military coup and the dictatorship was established.

The PCP, which had a correct view of the nature of fascism, calls for the creation of the United Front against the programme of the dictatorship.

Party of the working class and of the resistance

The military coup of May 28, 1926 establishes a military dictatorship that dissolves Parliament, dismisses town councils, imposes censorship, and begins the persecution of workers' organisations.

The PCP is outlawed, with the attack and closure of its headquarters in February 1927.

On February 3 and 7, 1927, take place the first armed revolts against the dictatorship, respectively, in Porto and Lisbon.
In the years that followed, other revolts take place. The dictatorship persecuting the democratic military manages to control the armed forces that become one of the pillars of fascism.

The fascistization of the State - with the creation of its main instruments of support - political police, Legião [Legion], União Nacional [National Union Party], Mocidade Portuguesa [Portuguese Youth] was modelled on Mussolini's fascism.
The 1933 Constitution and the National Labour Statute (which came into force in 1934) are essential features in the structuring process of a Corporate State at the service of capital.

Only in 1929, with the April Conference, does the PCP reorganise itself underground as a Marxist-Leninist party.

Bento Gonçalves is elected General Secretary of the PCP. Defending intervention in companies and mass struggle, the PCP becomes an influence in all social strata.

The trade union front gains great dynamism, making the 1st of May 1931 a grandiose mass action. The Inter Trade Union Commission is created after the conquest of several unions.

In 1931 the first issue of Avante! is published and a technical apparatus is created for the press and propaganda. In 1933 the publication of O Militante begins.

Various mass organisations are created – ORA - Revolutionary Naval Forces Organisation; the Portuguese Section of the SVI - International Red Aid – which assumes solidarity with political prisoners; the League of Friends of the USSR and the Portuguese League against War and Fascism.

On January 1, 1934, free trade unions are prohibited. The working class reacts with a strike of insurrectionary characteristics on January 18. In Marinha Grande, workers occupy strategic points in the town. Fascism brutally represses this great political action of the working class.
Participants in the 18th of January and in the Sailors' Revolt (September 1936) are sent by the government to the newly created Tarrafal Concentration Camp where 32 Portuguese anti-fascists were murdered, including prominent cadres of the PCP.

The PCP and Avante! through the years carry out a campaign to close down Tarrafal

Also in 1936, Portuguese fascism supports Franco's fascist uprising. During the three years of the Spanish war, the PCP developed intense solidarity with Spanish republicans and communists. In the second half of the 1930s, the PCP suffers serious repressive blows. In 1935, after returning from the VII Congress of the Communist International, Bento Gonçalves and other cadres are arrested. It is the period of the rise of fascism in Europe. In September 1939 World War II begins. Salazar declares "neutrality", but effectively collaborates with Hitler, namely, by sending food and resources to the war industry

The PCP calls for mobilisation against these aids from Portuguese fascism to which the popular masses respond with great determination.

A great national Party

The release of prominent cadres of the PCP from Tarrafal and other prisons enabled an in-depth reflection on the world and national situation and taking organic measures to strengthen the PCP. This process was named the 40/41 reorganisation and enabled the PCP to be transformed into a major national party.

Bento Gonçalves died in 1942 in the Tarrafal Concentration Camp, victim of a disease contracted in the camp and due to lack of medical assistance.

The strike movements of July/August 1943 and strikes of May 8 and 9 1944 stand out among the workers' struggles.

House where the III Congress was held, «Vila Arriaga» – Monte Estoril

At the **III Congress of the PCP**, in 1943, the leadership work is reinforced through collective work and the creation of a true Central Committee. Progress is made in the theoretical and practical construction of the PCP's identity, deepening its democratic functioning. The system of alliances, the nature of fascism and national uprising as a way to overthrow it are defined.

It is in the course of the preparation of the III Congress, and with its holding, that the conditions for the creation of a body of unity representative of all anti-fascist forces - the MUNAF - Movement of National Anti-Fascist Unity - is forged.

Alfredo Diniz (Alex) is murdered in 1945.

With the victory over Nazi-fascism (May 1945) the Soviet Union gained enormous prestige. The formation of popular democracies in Eastern Europe corresponded to the enormous desire for freedom, peace and social justice, thus paving the way for the formation of a world system of socialism.

The struggle of the Portuguese people against fascism during the war gave rise, at the time of the Victory, to numerous demonstrations of rejoicing in various places, acquiring a notable expression the one carried out in Lisbon.

It is in this atmosphere and in response to the pseudo-democratic manoeuvre of fascism, that the MUD - Movement for Democratic Unity is created in October 1945. Salazar's declaration of "elections as free as in free England" is contradicted by the illegalisation of the MUD in 1948 to prevent its action in the 1949 elections. The MUD is the first legal movement of the democratic opposition to the dictatorship. In 1946, giving expression to the broad democratic movement of youth, the Youth MUD is created, which will mobilise several youth sectors until 1957.

The day of feast and struggle in Bela Mandil, Olhão, held by Youth MUD assumes great significance.

«Boat tours on the Tagus River» with intellectuals. 1940s

The IV Congress of the PCP (1946)

Since the III Congress, the PCP grew enormously in the number of members, organisations in companies and in the circulation of Avante!.
In this Congress, the organic principles of democratic centralism are defined and the PCP asserts itself as the vanguard of the working class and as a Party of anti-fascist resistance.
The IV Congress combats Salazar's pseudo-democratic rhetoric, warns against illusions and opportunistic attitudes and reaffirms that fascism can only be overthrown by force.

The campaign of Norton de Matos

In 1949, General Norton de Matos's candidacy for the Presidency of the Republic constituted a major political campaign for freedom and democracy.
The campaign claimed three conditions for going to the polls: freedom of propaganda, honest registration and monitoring of the vote by the Opposition.
Fascism refuses to meet these conditions. Norton de Matos withdraws just before the election.
Unmasking the electoral fraud that was being prepared, democratic forces achieve a great political victory.

The PCP, which was the main promoter of the unity that was achieved, played an important role in the movement of the masses around this candidacy.

Always at the forefront of the struggle

The post-war recomposition and regrouping of the reactionary forces is characterised by a fierce anti--Soviet campaign and the creation of NATO.

Salazar places Portugal among the twelve countries that form NATO, which will guarantee him the support of the imperialist powers.

In March 1949, the PCP suffered a severe repressive blow, with the arrest of two members of the Secretariat - Álvaro Cunhal and Militão Ribeiro - and of Sofia Ferreira. Militão Ribeiro, a victim of ill-treatment, dies in the Penitentiary.

Álvaro Cunhal (disguised) Sofia Ferreira

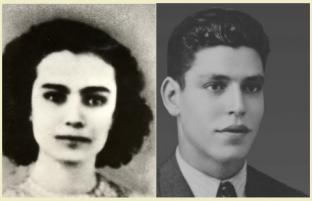
Letter from Militão Ribeiro written in his own blood

The difficulties are great, but the PCP persists with the unitary action of democratic forces. The MND - National Democratic Movement continues its activity and in 1951 launches the campaign of Ruy Luís Gomes to the Presidency of the Republic.

The unitary work with the masses grows in the front of the struggle for peace, the claiming action of workers and youth.

The National Commission for the Defence of Peace is created with personalities from different political currents.

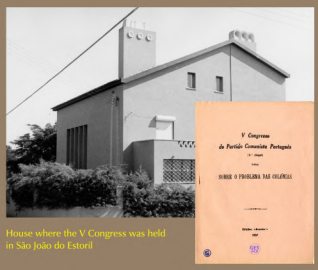
When NATO holds a meeting in Portugal, there are great struggles against the Atlantic Pact. There is a rise in the struggles of farm workers in Alentejo with strikes and concentrations for better pay. In 1953 alone, 60,000 workers participated.
It is at the head of these struggles that Catarina Eufémia, in Baleizão, and Alfredo Lima, in Alpiarça, both members of the PCP, are murdered.



Catarina Eufémia Alfredo Lima

In 1957, 5000 fishermen from Matosinhos went on strike, claiming Sunday as a day of rest.

The student struggle of 1956-1957, in defence of the autonomy of the Student Associations resulted in a significant victory, having forced fascism to shelve Decree-Law 40900.



House where the V Congress was held in São João do Estoril

V Congress of the PCP

Held in September 1957, the V Congress adopted, for the first time in clandestinity, the Party's Statutes and Programme.
It also had the historical merit of the decision to recognise the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to immediate independence.

The V Congress was, however, marked by significant deviations in the orientation regarding the way to overthrow fascism, advocating a peaceful solution to the Portuguese political problem.

In 1958, an important political battle takes place around the elections for the Presidency of the Republic. Arlindo Vicente and Humberto Delgado present their candidacies.

A wave of enthusiasm swells across the country, claiming "Freedom". Numerous rallies are held. Huge demonstrations take place in Lisbon, Porto and other cities. The police charge against the demonstrators, but nothing prevents the masses from expressing their desire to end fascism.

The PCP placed the need for convergence of the two candidacies and played a decisive role in their unification.
General Humberto Delgado goes to the polls. The electoral fraud leads to a wave of protests, led by the working class. 60,000 workers go on strikes and stoppages.

Fascism reacts with violence. Hundreds of Portuguese are arrested, tortured and sentenced to years in prison.

Revolutionary forces shake the regime

Picture of Eduardo Gageiro

At the beginning of 1960, the escape from Peniche Prison returned to the revolutionary struggle Álvaro Cunhal and nine prominent cadres and leaders of the PCP, which will have important repercussions on its activity.

The meetings of the Central Committee in December 1960 and March 1961, in which Álvaro Cunhal is elected General Secretary of the PCP, are particularly important for clarifying the path for the overthrow of fascism and for the correction of the so-called "right-wing deviation in the Portuguese Communist Party in the years 1956-1959 ".

In December 1961, another escape from Caxias Prison, in which 8 members and leaders of the PCP participated, increases the work potential of the PCP.

Avante!

EM LIBERDADE!

SAUDAÇÃO

This is how in the years 1961-1962 the struggle enters a new phase.

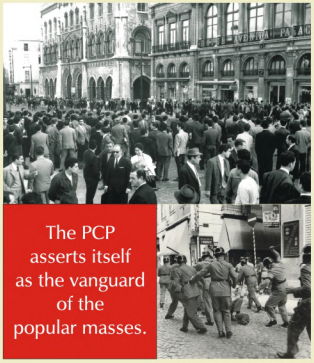
On February 4, 1961, with the uprising of the people of Luanda, the colonial war begins. The regime's difficulties are worsening.
Soldiers' families suffer when embarking to Angola.

In the first months of 1962, together with the claiming struggle in companies (Carris, Telephones, Parry & Son, CUF) and rural workers, the celebrations of January 31 and March 8 take place.

Students hold a National Meeting in Coimbra, despite being prohibited.
Days later, with the prohibition of Student Day, a prolonged struggle begins with a strike on classes that has great expression in Lisbon, but also in Coimbra and Porto.

On March 12, 1962, Radio Free Portugal Livre starts broadcasting, expanding the Party's communication possibilities with the masses.

At the appeal of the PCP, the great day of the 1st of May 1962 was an important mark of the workers' willingness to fight. 100,000 people demonstrate in Lisbon, occupying Downtown for several hours. The young communist worker Estevão Giro is killed by the police.
In Porto and other cities there are also demonstrations.
In Alentejo, 35 thousand rural workers stop work. On May 8 new street demonstrations take place.



The PCP asserts itself as the vanguard of the popular masses.

The conquest of the 8-hour day by farm workers

Throughout the month of May, rural workers in the South strike for the 8-hour day. In several places they impose this new schedule soon on the second day. In other places, strikes last for several days. Several struggles had been fought before, but it is in May 1962 that workers conquer 8 hours of work. This experience of struggle was of great importance to carry out the Agrarian Reform years later.

Meanwhile, with a notable intervention by Álvaro Cunhal, in the face of disintegrating processes within the Party and the action of political groups and groupings, dogmatism, sectarianism and leftism are combated.

The liberation struggle of the Portuguese colonies

After the start of the national liberation struggle in Angola, under the leadership of the MPLA, fascism is defeated in Goa, Daman and Diu, in December 1961.

In January 1963, PAIGC starts armed struggle in Guinea-Bissau and, in September 1964, it was FRELIMO's turn to take up arms for the liberation of the Mozambican people. For 13 years, fascism maintains a war on three fronts. Tens of thousands of young people are sent to war.
About 10 000 lose their lives.
Around 30 000 came back crippled.
The cost of the war is reflected in the lives of the Portuguese people who struggle against the cost of living.
There are great struggles in the barracks against the war, at the embarkation pier, among the population. A new front of struggle opens - the anti-colonial - which will have a very significant impact on the Armed Forces.

On the Road to Victory

With the rise of the struggle of the working class, claiming and political, and the difficulties resulting from the colonial war that have repercussions within the regime itself, Salazar is faced with serious problems in the economic and social field such as unemployment and mass emigration.

It is in this context that the PCP holds the VI Congress, in September 1965. In its preparation the report presented by Álvaro Cunhal to the Central Committee of the PCP in April 1964 entitled "On the Road to Victory - The Party's tasks in the Democratic and National Revolution" had a fundamental role. It constituted the political basis of the Central Committee's Activity Report to the VI Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party, drafted by the General Secretary of the PCP.

ÁLVARO CUNHAL

RUMO À VITÓRIA

(Os Militantes do Partido na Revolução Democrática e Nacional)

Relatório
ao Comité Central
do Partido Comunista Português
(Abril de 1964)

The VI Congress adopted the Programme for the Democratic and National Revolution, where the way to overthrow fascism is specified and political and organic measures are pointed out to achieve the defined objectives, that is, the eight points of the PCP's Programme:

1 - Destroy the fascist state and establish a democratic regime;
2 - Abolish the power of monopolies and promote general economic development;
3 - Carry out Agrarian Reform, handing over the land to those who work it;
4 - Raise the standard of living of the working classes and the people in general;
5 - Democratise education and culture;
6 - Liberate Portugal from imperialism;
7- Recognise and ensure the people of the Portuguese colonies the right to immediate independence;
8 - Follow a policy of peace and friendship with all peoples.

In 1968, Salazar disappears from the political scene and is replaced by Marcelo Caetano. In the inauguration speech he talks about tolerance. The PCP warns of demagogy and considers the need for an offensive on all fronts.

The working class is again at the forefront, with strikes by workers from TAP, Lisnave and CUF, marbles cutters in Pêro Pinheiro as well as the coordinated struggle of metal and textile workers.
New movements are created - the MDM - Democratic Movement of Women, the CNSPP - National Commission for Aid to Political Prisoners, the MJT - Movement of the Working Youth.

The democratic movement gains a new impetus around the "elections" of 1969, in which the CDE - Democratic Electoral Commission – spreads across the whole country with its actions.

This year an important student struggle takes place, essentially centred in Coimbra. Several trade unions are conquered, which, in 1970, will make possible the creation of Intersindical. The UEC - Union of Communist Students is created in 1971.

The fight against the colonial war takes on new expressions, through the Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA) that carries out sabotage actions against the military apparatus at the service of the colonial war. The colonial policy of fascism suffers defeats at the international level.

Marcelo Caetano pursues the same exploitative and repressive policy of Salazar's times. He unmasked his own "liberalizing" manoeuvre. It is Salazarism without Salazar, as the PCP characterized it.

The year 1973 is marked by struggles on several fronts. In companies, at the trade union level, in schools, among young workers, against the colonial war, against censorship, in solidarity with political prisoners and with peoples in struggle.

In April the III Congress of the Democratic Opposition takes place in Aveiro. Numerous theses are presented that denounce the power of monopolies, the situation of workers, youth or women and call for an end to the colonial war.

Taking advantage of the farce of the October 1973 "elections", an important mass political campaign is underway.

The widespread crisis of the fascist regime deepens, with dissensions within it that have significant expression in the National Assembly, the Armed Forces and the Church.

Several sectors propose negotiated solutions to end the colonial war. It is in this atmosphere that the Movement of Captains emerges, which quickly structures itself and creates the conditions for military action on the 25th of April.

The April Revolution

On April 25,
the first PCP flags appear in the hands of workers.

The Executive Committee of the PCP salutes the action of the military.

Álvaro Cunhal returns to Portugal on April 30. In his speech at the Airport, he calls for the unity of all workers, democrats and patriots and solidarity with the Armed Forces Movement - MFA.
He speaks at the May Day rally in front of an enthusiastic crowd.

Álvaro Cunhal joins the I Provisional Government, as minister without portfolio, on May 16.

On May 17
the first legal Avante! is published with a circulation of 500 thousand copies, sold militantly from north to south of the country.

Avante!

O «AVANTE!» LEGAL!

OS COMUNISTAS NO GOVERNO PROVISÓRIO

OS TRABALHADORES E A INTERNACIONAL

In October 1974, the PCP holds the **VII (extraordinary) Congress** that adopted changes to the Party's Statutes and Programme, including an Emergency Platform pointing out three main directions of the struggle for the establishment of a democratic regime.

The achievements of the Revolution

The 25th of April, enabled the people to achieve broad freedoms - of assembly, demonstration, constitution of political parties, trade union and press, among others.

The nationalisations of the basic sectors of the economy, Agrarian Reform, workers' control and the independence of the colonies are part of the great achievements of the Revolution that were enshrined in the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, adopted on April 2, 1976.

The first elections that took place were for the Constituent Assembly. They had a wide popular participation, never again repeated. The PCP obtained 12.46%, electing 30 MPs.

The elections for the Assembly of the Republic were held on April 25, 1976, with the PCP obtaining 14.39% of the votes electing 40 MPs.

The municipal elections, on December 12, 1976, gain great importance for the consolidation of the Democratic Local Government. The PCP runs in the framework of the FEPU alliance, obtaining 19% in the vote for Municipal Assemblies.

In the elections for the Presidency of the Republic on June 27, 1976, the PCP presented as candidate Octávio Pato who, throughout the country, carried out a significant campaign of clarification, in defence of the components of the Revolution and for the consolidation and continuation of Portuguese democracy.

The PCP and the Revolution

Due to the prestige it gained during the anti-fascist resistance, the PCP has an impetuous growth of its ranks following the Revolution. It opens numerous Work Centres all over the country and holds many information sessions.

Álvaro Cunhal participates on May 19, 1974, in Baleizão, in a rally in honour of Catarina Eufémia.

On June 28, the first big rally of the PCP takes place in the Campo Pequeno arena.

At the end of 1974, on December 26, the PCP hands the documentation for the legalisation of the party in the Supreme Court of Justice, which confirmed it on January 10, 1975. It is the first party to be legalised.

1st Avante! Festival

The first Avante! Festival held in Lisbon in September 1976, erected by the militant work of members and friends, the Festival was a huge success.

The PCP intervenes in all aspects of the revolutionary process, working with the working class and other strata of workers.

Participates in the Conferences of the Peasants of the North (Porto, December 29, 1974) and of the South (Santarém, January 5, 1975); in the I Meeting of small and medium merchants (Lisbon, January 19, 1975 and in the I Conference of the Farm Workers of the South (Évora, February 9, 1975).

Always acting in defence of the unity of all workers, the PCP pays particular attention to the trade union movement, which, on January 14, 1975, holds a gigantic demonstration for trade union unicity.

The VIII Congress

Held in November 1976, it made an assessment of the Revolution and the first steps of the counter-revolution, based on the report The Portuguese Revolution, the past and future.
It elected a broad Central Committee that included cadres who had stood out since the 25th of April.

On March 9, 1975, a great meeting takes place - with the participation of 5000 young people - which created the Communist Youth Union which continued the intervention of young communist workers over decades.

The PCP's internationalism

The April Revolution opened wide possibilities for the international activity of the PCP and mutual solidarity with parties and peoples in struggle.

In September 1974 the rally "Chile will win" was held, with the participation of leaders of the Popular Unity whose government, a year earlier, had been removed by Pinochet's fascist coup.

In November, a delegation of the PCF, with Georges Marchais, visits Portugal and a Friendship rally is held.

In 1975-1976, the PCP made a series of important visits, some of which were attended by the General Secretary, Álvaro Cunhal to Hungary, Poland, GDR, Cuba; Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union (with participation in the XXV CPSU Congress held in February/March 1976), to Angola and Mozambique. And in May 1976, the PCP holds in Campo Pequeno, a Solidarity rally with the Peoples of Latin America, with the presence of General Secretaries of various parties.

Counter-revolution, offensive and resistance

The development of the counter-revolution in 1976 marked the evolution of the national reality. The PCP continued its intervention, continued to grow and continued to structure itself to better carry out its activity. The Party's presence materialised throughout the country, with Work Centres in large cities and district capitals and in remote villages.
Not even with the deepening of the counter-revolutionary process and the terrorist acts that targeted the Party, this reality was reversed.

From January 27 to 30, 1977, in the historic Congress of All Trade Unions, Intersindical changed its name to CGTP-IN - General Confederation of Portuguese Workers-National Intersindical, continuing the heroic struggle of the working class and all workers with a view to ending exploitation and for social change.

PS, PSD and CDS carried out initiatives to subvert the advances of the revolutionary period, having as main targets the workers, their Party and the class-oriented trade unions and sought to change the legal framework that emerged from the Revolution. There arises the aim to subvert labour laws, the attempt to weaken the Unitary and Class-oriented Trade Union Movement, with the creation of trade union structures devoted to the employers.

The door to amend the Constitution is opened to erase revolutionary achievements.

Faced with attempts to change labour legislation in favour of employers, workers respond with General Strikes on February 12 and May 11, 1982.

In the face of the resistance and struggle of the masses, the reactionary forces did not hesitate to use violence, such as that which marked the countless actions of theft of lands, agricultural implements and livestock from the Collective Production Units (CPU) of the Agrarian Reform or the violence and repression that fell on workers who defended rights achieved with the revolution.

That was how the murders of two farm workers, Casquinha and Caravela, took place at Herdade de Vale Nobre, belonging to the CPU Bento Gonçalves (Escoural, Montemor-o-Novo), on September 27, 1979 and two workers on the night of April 30 to May 1, 1982, in Porto.

The Portuguese Communist Youth was created in November 1979.

In 1979, the PCP held its **IX Congress** in Barreiro, where it examined the Party's activity and the heroic struggle of the Portuguese workers and people during three years of prolonged onslaught by the capitalist, agrarian and imperialist recovery policy. Witnessing an unwavering confidence in the ability of the Portuguese people to face and defeat the global offensive of the reaction against Portuguese democracy, the Congress adopted a set of proposals and lines of action essential to defend democracy, improve people's living conditions, promote economic recovery and the development of Portugal based on the achievements of April, ensure national independence.

At the **X Congress** held in Porto in 1983, the Party the analysed the evolution of the national situation and the responsibilities of right-wing policies in the very serious situation in which the country found itself, the need, urgency and possibility of a democratic alternative that would ensure the solution to the country's crisis, with the defence of the achievements of April, consolidation of the democratic regime, safeguard of national independence.

It stated that the PCP was not only ready to examine the viability of a constitutional, social policy of a democratic government of National Salvation, but was also fully prepared to assume its responsibilities in a democratic solution and to make a decisive contribution to the solution of the crisis and the solution of the serious national problems.

In defence of the Achievements of April

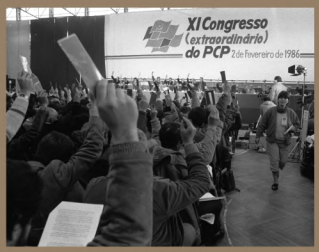
With the integration of Portugal into the EEC, new problems arose for the country: the multinationals entered the national economy in force, the process of de-industrialisation intensified, agricultural production fell abruptly and the fishing sector almost disappeared.

So-called community funds arrived in the country, which served to fund the dismantling of production units, non-production and the facilitation of imports. As the PCP had warned the situation of the workers and people did not improve, capitalist accumulation increased.

The strong class nature of the supranational project of "European construction", at the service of large economic groups and great powers, continues to have in the PCP the firm opposition of those who consider national sovereignty a fundamental and central issue for the country.

Unemployment, wages in arrears and rampant inflation have returned in force.

Once again there was hunger among thousands of families of workers, with particular focus on industrial belts.
But the workers gave the answer that the situation demanded, with a huge set of claim struggles and to defend the democratic regime that defeated the attempt to implement the notorious "labour package". A decisive contribution to this defeat was given by the call, by CGTP-IN, for a General Strike on March 28, 1988.



The PCP's role in national life continued to be decisive in this difficult situation. This was particularly noticeable in the contribution to the defeat of the right-wing candidate in the 1986 presidential elections. Culminating a heated internal debate, the **XI (Extraordinary) Congress**, held in Amadora on February 2, convened just 5 days before, was a powerful statement of the organised strength, unity and influence among the masses. The Congress adopted a decision - to vote against the right-wing candidate, Freitas do Amaral - that proved to be decisive for the defence of democracy.

But the PCP was even more significant in the mobilisation of the workers and people, in defence of the achievements of April, wages, the public sector and nationalised companies and Agrarian Reform and for a better future for the country.
Also with regard to freedoms, justice and the amendments in electoral laws, the offensive by capital was not left unanswered by the masses and the PCP.

In December 1988 the PCP held its **XII Congress** in Porto. This congress prepared the Party to respond better to the new and complex challenges posed by the evolution of the national and international situation. This Congress adopted a new Party Programme - An advanced democracy at the threshold of the 21st century - and amendments to the Statutes in order to enhance internal democracy.

Consecrating, with more development, the project of socialism defended by the PCP for Portugal, the new Programme defined the main objectives for the construction of an advanced democracy as a constitutive part of the struggle for socialism.

Reaffirmation of the communist ideal and project

The late 1980s and early 1990s were marked by the defeats of socialism in Eastern Europe. The evolution and disappearance of the USSR and other socialist countries in Europe, its significance and consequences for the international situation, for the lives of workers and peoples of the world and for the communist and workers' movement are now clearly visible 30 years later.

In order to analyse the events, the PCP held its **XIII (extraordinary) Congress**, which was held in Loures, in May 1990. Besides analysing the determining causes of the failure of a model, it deepened the reflection on the true nature and identity of the PCP, combating mystifications, distortions and misunderstandings, and reaffirmed the content of the project of democracy and socialism upheld by the PCP and its profound confidence and conviction in the value, topicality and projection of communist ideals.

«In Portugal and in the world there is no advance, progress and hope that did not count on the ideas, the effort, the blood and the struggle of the communists».

From the Manifesto adopted in the XIII Congress (extraordinary)

In Europe, with serious consequences for our country and against the clear will of the peoples, the Maastricht Treaty meant a further leap in boosting the imperialist domination by the multinationals, namely with the imposition of the Economic and Monetary Union, the consequences of which will worsen a few years later with the euro; it institutionalised the logic of the EU as a political-military bloc. Important parcels of national sovereignty were transferred to the sphere of the institutions of the European Union.

After years of uncertainty in the face of attempts to make the Avante! Festival unviable and showing great confidence in the capabilities of the party collective, at a particularly difficult time for the communist movement, the purchase of Quinta da Atalaia for its holding was a measure of strong impact.

With a campaign of funds and the militant contribution of thousands of Party members, supporters and friends of the Festival, obtaining a permanent ground enabled the construction of an Avante! Festival increasingly better and with more conditions to host its visitors!

The first Avante! Festival at Quinta da Atalaia took place on September 7, 8 and 9, 1990.

In December 1992, the **XIV Congress** of the PCP was held in Almada, in a context marked by the disappearance of the USSR and the defeats of socialism and by the second absolute majority of the PSD and the resulting continuation of the right-wing policy. The XIV Congress confirmed the role of the PCP in boosting political action and the struggle that, three years later, would end a decade of PSD/Cavaco Silva governments. This Congress adopted amendments to the Programme and Statutes, reflecting the great changes that had occurred in Eastern Europe.

At the XIV Congress, the Central Committee elected Carlos Carvalhas as General Secretary of the Party and Álvaro Cunhal as President of the National Council.

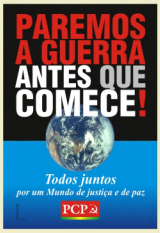
Resistance and struggle for national sovereignty and workers' rights

Between 1995 and 2002 the right--wing policy continued, this time by the PS. Once again, it was the workers and the people who led the resistance against the worsening of exploitation and the deepening of anti-social measures of destruction of public services, destruction of social security, privatisations, deterioration of purchasing power and concentration of wealth in an increasingly small number of economic groups.
As the PCP defined then, there was no change, but continuity, aggravated.

If the workers' struggle was crucial to contain negative aspects of the right-wing policy, it proved to be decisive to achieve advances, some of them of great historical significance such as the consecration of the 40-hour week, 35 hours for the Public Administration and the end of child labour.

In the aftermath of the disappearance of socialism as a world system, imperialism found itself with a freer hand to act.

In this new phase of the offensive, the policies of interference and aggression were intensified, highlighting the role of the United States of America which, with the collusion or active participation of the European Union, did not hesitate to resort to military intervention, in its own name or through NATO, to carry forward the intentions of imperialism.
So it was in Yugoslavia, Iraq and Afghanistan.
Terrorism was one of the weapons of imperialism.



The PCP intensified its action in the struggle for peace, sovereignty, respect and friendship with the peoples of the world.

Another weapon of the large economic groups was the creation of the single currency. The PCP warned and alerted to the serious consequences in economic terms that a single currency would bring to a peripheral and increasingly economically dependent country, in the European context. Once again, life proved the PCP right: since the introduction of the euro in 2002, we have gone through almost two decades of economic and social stagnation and regression.

The PCP continued its struggle for a fair and sovereign country. In this period, the essential contribution of the communists to end one of the harshest forms of humiliation for women stands out, through the legalisation of voluntary termination of pregnancy. The Party intervened in the continuation of the struggle for the constitutional determination of regionalisation that António Guterres and Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa and their respective parties prevented.

The **XV and XVI Congresses**, held, respectively, in Porto and Lisbon, in 1996 and 2000, outlined orientation and guidelines for a stronger PCP in the transition to the 21st century and a for democratic alternative to the right-wing policy of PS, PSD and CDS and for a new path of affirming its project of democracy and socialism for Portugal.

On the threshold of the new century, faced with the main problems posed by a national and international situation of great complexity and very demanding, the PCP reaffirmed its communist identity and project.

The quality of the work of the communists on the institutional front is unquestionable and distinctive, whether in the Assembly of the Republic, in the European Parliament, in the Legislative Assemblies of the Autonomous Regions or in the bodies of the Democratic Local Government.
The committed intervention with the unrelenting defence of the workers and populations, voicing their struggles, the proposals for a better life, against injustices, the implacable fight against right-wing policies and the struggle for national sovereignty are constant. Distinctive is also the attitude of the communists in these bodies, refusing benefits and privileges for the discharge of their office.

Struggle, confidence, a stronger PCP

The alternation of power between PSD and PS, in the last decades, was marked by the continuation of the right-wing policy, harming the interests of the country, the workers and the people. This policy experienced numerous defeats, which were enhanced in the new century.

The challenge to the Labour Code remains in history as one of the most powerful days of struggle of the workers in Portugal.
In the biggest attack on workers' rights, the employers and the government, in concert, sought to impose multi-skilling and flexibility in labour relations, while attacking collective bargaining, the payment of night work and overtime and imposing the extension of workers term contracts.

With the struggle growing, in November 2004, the popular protest forced the resignation of the PSD-CDS government of Santana Lopes.

On June 15, 2005, the working class, workers and democrats said goodbye to Álvaro Cunhal. In the huge demonstration - of mourning, but, above all, of confidence in the millennial struggle to liberate the exploited - that crossed the streets of Lisbon, the recognition and affection shown for the communist leader, who carried out a work of great significance for his Party and the communist movement.
A significance that will be well patent in 2013 in the celebrations of the centenary of his birth.

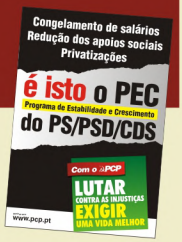
In the context of the worsening of the crisis in the capitalist system and the fierce onslaughts of governments against the workers and people, the PCP held its **XVII Congress** (Almada, November 2004) and **XVIII Congress** (Lisbon, December 2008). They highlighted the ability of the communists to analyse the moment and define, in a wide collective debate, the guidelines to be followed by the party collective, while affirming the Party's identity and project of materialising a new society freed from exploitation and oppression, socialism and communism.

The Central Committee, elected at the **XVII Congress**, chose Jerónimo de Sousa as General Secretary of the Party.

As a patriotic and internationalist party, solidarity with the peoples in struggle is a hallmark of the PCP's history and life. At the international level, the PCP intervenes to strengthen the international communist and revolutionary movement and its unity in action, through its intervention on the anti-imperialist front; for the development of actions of solidarity with the peoples in struggle and for an active intervention in the struggle of ideas and for the affirmation of socialism as an alternative to capitalism.

We underline the commitment to strengthen relations with communist parties, which includes the process of the International Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties, meetings that the PCP hosted in Portugal in 2006 and 2013.
Also the large number of international delegations present in the various editions of the Avante! Festival proves the respect and friendship that the PCP has earned among communist, workers' and revolutionary parties around the world.

Against the policy of the SGPs and the Pact of Aggression



It's worth fighting for!

The imperialist offensive and the consequent predominance in Portugal of neoliberal policies, attacked, particularly the workers: devaluation of wages and disposable income, constant attacks on labour legislation, the spread of precarious employment links and the attempt to destroy collective bargaining. For the capital, the PSD and PS governments meant huge increases in profits and dividends, use of public assets to increase their fortunes (PPP - public private partnerships, swaps, privatisations and concessions), fiscal evasion using tax havens.

This led to the spread of the crisis and to economic recession, especially in a profoundly unfavourable international atmosphere.

Faced with a situation that exposed the nature of right-wing policies, the dominant ideology wanted to make us believe that the situation in the country was the result of the attitude of the workers and people who were "living beyond their means" and did not hesitate in the face of growing resistance, to promote the Pact of Aggression against the workers and people, signed in 2011 by PS, PSD and CDS with the EU, the ECB and the IMF, applying the old prescription of increasing exploitation and destroying public services.

In the Portuguese Communist Party, we know that the struggle is hard, long and that the results are not always in sight.In this particularly difficult phase, the PCP soon called on the workers and people to resist the pact of aggression of the government with capital and foreign institutions.
The conditions for the struggle were particularly difficult: widespread poverty, rampant unemployment, brutal blackmail.

Everything served to try to frighten those who live from their work. But with the revolutionary commitment and courage of the communists, nothing is impossible and the struggle went ahead with confidence in victory: thousands of claiming struggles took place in companies and workplaces, there were impressive demonstrations which brought to the streets hundreds of thousands of participants. Widespread popular resistance and five general strikes (November 2010, November 2011, March and November 2012 and June 2013) undermined the support base of right-wing policy and its executors until October 4, 2015 when they were defeated at the polls: **It was really worth fighting for!**

Once again, the role of the PCP in national life was decisive so that, combining the political intervention of the communists with the struggle of the workers and the people, we entered a new phase of our collective life, in which it made possible something that was unimaginable for some: advance and recover rights and income.

In November/December 2012, in Almada, the **XIX PCP Congress**, relying on the historical intervention and creativity that the masses demonstrated to have throughout the revolutionary process in Portugal, adopted changes to the Party Programme, since then called An Advanced Democracy - The April Values in the Future of Portugal. The PCP left this Congress better prepared to continue its struggle towards its supreme goals.

Defence, restoration of rights in the struggle for the alternative

Only a party deeply rooted in the workers and the masses, strong and cohesive, endowed with a committed collective, from the leadership to the grassroots and with orientations closely linked to popular aspirations, could play the unique role that the PCP carried out between 2015 and 2019.

Thanks to the struggle of the workers and people and the intervention of the PCP, it was possible to prove that the path that the country had followed in the previous 40 years was not inevitable. Despite the PS keeping its commitments to big capital untouched, the existing situation enabled to restore wages and incomes, to raise pensions and retirements, to invest in Public Services, to stop the privatisation of public transport, to avoid the de-capitalisation of Social Security, to improve fiscal justice and take forward measures with particular significance, such as the provision of free textbooks to students in compulsory education and the extension and significant reduction in the costs of social transport passes in metropolitan areas.

But there were and are conditions to go further and, in view of the PS minority government, the PCP does not abdicate its intervention in order to promote new advances and the consolidation of what has been achieved, reaffirming that, to solve the country's problems there remains the need for a policy that breaks with the right-wing policy - the Patriotic and Left-wing Policy that the PCP proposes.

Essential bases of the Patriotic and Left-wing Policies:

- **the liberation of the country from submission to the Euro and the impositions and constraints of the European Union;**
- **renegotiation of public debt;**
- **valorisation of work and workers; defence and promotion of national**
- **production and productive sectors;**
- **public control of banks and the recovery of the basic and strategic sectors of the economy for the public sector;**
- **guarantee of public administration and services at the service of the people and the country;**
- **a policy of fiscal justice and combating the privileges of big capital;**
- **defence of the democratic regime and compliance with the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, the deepening of rights, freedoms and guarantees, the fight against corruption and the implementation of an independent and accessible justice for all.**

In 2014 the PCP announced the purchase of Quinta do Cabo to allow the extension of the grounds where the Avante! Festival is held! and launched a funding campaign to finance that purchase. In view of the surpassing of the proposed financial goal and certain that the conditions were being launched to provide an increasingly better Festival for everyone, the great expressions of joy that followed the opening of the gates of the 2016 Festival, with Quinta do Cabo already in full use, showed the affection of the workers and the people for a Festival that is also theirs and proved the communists' correctness and confidence in the decision to expand the grounds of the Avante! Festival.
Henceforth, with an increasingly better and more interconnected space with Quinta da Atalaia The motto that **"There is no Festival like this!"** is even more valid.

The **XX Congress**, held in Almada in 2016, defined the guidelines for the fight against the right-wing policy and for a patriotic and left-wing policy within the framework of an international situation marked by the structural crisis of capitalism.

For an Advanced Democracy, for Socialism and Communism

100 years ago, the Portuguese working class and workers felt that it was time to take a higher step in their organisation and create their political party. We are proud of our intervention and the central role that the PCP has played in Portuguese society and we affirm: Here we are, side by side, with the workers and the people, and with confidence in their potential, to build the future!

In a world faced with of the most serious crises of capitalism, the impact of which has not yet been fully revealed and in which humanity is faced with great dangers that coexist with real potential for progressive and even revolutionary development, the Portuguese Communist Party, a political party of the working class and of all workers, marks its Centennial deeply convinced of the correctness of its proposals.

movement in Portugal and under the influence of the Socialist Revolution of October 1917, the Portuguese Communist Party has a unique heritage of struggle and a unique historical experience in the context of the development of the labour movement in Portugal, significantly marked by the April Revolution, historical achievement of the Portuguese people in whose values it finds the inspiration for its action.
The Portuguese Communist Party points out in its programme, the construction of socialism and communism as its supreme goals.

Embodied in this struggle for the supreme goals and asserting itself as its constituent part is the proposal of an Advanced Democracy with the values of April in the future of Portugal, based on four inseparable aspects: political, economic, social and cultural democracy and the affirmation of independence and national sovereignty.

Political party and vanguard of the working class and workers, the Portuguese Communist Party is a patriotic and internationalist party, which affirms its theoretical basis, Marxism-Leninism, as a materialistic and dialectical conception of the world, a scientific instrument for analysing reality and a guide for action that, in connection with practice, is enriched and renewed with the unceasing progress of knowledge and experiences and its organic structure and functioning based on the creative development of democratic centralism.

"On the horizon of social development lies Communism - progressive Humankind's age-old dream, a classless society of abundance, social equality, freedom and culture for all, a society of collective and individual initiative and creativity, of free and conscious working people in which labour will be not merely a source of wealth, but also a creative activity and a source of joy, freedom and personal enhancement and in which peace, health, culture, leisure, a balanced environment, collective action and the value of the individual will all be components of human happiness."

(From the PCP's Programme - An Advanced Democracy, the values of April in the future of Portugal, adopted at the XIX PCP Congress)

Freedom, Democracy, Socialism

The future has a Party

On March 6, 1921,
the Portuguese Communist Party was founded.
In 2021 it is 100 years old.

These are 100 years in which there
has been no social transformation,
no progress or conquest by Portuguese
workers and people that are not directly
or indirectly associated with the PCP's
initiative, struggle, action and intervention.

The Portuguese Communist Party,
legitimate heir and continuator of the best
fighting traditions and of the progressive and
revolutionary achievements of the Portuguese
people, values its heroic history, develops
its struggle in the present and affirms
the communist ideal and project, for freedom,
democracy and socialism.