

Confidential

Draft of the 'undersecretariat of  
South and Central America.

LETTER TO THE CC CP EQUADOR.

(On the main immediate tasks of the CP)

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1. The worsening of the conditions of life of the toiling masses of Ecuador in connection with the crisis and the offensive of the ruling classes and imperialism has called forth, especially in the second half of 1933, a wide mass movement which, however, has not taken the form of an open revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois landlord rule, the form of the anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist revolution. The "oppositional bourgeois-landlord cliques, by using the 'left' demagogy, succeeded in utilising the mass movement in their own interests and bringing about the overthrow of the N. Nav Government. This change of government did not alter the class character of the government, as a government of landlords and bourgeois closely linked up with foreign imperialism.

2. The development of the revolutionary upsurge in Ecuador which, in 1934, found expression in a number of big strikes (Quito, Guayaquil) and in the peasant rebellions which continued in various provinces, is taking place while the CP is extremely weak. Although the CP is taking the path of consolidating and strengthening its contacts with the masses, of improving its political positions, nevertheless it has not yet become a real proletarian party either in respect to composition or ideology and has by no means succeeded in bringing real class independence into its policy. Some of the Party organisations were able to form contacts (which were unstable and insufficiently consolidated) with the working masses (e.g. in

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Guzyaqui) and with the peasants (especially in Milyadro), but on the whole the CPE shows considerably passivity both in the work in the factories and in the villages. In some of the strata of the Party there is a strong tendency to collaborate with the "left" bourgeois-landlord groups, finding clear expression in the participation of a number of the leading workers of the CPE in organizations such as "Committee of National Struggle", in which the ideological hegemony is in the hands of the liberal-bourgeois elements who are hostile to the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution. In this matter, the Communists not only failed to expose the bourgeois-landlord character of the leadership of the "Committee of National Struggle", but on the contrary, in a number of cases agitated for them as real revolutionary organizations. In the meantime the CPE has not yet by any means removed from its ranks the "democratic" and "constitutional" illusions which frequently urge the Party organizations to take the path of begging "concessions" and "reforms" from the ruling classes (e.g. the letter of Comrade Parades to the Home Minister on December 13, 1933 asking him to "intervene and remove the representatives of the government who are openly hostile to Communism and who have committed a thousand acts of violence against civil liberties"). In spite of the decisions of the Unity Conference, the CPE still remains a conglomeration of organizations very poorly linked up with each other. The successes of the CPE in overcoming the chronic inner-Party crisis and the unprincipled group struggle are still completely insufficient.

## II.

The basic tasks at the present time are to convert the CPE into a real proletarian party which is ideologically, politically

and organisationally independent of the ruling classes, and for it to win the leadership of the struggle of the broad toiling masses.

These tasks are inseparable from the development of the mass struggle. Therefore we put forward the following questions as the basic questions on which it is necessary to carry on a discussion for the forthcoming national conference of the CPK, within which discussion the CPK must greatly increase its activity. (If this letter is not in time for the Party conference, the new CC must decide on practical measures on these questions and ensure that ~~these~~ they will be carefully discussed throughout the Party):

1) <sup>THE</sup> THE DEVELOPMENT OF/MASS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS, OUR STRUGGLE FOR THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING MASSES, THE APPLICATION OF THE TACTIC OF THE UNITED FRONT IN THIS STRUGGLE AND WORK IN THE TRADE UNIONS. It is necessary: a) the centre of activity of Party work to be taken to the factory, forming factory cells, primarily in the chief factories of the basic branches of industry (e.g., among the textile workers, farm labourers, dockers, etc.); b) the cells in the factories must carry on the most active work among the masses, acting forward as the organisers and initiators of the struggle for their everyday interests, not limiting themselves merely to <sup>general</sup> political agitation and propaganda; c) to start carrying on systematic work in the trade unions, taking the initiative of forming them in the chief branches of industry, where there are still no trade unions and simultaneously forming a revolutionary opposition in the mass hostile trade unions, trying to win them over to the leadership of the CPK; d) to start to form unemployed committees, first and foremost in the chief industries, and to prepare for the calling of provincial and national conferences of the unemployed;

e) for securing the leading role of the CPK to carry on an energetic struggle for the concrete partial demands of the workers (both the workers in industry and the unemployed), first of all in the chief districts ~~striking~~ of the concentration of Party work (e.g. among the textile workers in Guayaquil), paying special attention to the defence of the interests of the most oppressed Indian and Negro workers; f) to prepare and develop the struggle for various demands on the basis of the tactics of the united front from below, i.e. to call on all the organized and unorganized workers, irrespective of their political views, to participate in the struggle; to elect at mass meetings organs of the leadership of struggle on the basis of the united front, but in no case organizing them by arrangements with the committees of the Socialist Party or the reformist unions, which evidently was the case in the strikes at the beginning of May this year in Guayaquil, to expose the treacherous role of our opponents, concretely, from practice and facts, in the course of the mass struggle and/by <sup>not</sup> general accusations of treachery.

2) THE WORK OF THE CPK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE FORMS OF THE ORGANISATION OF THE PEASANTS. It is necessary: a) to start to form a system of peasant committees and "leagues of revolutionary peasants", first and foremost in those places where the CPK has some contacts with the peasants (e.g. in Milagro), also bringing in the farm workers and forming Communist fractions, which, while not trying to dominate, must by systematic work get hold of the leadership of these organisations; b) at the basis of the work of the Party in the peasant organisations put the struggle for partial demands, paying special attention <sup>to</sup> the defence of the nationally oppressed Indian peasants and linking up their demands with the slogan of the national self-determination to the point of

separation; e) to carry on mass activity (meetings, demonstrations, "marches to the towns", etc.), on the basis of the wide united front from below, exposing in the course of the struggle the treacherous role of the "left" demagogues from the bourgeois-landlord camp, "socialists", etc. and thus leading the peasants up to the revolutionary struggle for land and Soviet power; d) establish contacts with the peasant rebel detachments, send worker-Communists into their ranks, lead them to the revolutionary struggle against the landlords (confiscation of the landlords' reserves and their distribution among the peasants, the annihilation of the landlords' police, etc.) and bring about their close contacts with the mass movement of the peasants.

3) THE WORK AMONG THE ~~INDIAN~~ INDIAN TOILING MASSES. In putting forward the main slogan of the national self-determination of the Indian tribes and the nationalities to the point of separation, and while struggling furthest to make the future Indian states have the character of workers' and peasants' (soviet) governments, it is necessary at the same time to support all the mass <sup>Indian</sup> actions of the toiling masses, directed against the white crook landlords and bourgeoisie, even when the masses are still struggling for their national liberation under the leadership of the ~~old~~ Indian tribal chiefs, castles, etc.; by criticising the inconsistency and vacillations of such leaders, urging them along the revolutionary path, exposing in practice by facts in the course of the struggle the treacherous role of these leaders, if this be the case, and acting as the most active fighter both for the national self-determination of the Indians to the point of separation and for their partial everyday economic and political interests, the CPY ~~will~~ will thus ensure the conditions for the proletariat to win

the hegemony in the Indian national revolutionary movement. A mass campaign should be carried on under the slogan of calling the an Indian national congress on the basis of a wide united front of the Indian workers for the struggle for their social and national liberation. To elaborate and widely publish on behalf of the CPB the partial demands connected with the slogan of national self-determination to the point of separation and the formation of independent Indian states. To invite the organizations of the Indian workers and also the elders of the Indian tribes to participate in the preparations for the Congress. To carry on a mass campaign (meetings, demonstrations etc.) on the basis of a mass wide united front, demanding that the government permit the legal calling of the congress. If the government does not carry out this demand, take steps to call the congress illegally.

4) THE COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY, THE SELECTION AND TRAINING OF PARTY CADRES. a) Without closing the doors of the Party to the best non-proletarian elements who have shown in practice their loyalty to Communism (intelligentsia, etc.), and while drawing the most active and politically developed peasants into the ranks of the Party, it is necessary above all to attract workers to the CPB, especially in the chief factories and basic branches of industry, and also the toiling Indian and Negro nationalities; b) the majority of the workers in the leading Party institutions (including the Polit-Bureau and the Secretariat of the CC) must be workers; simultaneously Indian Communists must be drawn into the leadership of Party work; c) plenums of the CC should be called not less than 3 or 4 times a year and plenums of district committees not less than 4-6 times a year, so that the broad leading Party cadres will take part in the discussion of all the questions facing the Party; d) Party leadership must

be centered chiefly not on the Secretariat of the CC but on the Polit-Bureau; e) systematic work must be arranged in order to raise the political level of Party cadres (short courses, publication of literature for activists, etc.).

IV.

In addition to the above questions for inner-Party discussion, we call the attention of the CC also to the following tasks, which it must immediately start to carry out:

1. Work in the army must be started on and a group of comrades must be appointed for this work, putting forward partial demands in defence of the soldiers and simultaneously preparing for various military units to go over to the side of the peasant rebel detachments which are operating in a number of provinces.

2. Both legal and illegal possibilities must be used to publish and distribute Party literature, primarily the chief works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and the main documents of the CI. Provide for the publication of a legal mass paper, not widely advertising its Communist nature.