

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

ORE Committee on International Communism

October 1949

OFFICE OF REPORTS AND ESTIMATES
Central Intelligence Agency

(The material used in this publication was reported during the month of September)

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PART I

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN WORLD COMMUNISM
DURING SEPTEMBER

The international Communist movement, despite its victories in China, is currently operating under severe handicaps. Even though it cannot be said that world Communism has suffered a decisive setback, nevertheless it has been shown that there are a number of weak spots which may eventually develop into serious obstacles to Stalinist pretensions. That even the Soviet Union has found it necessary to admit these weaknesses is evidenced in a recent speech by Mirov, a Bolshevik agitprop lecturer, which evaluated the international Communist movement in gloomy terms.

It is probable that these difficulties have prevented the Kremlin from convoking the 19th Party Congress, which is long overdue. Failure to hold the Congress is certain to contribute to a lowering of Communist morale inside and outside the Soviet orbit. The Tito dispute probably constitutes one of the most significant reasons for the postponement of the Congress as it has stirred up doctrinal questions of fundamental importance. Tito-Yugoslavia claims that it, and not the USSR, adheres to pure Leninist Communism. Lenin, it states, demanded co-operation between workers' states on an equal basis and nowhere asserted that the Soviet Union could demand supra-national loyalty from Communist-led states. Thus, Titoism implies that the Stalinist interpretation of Lenin's ideas about international co-operation between "socialist" countries is untenable because Lenin never advocated Soviet interference in other sovereign Socialist nations.

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The Rajk trial, which is a result of the Stalinist thesis of absolute Soviet dominance in the world of Communism and which typifies the insecure position of the USSR in the satellite area, has been used to bolster the Stalinist position. It served notice that any attempt to oppose the Bolshevik Party is suicidal.

Beyond the Soviet sphere, things do not look altogether rosy for the Kremlin and the Cominform. Reports continue to indicate that the Togliatti-Longo dispute has not been ended and dissension continues to smolder within the Italian Communist Party, and there is some evidence that Moscow may be siding with the more radical and internationalist Longo faction. Losses of popular support have deepened dissension and necessitated purges within the West German Communist Party (KPD) but, at the same time, the KPD has been openly courting German nationalist groups. A policy of opportunistic collaboration with non-Communist groups, right or left, has been observed in Latin American countries. Obviously, such collaboration would not have been initiated except in recognition of Communist weakness in these areas.

Events during September indicated further weakening of the Communist position in Great Britain, Japan, southern Korea and Greece. In India, strong measures by the Government have, at least temporarily, reduced materially the Communists' ability to initiate concerted and effective action. However, deteriorated economic conditions throughout the country and growing resentment with the Government, especially in West Bengal, are steadily augmenting the Communist potential.

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Thus the picture of world Communism shows that the movement has suffered reverses. Neither the China victory nor the incorporation of Eastern Germany into the Soviet orbit have alleviated the main problem Moscow has to face: nationalism.

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PART II

SURVEY OF SIGNIFICANT TRENDS

This survey of significant trends in the international Communist movement which have become apparent during the month of September, contains only those developments which are believed to have an important effect on the potential of World Communism.

1. DEVIATIONISM

Soviet Orbit

The Rajk trial - which directed as much vituperation against Tito as against the Western powers - signaled the intensification of purges of satellite Communists for nationalist (Titoist) tendencies. Clearly, the Kremlin feels that it must demand unquestioning ideological loyalty to the Stalinist line if it is to achieve absolute subordination of its European orbit. The trial demonstrated to the Eastern European satellites that any attempt to oppose the USSR was suicidal and that enforcement of ideological unity must be given highest priority by the Moscow-dominated satellite governments.

2. DISSENSION

Italy

Within the CPI, it is increasingly evident that serious differences of opinion exist between the Longo faction - which believes in strong measures and may have the Kremlin's support or orders to pursue such policy - and the Togliatti faction, whose position appears to show nationalistic and pro-constitutional flavor. Also, though strongly

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critical of the Church's influence in government, Togliatti's recent statement was conciliatory on the subject of religion. While attacking the government for having failed to implement the promises of the constitution, he implied a strong nationalist position on questions of foreign policy. With this speech, Togliatti has expressed the point of view paralleling that of Terracini who has been so vigorously attacked by Longo. Implicit criticism of this position by Soviet and Polish sources may forecast Cominform censure of Togliatti.

Belgium

Financial difficulties and losses in the June elections prompted the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party to cut the budget drastically, thereby creating resentment in its Brussels branch. Although the Central Committee succeeded in putting down the palace revolution, clashes and dissatisfaction within the Party continue.

Cyprus

While the last August Congress of the Communist Party of Cyprus (AKEL) seems to have decided upon the continuation of the revolutionary, union-dominated leadership in office, it is now reportedly engaged in trying to overcome its internal weakness, including financial difficulties and the schism over its political line and membership policy. The AKEL leadership is vying with the Nationalists in exploiting the popular slogan of union with Greece and in fighting unemployment, but is also seeking a closer alignment with internationalist Communist circles abroad.

3. UNITED FRONT TACTICS

Western Germany

The dissension in the KPD (the West German Communist Party),

aggravated by their recent election losses, has resulted in surges of some of the leading party personages. At the same time, the KPD has been openly courting German reactionary groups and continuing to support the "national front" line, laid down by the Socialist Unity Party in the Soviet Zone. This line aims at German unification as desired by the USSR.

Austria

Although a working agreement was apparently made between the Austrian Communist Party and the rightist Association of Independents for the duration of the election campaign, whereby the two parties agreed not to interfere with each other, the two groups are unlikely to collaborate any further.

French Morocco

"Collaboration" between Communist and nationalist elements occurred in French Morocco whose leading nationalistic party, the Istiqlal, seems now more inclined to collaborate with the Moroccan Communist Party.

Latin America

Several Latin American Communist parties are planning collaboration with non-Communist groups in order to broaden Communist influence. In El Salvador, there is evidence of such working agreement between labor and student leaders, with the aim of creating a new political party for which legal status is now being sought.

The Ecuador Communist Party congress realized that in developing the Marxist state, it will be necessary to collaborate with other so-called progressive parties.

In Chile, the Front Nacional Democratica, a front organization, is

trying to enter into closer contact with various parties opposed to the present government. In a new party, Partida² de la Unidad, Communists will join in order eventually to control that party and use it as their tool.

China

The last week of September saw the long awaited "all party" Political Consultative Conference (CPPC) in Peiping. For this occasion, LIU Shao-ch'i, the Party's leading theoretician and generally regarded as the leader of the aggressively pro-Soviet wing of the Party, was chosen by MAO Tse-tung to announce that the new regime would pursue the "minimum program" envisaged in MAO's "New Democracy," and that the complete program of "socialism" in China was a matter of the "far future." LIU declared that the prospect of eventual "socialism" in China would not even be mentioned in the "Common program" of the CPPC, on the grounds that a reference to such a prospect would tend to confuse the people in their approach to immediate practical tasks. Stress was laid on the unity of purpose of farmers, workers, petty bourgeoisie and "national capitalists" giving additional weight to the Party's emphasis upon its "minimum program" which seems relatively moderate and conciliatory. In the field of foreign relations, as well, policy statements were notably moderate. The desire for diplomatic relations with all countries was reiterated and the denunciations of US "imperialism" were comparatively restrained.

4. COMMUNIST SETBACKS

USSR

In the periodic appraisal (occurring about once a year) of the world

Communist movement by Soviet commentators, Mirov, a lecturer in the Bolshevik Agitprop Section, presented an unprecedentedly pessimistic view of the strength of international Communism. Although Mirov was elated over the successes in the Far East, he frankly admitted that "at the present time the Communist Parties in the imperialist countries are in a very difficult position."

Great Britain

Although the Communists are now publishing a new weekly, the NEW DIPLOMAT, in London, a Labor Party spokesman stated that the UKCP is weaker today, both as an industrial and a political force, than at any time since the early twenties. This seems to have been born out by the fact that during September, Communist agitation on the labor front was completely unsuccessful. The Trade Union Congress' anti-Communist drive was endorsed by an overwhelming majority at its annual conference. Also, Communist agitators were unable to persuade railway workers to engage in an unofficial go-slow movement in protest against the Government's refusal to grant the National Railwaymen's wage increases.

Greece

Guerrilla activity continued to decline during September. Probably for reasons of military weakness and cautious tactics while the Greek case is before the UN, the Soviet bloc steadily de-emphasized the importance of the guerrilla problem. While continuing their propaganda line against "monarcho-fascist terrorism," Soviet representatives at UN have agreed to cooperate with the UNGA's new Balkan Conciliation Committee. There is, however, no real indication that the USSR plans to acquiesce in a genuine settlement of the Greek border problem. In

guerrilla movement without laying the groundwork for a resurgence of Communism in Greece.

Japan

Japanese Communist influence sagged during September as the more moderate elements in Japanese labor continued to isolate the Communists. The strong All Japan Express Company Workers Union voted to secede from Sanbetsu, the Communist-dominated labor federation. The Government Communications Workers Union lost a moderate minority which refused to acknowledge the Communist leadership of that Union. The Government carried on a vigorous fight against Communist activities, putting the Communists on the defensive, to which they replied by accusing the government of "suppression of democratic organizations."

Korea

Similarly, the (south) Korean government undertook vigorous action against infiltrating Communist guerrillas from the north, thereby reducing the number of communist-inspired incidents.

5. STRUGGLE AGAINST SOVIET COMMUNIST INFILTRATION

India

The Communist Party of India and its related organizations were outlawed by the government of Madras province on 27 September. Previously, the CPI was officially banned in West Bengal and Hyderabad State and its overt operations in Bombay were greatly curtailed. This action may well indicate that the Communist menace in south India has grown rather than diminished and that it is not as securely under control as the government would have the public believe.

In addition to the terrorist activities, evidence has been received concerning a Bombay firm of Soviet film distributors which is suspected to be a Communist communications and espionage center. Apparently coordinated attempts are being made to establish or renew contacts in Pakistan and Burma and these may foreshadow new attempts of Soviet penetration into these areas.

6. ATTEMPTS TO REVIVE COMMUNIST STRENGTH

Syria

Although the Communist Party is not strong in Syria the government's recent restoration of civil liberties, abrogated by Zaim, has reportedly resulted in a noticeable increase of Communist activities. This, combined with the demoralization of the security forces and a general disinclination of the interim government to take strong measures of any kind before the elections, has encouraged the Communists to initiate new propaganda and recruiting drives among intellectuals and laborers.

Iran

Recent distribution of Communist propaganda leaflets in Tehran may be an indication that the Tudeh Party is reviving its activities. Although outlawed since last February, the lifting of martial law will probably encourage the Tudeh leaders to greater activity particularly through intensification of its subversive operations. However, in view of the continued vigilance of the government, it is not likely that overt activities will be risked.

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PART III

FORTHCOMING COMMUNIST EVENTS

1949

October	22 - 23	London	British Peace Congress
	28 - 30	Rome	World Committee for Peace

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November	15	Peiping	Asian World Federation of Trade Unions (AWFTU) Conference
		Moscow	Council Meeting, International Federation of Democratic Women (IFDW)

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December	1	Peiping	Asian Conference, International Federation of Democratic Women
	5	Brussels	Congress, International Organization of Journalists

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February	21		World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) Day of Solidarity of Youth of Colonial Areas
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