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DRAFT RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE EQUADOR.

1. The dominating factor in the economic life of the Equador is agrarian production in which big landownership (plantations, latifundia) predominates, giving employment to a considerable number of agricultural labourers and small peasants who have not enough land for subsistence. Only in one part of the country exists parcellation and small landownership. But the peasants there pay tribute to landlords and bankers who exploit them.

With regard to industrial production, home industry and small and middle industry predominates; they supply the internal markets with manufactured goods of everyday use. The big industry is not yet developed; there are only some branches of it directly connected with agricultural production (preparation of industrial raw material for the export of cotton, sugar, tobacco) and with the exports of the underground wealth (oil, copper, gold).

Thus, the working class consists mainly of the mass of agricultural labourers and workers employed in transport and small and middle enterprises.

The big urban bourgeoisie, which is the social basis of the liberal party which has ruled the country for many years, consists of big merchants, bankers, exporters and industrialists, resident mainly in the Guayaquil port. The big landlords on the coast whose interests are closely linked up with those of the urban bourgeoisie are under the political influence of the latter.

Big landlords in the interior of the country where they predominate, constitute the basis of the conservative party. However, the liberal party, during its whole term of office, made an attempt to reduce the privileges of the big landowners and to solve the agrarian question. The mass of the exploited peasantry and of the agricultural labourers have not enough land to subsist or are completely deprived of land, and are exposed to much suffering under the semi-feudal conditions which still prevail in the rural districts.

The natives (Indians) who have been robbed of the best land by the big landlords, constitute an exploited and rebel mass.

The country is entirely under the control of the North-American imperialism which, although its investments in Ecuador are not as big as in the other countries of Latin America, has intervened in order to "stabilise" the finances of the country and to "advise" the government. Thus, it controls directly the finances of the country through a commission of "experts" attached to the Finance Ministry, the banks and customs (through inspectors formally nominated by the government of Ecuador, but in reality agents of Yankee Imperialism).

This tutelage of Yankee Imperialism over Ecuador has already resulted in the government granting special protection to the merchandise of the United States on the Ecuador market.

Thus, Ecuador, in spite of its seeming political independence, is a semi-colony of the Yankee Imperialism which is getting into its hands more and more openly the levers which set the whole economic and political life of the country going.

2. The foremost problems in the political life of the country are:

1) The agrarian problem. The mass of the peasantry and the Indians rebelled repeatedly demanding land. The revolutionary struggle of the peasants and agricultural labourers for land is developing and extending. Tens of thousands of workers were involved in the peasant insurrections in various provinces. They constitute the most active revolutionary masses of the country. The agrarian question is the lever of revolutionary action in Ecuador.

2) Anti-imperialist struggle which is closely connected with the agrarian problem. Imperialism is endeavouring to withstand the demands of the peasants and to intensify their exploitation. The peasant revolution is inevitably — consciously or unconsciously — anti-imperialist. The anti-imperialist struggle is a link between the proletariat and the anti-imperialist urban

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petty-bourgeoisie and the revolutionary rural masses.

The national, liberal and conservative bourgeoisie has already betrayed the interests and independence of the country and is only endeavouring to participate together with the imperialists in the division of the profits resulting from the exploitation of the workers and the natural wealth of the country.

3) The common struggle of the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants for land and the struggle of the urban working class against low wages, particularly in the period of inflation, and for better conditions is a third and important factor in the present situation.

The close connection between the labour and the peasant movement which assures to the proletariat its role of deliberate leader of the revolutionary movement of all the toiling and exploited masses of Ecuador was established during the mass movements of the last years.

This fundamental economic and political situation explains the revolutionary crisis which developed in the country in the course of the last years, the military coup d'etat in July 1925 and the contradictions in the policy of the military dictatorship since then.

The revolutionary ferment among the peasants, the Indians and the agricultural labourers for land, the every increasing strikes of the urban workers, the discontent of the intellectual elements and of the urban petty-bourgeoisie caused by the political domination of the bankers of the liberal party allied to the Yankee Imperialism,-- all this combined had its repercussion in the ranks of the army which consists to a great extent of peasants and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Encouraged by the growing revolt of the peasants and the strikes of the workers, a section of the army supported by the action of the toiling masses, seized power in

July 1925 through a military coup d'etat which suppressed the parliamentary regime and indulged in a few demagogic "revolutionary" gestures such as the imprisonment of big bankers who had hitherto dominated and exploited the country. Owing to the pressure brought to bear by the workers and peasants a law was promulgated for

the expropriation of land for the benefit of the peasantry. But these measures intended to satisfy and quieten the discontented masses, went against the grain of the big bourgeoisie and the Yankee imperialism. Quicker than in Mexico, the government gave way to the pressure of the imperialists and the national-bourgeoisie. It accepted the Kemmerer Yankee Mission and submitted to the control of the United States over the finances of the country, the banks and customs. The agrarian law was not applied. The Government rather endeavoured to conceal its capitulation before Yankee imperialism and its betrayal of the interests of the masses by drawing into the government apparatus certain leaders of the Socialist and the Communist Parties and by endeavouring thereby to corrupt the revolutionary movement and to deceive the workers and peasants.

In spite of these manoeuvres, the mass of the workers and peasants, for a moment deceived as to the nature of the dictatorial government, soon discovered the real character of the military dictatorship and pursued their tactic for the application of the agrarian law sabotaged by the Government -- strikes in the towns and rebellions in the rural districts which brought with them governmental repression (no longer concealed) and its inevitable repurgisation -- growing influence of the Socialist Party of Ecuador, the only leader of the mass of the workers and peasants in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism, for the independence of the country, against the big landlords, for the agrarian revolution, against exploitation and the dictatorial government, the agent of imperialism and the bourgeoisie, and for a workers' and peasants' Government.

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3. Thus, the Socialist Party became in the course of the last years, a mass organisation connected with the working class and the poor peasantry.

By becoming a mass organisation of the revolutionary workers and peasants, it went through an internal evolution: a certain purification from its reformist elements, growing influence of Communist and revolutionary elements expressed in the decision to affiliate to the Communist International, a decision ratified by all the provincial organisations. The Socialist Party and the Communist group which leads it have not always been able to make an exact and Marxist analysis of events and of the role of the various governmental parties and cliques. That is why certain comrades were led to believe in the "Socialist character" of the coup d'état in July 1925. That is why some of them allow themselves to be bribed and placed themselves at the service of the government and imperialism.

The development of the peasant revolution and of the labour movement, its rapid evolution towards Communism caused the ever-growing rapprochement between the government and the parties of the bourgeoisie and the big landlords; It also determines a certain

tendency on the part of the ruling class to have recourse to Fascist methods in order to suppress and terrorise the labour movement. Therefore, the Socialist Party and the Communists must be prepared for a double action, by the government and the ruling classes driven by Yankee imperialism against the revolutionary movement. On the one hand, corruption by drawing the leaders of the movement into the government apparatus, by making use of the Pan-American Confederation of Labour to divert the attention of the workers from the revolutionary struggle, and on the other hand, by having recourse to Fascist methods of repression and terrorism.

In such a situation the essential tasks of the Socialist Party are:

1) The development of the peasant revolution. Communists must not rest content with intervening actively in the spontaneous and elemental movements and insurrections of the peasants for land, they must give these movements a clear political substance, they must coordinate and organize them by identifying themselves with the mass of agricultural labourers, peasants and Indians,

In its peasant work the Socialist Party must carry on its struggle under the following slogans:

Land to the peasants. Expropriation without compensation and nationalisation of the big landlords' land. Allocation of land to those who till it according to the local conditions of agricultural exploitation, either in the form of allocation to associations of peasants and agricultural labourers for collective exploitation of the land (plantations, latifundia), or by allocation to the Peasant Committees of the villages for distribution to the small peasants in view of the very inconsiderable individual exploitation.

In this action the Party must endeavour to induce the rebellious peasants to occupy the land and to form peasant councils which must become fighting organs of the masses and the embryo of the revolutionary power of the peasantry in the rural districts.

This active participation of the Communists and the Socialist Party in the Peasant Revolution necessitates organisational work among the peasant masses: the agricultural labourers in their class trade unions must adhere to the central trade union organisation in Ecuador and the peasants to a "Peasant League". The Party must endeavour to get into close contact with the mass of the Indians who constitute a very valuable revolutionary element and to link up their action with that of the workers and peasants of Ecuador.

The Communists must endeavour to induce the agricultural labourers' organisations and the peasant leagues to adhere collectively to the Socialist Party and to draw their best elements into the political organisation of the Socialist Party.

2) The anti-imperialist struggle which is closely linked up with the development of the peasant revolution. The Party must seize every opportunity to mobilise the mass of the workers and peasants, the intellectuals and the urban petty-bourgeoisie against the control and exploitation of the country by Yankee Imperialism. In order to make the masses of Ecuador solidarize with all the actions of the workers and peasants in Latin America against imperialism, and should make use of the heroic example of Nicaragua so as to draw the masses into the anti-imperialist struggle, etc... The development of this struggle pre-supposes organisation of a strong section of the Anti-Imperialist League in Ecuador by re-inforcing and making more active the existing League and by grouping around it the labour and peasant organisations and petty-bourgeois circles. The Socialist Party must endeavour to -- through the intermediary of its fractions -- to become the soul of this movement, to direct it and to co-ordinate it with the workers' and peasants' struggles.

3) The Party must draw up a programme of the immediate demands of the workers: wages, working day, unemployment, social insurance, etc.; it must continually link them up with the ultimate aims of the Party and must endeavour to draw the labour trade unions into the struggle for the realisation of these demands. It must also endeavour to purify the trade unions by getting rid of the bourgeois elements who still occupy there a leading position. It must give to the entire trade union movement the character of class-struggle, must work in all the trade unions so as to secure leadership in them and make them adhere collectively to the RILU and the Socialist Party. It must struggle energetically for the national unity of all the trade union forces in the central trade union organisation of Ecuador. The Socialist Party must use all its influence among the masses to organise the unorganised and to strengthen everywhere the trade union organisation by giving it

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a more definite class character.

4) Energetic struggle against the regime of military dictatorship and for a workers' and peasants' government. The dictatorial government endeavours to "normalise" the situation created by the coup d'etat of July 1925 by convening a "Constituent Assembly" in which all the political parties of the country are to participate. In the face of the growing workers' and peasants' movement, the bourgeoisie of Ecuador "advised" by the Yankee Imperialism, is on the look-out for means to re-establish a constitutional bourgeois regime and conciliate the various fractions of the bourgeoisie at the expense of the workers and peasants. The "Constituent Assembly" has the double aim of "normalising" the bourgeois State and of the deceiving the mass of the workers and peasants by new illusions and demagoguery, impeding thereby their revolutionary struggle.

The Socialist Party must above all, denounce this manoeuvre to the masses and must make them understand the true role of the Constituent Assembly. The Party must demand the election of the Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal suffrage and proportional representation, it must mobilise the masses against a constituent assembly designed by the government without their participation. It must carry on this agitation and, eventually, the election campaign by popularising the programme of the Party, by developing its organisation and mobilising the masses around the workers' and peasants' governments slogan which alone can give land to the peasants, carry on the struggle against imperialism and for the liberation of the working class and all oppressed.

If the Government intends to designate itself the Socialist deputies to the Constituent Assembly, that is to say, select those in the Party who are most likely to lend themselves to the manoeuvre designed to deceive the masses, the Socialist Party must refuse to participate in such a farce and must induce workers and peasants

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to demonstrate en masse against a Constituent Assembly nominated by the Government.

In the event of the Government leaving it to every party to designate its representatives to the Constituent Assembly, the Socialist Party must have its nominees confirmed by big workers' and peasants' meetings to which these nominees will pledge themselves to defend their interests in the Constituent Assembly and to report on the discussions there. The Party will participate in the Constituent Assembly through a well-disciplined fraction which is not to carry on constructive legislative work nor endeavour to find constitutional formulae for collaboration with the parties of the bourgeoisie, but will make a maximum use of the platform of the Constituent Assembly to denounce Yankee Imperialism which dominates and exploits the country and to voice energetically the demands of the workers and peasants.

Parallel with this parliamentary action, the party will have to intensify its agitation in the country, it will have to mobilise the masses around its parliamentary actions, it will have to get resolutions passed in support of the action of its nominees, to get peasant delegations to approach the Constituent Assembly, and if possible also workers and soldiers' delegations in support of the demands of the Socialist Party; it will have to organise mass demonstrations, seizure of land, etc., in order to bring outside pressure to bear on the Constituent Assembly. Our fraction can utilise this pressure to extort certain improvements in the text of the constitution, demonstrating, however, at the same time, that they are the result of the action of the masses and emphasising their inadequacy as long as power is not in the hands of the workers and peasants by divulging the bourgeois and imperialist character of the new constitution. In the course of this mass action, the Party must endeavour to get peasant councils elected in the rural districts

workers' councils in the towns and to convene — if this action is successful — a National Congress of Workers' and Peasants' Councils which will set the policy of the working class and the peasantry against that of the Constituent Assembly.

The Socialist Party must, in the course of this action and throughout its general activity, devote more attention to revolutionary propaganda and the organisation of its influence in the army.

It must organise the struggle against the budding Fascism by demanding the removal of Fascist officers from the army and the arming of the workers and peasants against Fascism.

5) Such a policy cannot be carried out unless there ^{is} in Ecuador a genuine Communist Party closely connected with the Communist International and the brother Parties in Latin America, Colombia, Venezuela and particularly in Peru.

From the viewpoint of the organisation of Communist forces, the situation in Ecuador is rather complicated. There are two parties in this country who have decided to affiliate to the C.I.: The Socialist Party, a federal mass organisation grouping around itself local political organisations formed through individual adhesion, and trade unions adhering collectively. Within this Socialist Party which has decided to affiliate to the CI exists a clandestine Communist Party which has only some scores of members organised in the form of a closed and sectarian brotherhood with a special ceremonial for admission.

The ^{division} ~~approximation~~ between these two organisations is quite arbitrary. There are in the Socialist Party good Communist revolutionists who are not members of the Communist group and the latter has opportunist ~~apparatus~~ petty-bourgeois elements side by side with the most class-conscious vanguard of the labour movement.

Such an arbitrary division cannot be maintained. The Executive of the CI is of the opinion that the general policy to be pursued in the organisation of the Communist Parties is: to use the existing

Communist group as an embryo and TO DEVELOP THE SOCIALIST PARTY INTO A COMMUNIST MASS PARTY. This necessitates:

1) With regard to the Communist Party, the dissolution of the Communist group as it is constituted at present. Its members must become the most active elements in the political organisations of the Socialist Party and must carry on in these organisations educational work linked up with ideological enlightenment, so as to make affiliation to the Communist International an affiliation based on the acceptance of its programme, tactics, and methods of organisation and struggle.

To carry on this systematic work of Communist education and enlightenment, it will be useful for the best Communists (regardless if they be drawn from the former Communist group or not) constituting within the Socialist Party A MARXIST CIRCLE to attract all active workers who are in accord with the principles and tactics of the CI and who are prepared to get them accepted by the whole Socialist Party in order to convert it into a genuine Communist Party.

2) With regard to the Socialist Party, it is a question of transforming the Socialist Party into a Communist Party in all the organisations of the former in view of the coming Congress of the Party.

The first object to be attained is to transform the network of the political organisations of the SP which are organised on the principle of individual adhesion, into a centralized and disciplined Communist Party containing in its ranks the most revolutionary and active members of trade union and peasant organisations. The work connected with the transformation of the political organisations of the Socialist Party into a Communist Party necessitates first of all energetic ideological education work. Affiliation by the Socialist Party to the CI was the expression of the revolutionary mass will of the masses, their instinctive plan towards the international revolutionary organisation of the working class and

towards the Russian Revolution. The Communist task consists in making this sentimental adhesion a fully conscious adhesion by popularising the programme, the congress theses and the resolution of the CI and by endeavouring to convince as many comrades as will possible. The work of connection with the transformation of the Party must not be looked upon as a hasty operation bringing with it secession or a big purification of the Socialist Party which would deprive it of its character of mass party, but as a patient piece of educational work to convince and win the overwhelming majority of the party for the CI.

It is only by transferring the political organisations of the Socialist Party into a Communist Party with a clear ideology and a centralised and disciplined organisation that the workers and peasants' organisations which adhere collectively to the S.P. will have a reliable leader in their revolutionary struggle. This is a truth which all the organisations of the Socialist Party must be made to understand.

The Congress of the Socialist Party will then consider if it be useful and opportune to liquidate the old Socialist Party with its organisation based on the collective adherence of the trade union and peasant organisations, etc., and to let the Communist Party exist alone, or if it be opportune to allow the Socialist Party to exist as a kind of a Labour Party of a special type grouping around itself the mass organisations of the workers and peasants through their collective adherence, to which the Communist Party would also adhere, becoming thereby the political leader of an enormous bloc of labour and peasant organisations.

The Presidium of the CI is willing to consider such a possibility provided that a Communist Party is constituted and that such a Socialist Party based on collective adherence of labour and peasant organisations be a means of ensuring the political leadership of

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the Communist Party over the exploited masses of Ecuador,

The Presidium of the CI thus accepts the affiliation of the Socialist Party of Ecuador, giving it at the same time directions capable of converting this party into a real Section of the CI and of making it the leader of the workers and peasants on the path towards victorious revolution.

Presidium of the CI,

AMENDMENT TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF ECUADOR.

Page 11, second line, after "TO DEVELOP THE SOCIALIST PARTY INTO A COMMUNIST MASS PARTY", substitute the rest of the text by the following text:

In view of the fact that the present situation in the country and in the Socialist Party which expressed enthusiastically its wish to affiliate to the Communist International, is favourable to the creation in the not far distant future of a Communist mass Party, it is essential to raise at the next Congress of the Party the question of the affiliation of the Socialist Party of Ecuador to the CI as a section of the latter. Till the meeting of its Congress the Socialist Party will have to be considered as a sympathising organisation. It must be taken into consideration that renewed delay in the reorganization of the Party is likely to give an impetus to the activity of the reformist elements which are still in the Party and to reinstate them in the leading posts of the CC of the Socialist Party.

The Party cannot be admitted to the CI unless its congress accepts the programme and statutes of the latter, as well as the programme of action for Ecuador elaborated by the Central Committee of the Party together with the Communist International. The Congress will have to endorse the expulsion of reformist elements from the Party.

Preparatory work in this direction must be taken in hand immediately. It is for the Central Committee of the Socialist Party to direct this work; for this reason reformist elements will have to be removed from the leading posts, such as for instance, the editor of the "Avantgarde", central organ of the Party.

The present Communist group will have to be dissolved. To replace it, one will have to create in the centre and in the provinces, groups composed of active revolutionists, members of the Communist group and of the Socialist Party. These groups will have to undertake the ideological and organizational preparations for the Congress under the direction of the Central Committee.

and, if necessary, will have to hustle the latter; they will also have to see that the programme of the CI, etc., be studied in the local organisations (the org. dept. of the CI will have to draw up a special instruction on this subject).

Parallel with the organisation of the Communist Party, it is essential to group all labour and peasant organisations into a labour and peasant bloc. The Communist Party will have to lead this bloc by creating there Communist fractions composed of Party members who belong to it in the capacity of members of trade unions or peasant organisations which constitute this bloc.

The labour and peasant bloc will have to affiliate to the Anti-Imperialist League, and the latter will have to consist of the LABOUR AND PEASANT BLOC and also of the petty bourgeois organisations which carry on a struggle against imperialism.

Meister.