

## The Domestic Situation in Brazil and the Tasks Of the Communist Party of Brazil

- The April coup in Brazil shows the bankruptcy of the revisionist line.
- Brazil's basic problems cannot be solved by peaceful means; it is necessary to wage an armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and the traitorous domestic regime.

*The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil adopted a resolution last August calling on the Brazilian people to embark on the path of revolution and to fight against U.S. imperialism and the Brazilian traitorous regime. The following is a summary with quoted extracts. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.*

THE resolution says that since the military coup d'état on April 1, 1964, the Brazilian people have lived in an atmosphere of tyranny and complete insecurity. After the President of the Republic was overthrown, a military dictatorship was set up to serve domestic reaction and U.S. imperialism. The government headed by Marshal Castelo Branco is the product of an armed rebellion staged in the traditional Latin American fashion. It flagrantly violates the principles of the Constitution and is an out-and-out despotic tyrannical regime.

The resolution points out that as soon as the Branco government came to power it clearly revealed the reactionary nature of its policies. The wholesale purges and arrests it made were solely aimed at excluding from political life those who take a democratic and anti-imperialist stand and those who may help the process of democracy in one way or another, and at creating an atmosphere of terror so as to frustrate the working people's struggle for satisfying their immediate demands, to obtain land and oppose imperialism. At the same time, in less than four months, this government has made enormous concessions to U.S. imperialism. In foreign policy, the government has revived the policy of complete subservience to the U.S. State Department.

The resolution sums up, in the light of the coup d'état, the experience and lessons of the democratic, anti-imperialist movement. It says that **in examining the causes of the defeat of the forces of the people, one thing becomes very clear, namely, the idea which dominated the democratic, anti-imperialist movement at that time was that the Brazilian revolution would proceed along a peaceful path. But events in March and April showed how fantastic this line of peaceful**

**revolution was.** "The ruling class and U.S. imperialism have blocked this road. To defend their narrow interests and their ill-gotten privileges, they keep tight control of the state machine which is mainly used to suppress any attempt of the masses of the people to restrict and do away with foreign plunder and social injustice and to take a more active part in the political life of the state."

The main instrument of suppression in the hands of the state is the army. Now the reactionary officers have not only overthrown the government but have also seized the state machinery. "In these circumstances how can one accept the peaceful road? Events of the recent period are quite instructive. They show that the people's movement, no matter how extensively it may have grown or how many positions it may have taken, is doomed to failure if it does not possess the means to cope with the violence of the ruling class. The Brazilian people cannot free themselves from oppression and backwardness nor can they rid themselves of dependence on foreign countries if the reactionary state machine is not crushed and its instrument of coercion, the army, is not defeated."

**"It is necessary for the Brazilian people to wage an armed struggle against the armed suppression by the domestic reactionaries and the U.S. imperialists, and to prepare for this struggle. This concept constitutes a fundamental issue today. It must be a guiding principle for the thinking and actions of genuine revolutionaries."**

**"U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of our people. Underestimation of the activities of U.S. imperialism in Brazil, its plans for war and world hegemony is one of the main reasons for the setbacks suffered by the democratic, anti-imperialist forces."**

The resolution cites a host of facts to prove that U.S. imperialism plotted and instigated the April military coup. "This once again proves that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the Brazilian people. It colludes with the domestic reactionary forces which

act as its mainstay in plundering our country and in oppressing our people. In return, these reactionary forces obtain powerful support from U.S. imperialism in the defence of their own prerogatives. . . .

"The popular forces fighting for the liberation and progress of our country should in no way underestimate the repressive action of the American neo-colonialists. It is wrong to entertain the illusion that democracy and the national-liberation movement can coexist peacefully with imperialism which exercises domination over our country. . . . Therefore, an unceasing struggle against U.S. imperialism must become the chief task of all Brazilians who desire to see the fatherland free and prosperous. Constant vigilance must be maintained so as not to be taken unawares by the manoeuvres and schemes of U.S. monopoly capital."

During the rule of the Goulart government, it was the reformist bourgeois leadership headed by Joao Goulart that basically gained the upper hand while **the Brazilian Communist Party threw Marxism-Leninism overboard and trailed after the bourgeoisie.**

The resolution also stresses that the April 1 coup has taught another invaluable lesson. This concerns the leadership of the democratic, anti-imperialist movement. "Reality once again proves that **the democratic, anti-imperialist movement can win complete success only when it is headed by a revolutionary vanguard representing the most advanced class in society politically, namely, the proletariat; it can win victory only when it pursues a revolutionary instead of a reformist line; it can succeed only when it rallies all forces opposing U.S. imperialism and its supporters in our country to form a broad united front; it can win victory only when it is prepared politically and ideologically to wage the most resolute and powerful struggle or even resort to revolutionary violence of the masses to answer the violence of imperialism and domestic reaction.**"

Another factor which led to the reverse on April 1 was the tendency to belittle the peasant movement, the mainstay of the revolutionary forces. "The March and April incidents proved that the democratic, anti-imperialist movement is highly vulnerable and can very easily be stamped out by the reactionaries if it has no solid support in the countryside. The reactionaries are concentrated in the cities and possess substantial means of suppression there. Due attention should of course be given to the struggle in the cities as there are masses of workers, students and intellectuals. But rural work should be the centre of attention. **The worker-peasant alliance is the foundation on which the democratic, anti-imperialist united front should be built. . . . Therefore, the greatest possible efforts must be made to organize and develop the peasant movement.** The importance of rural work is easily understood when one realizes that the national-liberation struggle is bound to be arduous and protracted and in the main be waged in the hinterland. All signs indicate that the first centres of revolt against the enemy

of our people will emerge in the countryside. Thus, it can definitely be said that **the question of the peasantry is the crucial question for the Brazilian revolution.**"

The resolution goes on to emphasize the vital importance of building up a broad democratic, anti-imperialist united front, the aim of which is to liquidate the domination of U.S. imperialism in Brazil and the system of latifundia.

It points out: "**The April 1 coup d'etat served to distinguish between the standpoints and actions of the two groups in the workers' movement represented respectively by the Communist Party of Brazil and the Brazilian Communist Party.** The different lines and activities of the two organizations embody the two conflicting lines in the world communist movement — the Marxist-Leninist line upheld by the Communist Party of China and other revolutionary parties and the revisionist line of N.S. Khrushchov and his followers. In this respect, **what happened in Brazil shows the total bankruptcy of the revisionist line and fully corroborates the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism.**"

Since 1958, the Brazilian revisionists headed by Luiz Carloz Prestes have worked out a whole set of reformist policies in accordance with the theses of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They systematized these policies at the 5th Party Congress in 1960. They repudiated the principles of Marxism-Leninism and came to the conclusion that the Brazilian revolution would develop along the path of non-violence.

In their practical activities, the revisionists limited the anti-imperialist struggle to the extent that it suited the bourgeoisie. They accepted the view of the C.P.S.U. that there supposedly existed within U.S. imperialism a democratic grouping which would uphold peace. During the period when Joao Goulart was in power, and in the last few months of the period in particular, they even regarded this leader of the Brazilian Labour Party as their principal ally.

After the mass rally on March 13 in Guanabara State which President Goulart attended, the revisionists declared in their press and in their public statements that the reactionaries had suffered a heavy setback and could no longer impose any political retrogression on Brazil. But the April 1 incident was a painful blow to the revisionist leaders. Their plans and theories were all dashed to the ground. The revisionist thesis upheld by the Brazilian Communist Party that revolution may be carried out through reforms crumbled completely.

"**The line followed by the revisionist leadership of the Brazilian Communist Party has prevented the trade unions from taking root among the masses, hindered the popular organizations in launching militant actions and disarmed the workers politically. This opportunist line is largely responsible for the reverses suffered by the democratic, anti-imperialist movement.**"

Dealing with the revolutionary line of the Communist Party of Brazil, the resolution says that the political line of the Communist Party of Brazil which was rebuilt in February 1962 has been corroborated by practice. Revolutionary Marxist-Leninists have seen that the theses which they uphold have proved to be correct. "In their programme adopted at that time, they maintained that it was impossible to settle the key problems of our country without a change of the existing system because this system was fundamentally anti-popular. They emphasized that the ruling class had blocked the peaceful road of revolution and the people had to take the revolutionary road. They pointed out that only by setting up a people's revolutionary regime could the obstacles that stood in the way of Brazil's development be removed. They also underlined the need to establish a broad united front of all forces which oppose U.S. imperialism and the latifundium system. . . .

"In its political activities the Communist Party of Brazil endeavours to make the mass movement independent of the government and condemns the attitude of tail-ism. It calls on the workers and the people as a whole to believe in their own strength and to be prepared to cope with the violence of the ruling class no matter from what quarter it comes."

**"Facts have proved that the Communist Party of Brazil is the political party which has most clearly charted the correct direction and future development for Brazil.** Thus these revolutionary Communists feel themselves inspired and advance more resolutely along the path they have taken. The analysis and solution set forth in their programme are completely valid today."

"This decisive test has proved the vitality and brilliance of the great revolutionary theories of the proletariat and the weakness and poverty of revisionism although the latter has decked itself out in the trappings of temporary successes. Revisionism has been dealt a crushing blow. This will help those revolutionaries in our country who have been misled by the line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. to find once again the Marxist-Leninist road and to get rid of opportunism."

"Although the Communist Party of Brazil is not yet a powerful organization, it has undertaken the task of playing an outstanding role in leading the Brazilian people in the liberation struggle. Because of its clear aims, its correct programme, the theory on which it is based and the policy it pursues, in a word, because it represents the interests of the revolutionary proletariat, it is a force which can serve as a revolutionary vanguard in the political arena in Brazil." **The resolution calls for energetic efforts to expand the ranks of the Party and establish close ties with the masses in order to build up such a vanguard.**

The resolution calls on the people to unfold a struggle against dictatorial rule. It points out that although the present Brazilian Government is helped

by U.S. monopoly capital, "it is weak because it serves the most retrogressive forces and runs counter to national interests. It is opposed by the people who have not yet given full expression to their resistance but who will sooner or later rise to topple the present vicious regime of our country."

**The resolution calls on the people to steadfastly and actively oppose dictatorial rule and those like Carlos Lacerda and company who demand more reactionary measures.** In the struggle for specific targets, it is necessary to unite all forces that can be united and neutralize all forces that can be neutralized. In this respect, the struggle for the achievement of the peasants' immediate demands is of immense significance. Not only is this struggle on the order of the day but so also is thoroughgoing land reform — the great banner of the unity of the peasants and the worker-peasant alliance.

**The current struggle against U.S. imperialist plunder and the traitorous policies of the government has a more striking character and has become the main task of the Brazilian people.** The dictatorial regime has opened the door wide to the U.S. monopolies for their exploitation and has shamelessly danced to the tune of the U.S. State Department. "That is why to defend national sovereignty, safeguard our industry and natural resources and put an end to U.S. imperialist rule has become a tremendous common factor contributing to the unity of the people."

"The April 1 coup d'etat was designed to arrest the rising tide of the democratic, anti-U.S. movement. However, the plotters of the rebellion and their U.S. sponsors have miscalculated. The demand for thorough reform has never been so strong as it is today. By its violence and injustice, its traitorous course of action and its anti-popular measures, the dictatorial regime has made the people realize more clearly the need of revolution.

"Patriotic democrats and the masses of labouring people anxiously want to know how victory can be won. The Communist Party of Brazil will try its best to respond to this concern here. It reiterates that **the basic problems of our country cannot be solved by peaceful means. To defeat their enemy, the people must build up their own armed forces in the course of struggle. . . . The Brazilian people are faced with the choice: either remaining as a satellite of U.S. imperialism to be bullied at will and to enjoy no freedom, or rising to make revolution. There is no third path.**"

"The success of those who staged the coup is but transient. Their superficial strength is only a manifestation of their intrinsic frailty. The Brazilian people will win final victory if they embark on the path of revolution and dare to fight against U.S. imperialism and its supporters in our country. The important thing is to make up one's mind and persevere in struggle so that revolution shall not remain a wish but become a glowing reality," the resolution says in conclusion.