

Divisions within the CP of Brazil

Events in the last year have revealed

the existence of major divisions within the Communist Party of Brazil (PC do B). During 1980 a number of party members were expelled for what were termed "factionalist and liquidationist" activities. The members that were expelled included four members of the Central Committee and the leaders of some regional committees. In the fall of 1980 these expelled leaders called publicly for the organization of a Party Congress, with the support of five regional committees of the PC do B. They want this Congress to be a legitimate Party Congress, to which the official leadership of the PC do B is invited. They intend to demonstrate that they represent the majority of the party. But they insist that this Congress will be a fully sovereign forum which has the power even to formulate a new programme and political line.

Shortly after this appeal for a Congress, the current leadership of the PC do B also announced that a party Congress was being prepared. But they insisted that this was not a positive response to the appeal for a Congress launched by the dissidents. They maintain that the dissidents have no voice or organizational expression within the party, and must be treated as factionalists and liquidationists with a rightist political line.

What is behind this division? We get some idea from the pages of the Brazilian newspaper *Movimento*, which has published interviews with leaders from both camps, as well as many letters from readers evaluating the PC do B. It seems clear that what is happening is not a simple problem of "party discipline", but is a general crisis reflecting profound differences over the party's history, practice, line and programme.

Historically the differences erupted over the evaluation to be made of the party's involvement several years ago in the guerilla struggle in Araguaia, a region in the Brazilian countryside. A polemic developed after the publication of a text criticizing the party's line guiding this struggle. The text was written by Pedro Pomar, an important party leader who died in December, 1976. It showed that important sections of the party considered that this period of involvement in the armed peasant struggle was guided by a "blanquist" or putchist line. The polemic was continued in the last year by Wladimir Pomar, the son of Pedro Pomar. He said that the different evaluations of the guerilla struggle in Araguaia inside the party dated from 1966. The fundamental question, he said, was: "Who makes the revolution? Is it the people, the

working class, or is it a group, the party?"

But the debate has become much wider than the simple evaluation of this period of military struggle. There are opinions that question whether the PC do B is truly the vanguard party — not in terms of its heroism and devotion, but in terms of its political programme and links with the proletariat. There are criticisms of the general line and programme of the party. The critics say that the party has ignored the reality of the development of capitalism in Brazil, has erroneously called for a united front with the national bourgeoisie, and has put forward a democratic programme which cannot be distinguished from that of the revisionists in Brazil and in Chile. And there are many criticisms of a lack

of democracy in party life — of a lack of serious internal debate, of the fact that there has been no Congress since the re-organization of the party in 1962. The critics also express their dissatisfaction with the way that the party leadership radically condemns the CP of China under Mao — today — after basically following their line for so many years.

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These divisions within the PC do B are significant, because this party is held up by the fraternal parties of the Party of Labour of Albania as a real model of ideological firmness and iron unity. Nor is the PC do B the only one of these parties which is experiencing serious problems. Many of these parties

have had splits in the last few years, often involving a large part of their membership. Others, like the CP of Spain ML, speak of serious problems in recruitment, problems linked to both sectarian and bureaucratic errors and to a general climate of pessimism and demobilization.

In the last few months some of these parties have written polemics with a common theme: that it is not Marxism-Leninism and communism that is in crisis, but modern revisionism. But the facts seem to contradict this, showing that these parties are not themselves immune to the effects of the profound crisis effecting the communist and revolutionary organizations around the world.