

# „NELKENREVOLUTION“ oder PREC

„Processo Revolucionário Em Curso“ (laufender revolutionärer Prozess)

## CHRONIK DER EREIGNISSE 1973 - 1976

September 1973

Heimliche Gründung des **Movimento das Forças Armadas – MFA** (Bewegung der Streitkräfte)

24./25. April 1974

Militärputsch der MFA: **Junta de Salvação Nacional** (Junta der Nationalen Rettung), Reformfaschist Spínola wird Präsident.

ab Mai 1974

Gründung von diversen Kampforganen der Arbeiter\_innen (Kommissionen, Räte und Komitees).

09.05.1974

erste Provisorische Regierung. PCP-Führer Cunhal erhält das Arbeitsministerium.

12.07.1974

Spínola ernennt zweite Provisorische Regierung.  
COPCON (Kontinentales Operationskommando) wird geschaffen: als Machtstützpunkt der „progressiven Offiziere“ unter Otelo Carvalho

29.08.1974

Neues, von der PCP akzeptiertes Streikgesetz macht Besetzungen von Unternehmen durch die Arbeiter\_innen illegal.

27./28.09.1974

Spínola's erster rechter Putschversuch scheitert. Sein Generalstabschef Costa Gomes löst ihn ab: dritte Provisorische Regierung.

13.01.1975

Demonstration des **Movimento da Libertação das Mulheres** (MLM - Bewegung zur Befreiung der Frau) in Lissabon

07.02.1975

80.000 Arbeiter\_innen demonstrieren in Lissabon, aufgerufen von der **Interempresa** (Verbindungskomitee mehrerer Arbeiterkomitees) trotz des durch alle Parteien abgesetzten Verbotes

09.02.1975

Welle von Landbesetzungen beginnt im Süden

11.03.1975

**Putschversuch** rechter Militärs von Arbeitern und Soldaten vereitelt.

12.03.1975

MFA-Führungsgremium wird „**Rat der Revolution**“ mit faktischem Staatsgewaltmonopol.

25.03.1975

Bildung der vierten Provisorischen Regierung

25.04.1975

Erste Parlamentswahlen: Sieg der SP (Sozialdemokraten um Mário Soares); für PCP nur 14%

April 1975

Erster Kongress der **CRTSM-Bewegung** (Räte der revolutionären Arbeiter, Soldaten und Matrosen) -- angeregt von der PRP/BR (Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado / Brigadas Revolucionárias - Revolutionär-Proletarische Partei / Revolutionäre Brigaden).

[Phil Mailer "Portugal – The Impossible Revolution ?" (2012) p.167:]

Between June and August 1975, it became increasingly difficult to speak of a government or indeed of an opposition. Real power was coming to lie more and more in the streets.

With the departure of the PS & PPD from the 4<sup>th</sup> government the PCP & MDP were left in virtual control of the state. The 'Goncalvists', as the military wing of the PCP were called, dominated the Council of the Revolution, while the CPC and its sympathisers controlled most of the ministries. But their basis in the country was narrow and certainly showed no signs of broadening. (...) Between March and June, the PS (and the social-democratic wing of the MFA) was disorganised. They were to remain in a minority position, despite the 'support' for the PS which the April elections had revealed.

The newly formed 5<sup>th</sup> Government was opposed on all sides.

(...) But there were other oppositions, too, which were now to take on a violent form:

Backlash in the North ... Most of the terrorist actions were clearly the work of the Right.

[p.168: characterisation of that class structure „like a different country“; giving an example of the inability of PCP and leftwing "avantguardists" to response adequately!]

(169middle:) It was not the first time that a Lisbon-based regime had been frontally attacked from the North: ... 1846-48 ... the popular „revolt of Maria da Fonte“ by aristocrats, artisans and peasants ...

Before April 1974, PCP and MDP theoreticians and economists had only seriously attempted to analyse the situation in the South ... The North, almost forgotten, was now staking its claims to be remembered, and with a vengeance.

[...Some dates following: p. 169bottom+170f: ... The 'rent law' was changed by the 4<sup>th</sup> government: Almost no landowner could now evict a tenant within 18 years of having signed a contract = *Pachtvertrag*. This – typical of the new legislation – was a compromise with the local landlords: on the one hand it helped tenants while on the other it legitimised the whole concept of agricultural rent, confirming the landlord's 'right' to the land.

... Half a century of Salazarism had never engendered as much anticommunism as 18 months of PCP participation in various governments.

The real roots of power in the countryside had in no way been threatened by the MFA. Of the PIDEs, arrested in the 1<sup>st</sup> provisional government, 75 % had been in the South and only some 6 % in the North ... No priests had been arrested, North or South. Cardinal Cerejeira, the right hand of Salazar, was allowed to move freely in the capital, while his friends, leaders of the PIDE, were arrested.)

The backlash continued nonstop throughout July and August.

(p.172:) The economic problems were serious indeed. Some quarter of a million Portuguese was out of work and without real means of support. The unemployment fund set up by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Government was ineffective in great parts of the country. Some 300 000 Angolans were to arrive by October, and more later. (...) Of the deficit in the balance of payments between January and April 1975, 75 % were with EFTA and the EEC countries. External and internal markets were closing up.

## Beginn des „heißen Sommers von 1975“

17.06. ODER NICHT VIELMEHR 07. ? vgl. Dok.54+S.16f] 1975

Demonstration mit 30.000 Menschen: „Weg mit den Ausbeutern, die Macht den Arbeitenden!“, keine Slogans zur Unterstützung der MFA, stattdessen: „Für eine revolutionäre Regierung ohne Parteien“, „Für eine sozialistische Revolution“ und „Sofortige Auflösung der Konstituierenden Versammlung!“

21.06.1975

MFA entwickelt einen „Politischen Aktionsplan“: Einheit von MFA und „Volksmacht“ (demokratische Basisorganisationen)

Seit der Entscheidung des MFA für die Arbeiter- und Bewohnerkommissionen als tragende Glieder der „Allianz Volk-MFA“ verschärft sich die Auseinandersetzung der Parteien um die politische Kontrolle dieser Organe zunehmend, wobei der PCP die Hauptrolle spielt, weil er seit Juni verstärkt seine Kader in Arbeiter- und Bewohnerkommissionen beordert und wo er dort schlecht Fuß fasst, sogar parallele Kommissionen gründet (so in Porto). Dies später auch bei den SUVs und Soldatenkommissionen.

Die Losung des „*apartidismo*“ kommt demgegenüber auf.

23./24.07. Delegiertenversammlung des Heeres: Nachgeben der „gemäßigten“ (= sozialdemokratischen) MFA-Mitglieder gegenüber der wütenden antikommunistischen Kampagne der PS, Abrücken von der PCP-Verbindung, Auflösung der „5.Division“; Zerfall der bisherigen Koalition von „Gemäßigten“ und „Radikalen“ im MFA (Portugal M&D im focus Bd.3: S.19 unten f).

25.07. An der MFA-Delegiertenversammlung nehmen Melo Antunes + weitere führende ‚Gemäßigte‘ ostentativ nicht teil.

Carvalho ist in Kuba (bis 30.07.).

Beschluss: An die Stelle des „Revolutionsrats“ als oberstem Souveränitätsorgan von MFA und Staat soll ein „Dreierdirektorium“ treten: Costa Gomes, Otelo de Carvalho & Vasco Goncalves.

21. - 26.07.1975

Bildung der fünften provisorischen Regierung

25.07. Freispruch eines Landarbeiters durch ein „Volksgericht“ in Tomar (Mittelportugal). In den folgenden Monaten sprechen weitere Volksgerichte Urteile in ähnlichen Konflikten zwischen Ausbeutern und Ausgebeuteten.

02.-04.08.1975: der zweite Nationale Kongress der Revolutionären Räte (unter Einfluss des PRP/BR) zeigt die Grenze / Unreife der Rätebildung- bzw. -Vereinheitlichung auf! (vgl. Portugal M&D im focus Bd.3: S.25 Mitte)

10. - 16.08.1975

„Dokumenten-Kampf“ („Gruppe der 9“ vs. „COPCON-Manifest“) und weiteres Vorwärtstreiben der Spaltung im MFA: Unter faktischer Übernahme des sozialdemokratischen (PS & PPD) Kritikcataloges wird gefordert eine „Rückkehr zur Überparteilichkeit“ des MFA, dessen Stärkung als Garant der Koalition PS-PCP bei Vermeidung von zu starkem Einfluss der letzteren.

PS & PPD begrüßen das Dokument sogleich und kritisieren heftigst die am

08.08. vorgestellte Fünfte Provisorische Regierung.

09.08. Beschluss weiterer Verstaatlichungen, darunter der SETENAVE-Werft (gehörend zum CUF-Konzern. Dieser wird dann ganz verstaatlicht am 14.08.)

24.08.1975

Einheitsfront aller linken Parteien (u.a. der PCP und der PRP/BR) kommt zustande – für nur 1 Tag. Sie sollte Premierminister Goncalves stützen gegen das Bündnis MFA(Antunes-Fraktion) /Carvalho, die ihn über das Dreierdirektorium (dessen Treffen unter Costa Gomes mit den Stabschefs der 3 Heeresgattungen das beschliesst und nach Beratung mit den US- und GB-Botschaftern) abzusetzen versuchen, die Entscheidung aber schliesslich dem „Revolutionsrat“ überlassen.

05./06.09. Heeresdelegiertenkonferenz in Tancos: Sieg der militärischen Sozialdemokraten im MFA, sie erzwingen (durch Boycott u.ä.) die Abdankung von Goncalves.

08.09. Erstes Kommuniqué der SUVs („Soldaten vereint siegen“) und ihre Demonstration in Lissabon am 11.09; noch größere am 26.09.

19.09.1975

Bildung der Sechsten Provisorischen Regierung (Azevedo; aus PS, PPD & PCP), die nach rechts rückt

Ende September sind bereits mehr als 100 000 Hektar Land besetzt.

Die Hausbesetzungen in den Städten nehmen großen Umfang an, sodass der COPCON am 07.08. 1975 zur Mäßigung aufgefordert hat.

29.09. Militär besetzt Radiostationen. Bringt Radio Renascenca zum Schweigen.

01.10.1975 PS bläst zur Mobilisierung gegen einen angeblich drohenden RAL-1-Putsch

06.-13.10. Besetzung der CICAP-RASP-Basen in Porto

22.10. Demonstranten nehmen den Sender Radio Renascenca wieder in Betrieb

23.10. Die BR gehen in den Untergrund

07.11. Die Radiostation Radio Renascenca wird von Fallschirmjägern gesprengt.

09.11. Riesendemonstration von PS&PPD zur Unterstützung der 6.Prov.Regierung

10.11. Offiziere ziehen sich von der Tancos-Ausbildungskaserne zurück

13./14.11. Bauarbeiter belagern die Regierung in São Bento

16.11. Riesendemonstration der PCP greift die 6.Prov.Regierung an

19.11. Von Tancos [entlassene] 1 200 Fallschirmjäger-Auszubildende besetzen ihre Basis

24 .11. Otelo de Carvalho als Militärkommandant von Lissabon abgelöst.

Zweistündiger Streik in Fabriken im Süden.

25.11.1975

Militärputsch unter General Eanes „Belagerungszustand“ ausgerufen. Über 200 Festnahmen.

26.11.

„Die Kommandos“ erzwingen die Kapitulation/Unterwerfung der Militärpolizei. (3 Tote). Otelo de Carvalho lehnt den ihm von Costa Gomes angebotenen Kommandeursposten über die Militärregion Lissabon ab. Auflösung des COPCON.

## Das Große Rollback setzt ein:

[Phil Mailer in *“Portugal – The impossible Revolution?”* p. 229:]

As a first step all military communiqués other than those emanating from the Military Chief of Staff and the ‘Revolutionary Council’ were forbidden.

[Phil Mailer 227f:] A search for weapons was started. (...) These searches, aimed at bringing the organisations into line, were to be continued right up to March 1976.

[Phil Mailer 229:] The assemblies in the barracks were abolished. Traditional military discipline was restored. Plans for the ‘censorship of pornography’ were worked out.

All further occupations of land were prohibited by the Minister of Agriculture. Only 4 occupations took place between November 1975 and February 1976, compared to the 400 between September and November 1975. Some 700 000 hectares had still to be allocated if the ‘Law on Agrarian Reform’ was to be implemented, but the state clearly wanted to assimilate what had already been taken over before any new steps were taken.

[p.231:] With a million hectares under occupation, the workers prepared for their first ‘collective’ harvest. What the new government planned was to ‘commercialise’ these cooperatives, forcing them to sell their olive oil, wine, and cereals to state-controlled institutions (the Wine-producers’ Association, the Institute of Cereals, etc) who would arrange for their further distribution. Failing this, credits would not be allocated.

By prohibiting all further occupations the state was creating a certain division among the agricultural workers, hoping thereby to control them better. Many further occupations were attempted (like at Vale de Sobrados near Évora), but the local National Republican Guard were immediately called and the workers evicted.

[Phil Mailer 230:] The government moved more cautiously in relation to the working class in general. They were still a force to be reckoned with. They were confronted with some 800 industrial cooperatives and with some 200 enterprises under workers’ control, not to mention the thousands of cases of “workers’ vigilance” (a term coined by a Lisnave-worker to describe the situation in that firm).

In addition there were over 600 agricultural cooperatives (most of them legalised by May 1976). This meant that over one-fifth of all agricultural land in Portugal (one million hectares out of 4.974.158) was under some form of collective control.

House occupations, which had reached 35 000 before Nov.25, were maintained. Squatters were not prepared to give up their rights just because the Left had lost a few ministries.

[233:] The cooperative movement was to be reorganised and new laws were drafted to control them. The Cooperatives were in any case not born as a revolutionary challenge to capitalism but as a state capitalist attempt to control the occupations and to guide it into channels which the established institutions could dominate. The workers occupied land, houses, and factories. The state then came along with promises to ‘legalise’ some of their achievements. The workers, in order to survive, were forced to accept these recuperated results of their own self-activity.

Prizes had been frozen after March 11 (1975) ‘for the remainder of the year’. They were now reset and this meant they now incorporated all the hidden, state-supported inflation that had occurred in the intervening 9 months. In January 1976 there was an all-round 40% increase in food prices. People complained and there were cases of refusal to pay. But no organised opposition developed. The workers tried to increase their pay packets, to get the extra month’s wage which most had ‘won’ over the previous year, but which many private and state enterprises were refusing to pay. In 1976, some 380 factories went on strike during February and March and thousands passed protest motions against the new policies. The bosses had found a new confidence and the state was gradually taking things under his wings.

[231:] In some places workers attempted to set up parallel economic structures. Direct selling from cooperatives to Neighborhood Committees was organised on a wide scale in the Centre and South and proved very popular, given the increase in the cost of living. Cabbages costing 15 Escudos in the supermarket were sold for 4 Escudos. Wine and olive oil were also sold at much lower prices.

The now fully nationalised radio and TV were amalgamated. The new company would avoid the confrontation of political views heard before November 25. The nationalised papers were given a new set of editors, mainly PS-oriented though including some ‘independants’ close to the PPD. It was horrible. “The radio now speaks for the people”, the people were told, “for the real people of Portugal who are tired of songs of revolt.” (...) Self-discipline (in their mouths a euphemism for self-repression) was urged on everyone, daily. (...) Comments about local affairs consisted of tirades against anarcho-populism, ‘COPCONism’, and the burning-down of the Spanish Embassy. Those who contested - and even those who questioned - were denounced to a chorus of cries of ‘discipline, discipline’. The workers, it appeared, were all being manipulated. Except those, of course, who had followed the parties ‘victorious’ on November 25. (...) These new rulers, great antifascists all, (...) these morons, with their ideas of ‘pluralism’, (...) moralism and mediocrity

buttressed one another. All this pettiness in the name of order, 'sanity', ... productivity.

[232f:] Rádio Renascença was handed back to the Church. Even Otelo de Carvalho began to wonder if his decision to back the workers had been the right one, strategically: the Church had proved so strong. Masses were again heard over the radio on Sundays, after six months of sublime silence. Mysticism was peddled everywhere.

On March 8 Diário Popular [PCP?] reported that 1.040 PIDEs had been freed since November 25, leaving only 300 in prison. The latter were to be released later. (...) Until April 1976, not a single case had been brought against the PIDEs. Up to 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1976, two years after the coup, only 108 cases were being 'processed'.