

Despatch No. 6164, October 22, 1947, Quito, Ecuador.

TRANSLATION

social class and the related political parties. That is
 the reason why the Communist Party of Ecuador was appointed to
 the Extraordinary Congress to elect the Vice President position.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADORFOR A DEMOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE FRONTWITH A MINIMUM PROGRAM

The Marxist analysis of the last national happenings, the making up of the Government and the role of the various public forces, allows us to establish the future perspectives and the fit behavior for the democratic forces.

In their public action, rulers suffer from both the co-action of the social class to where they belong and that of the political parties with which they are affiliated. The new President of the Republic, Mr. Carlos Julio Arosemena, while he did not act in politics before, because of his position in banking and his own convictions, is nevertheless tied to the bourgeoisie-feudal circles, whose influences cannot be a guarantee for democratic stability and social progress. In the last Extraordinary Congress called to elect the Vice President of the Republic and its dignitaries, there was created a strange coalition of socialists, "independent liberals", conservatives, and more men of the right wing. Among the "independent liberals", there were some who were frankly reactionary-disposed to sacrifice the independence and national interests to the foreign power of the imperialism. The liberal Senators and Deputies, in trying to impose in the election of Vice President of the Republic, men who were repudiated for their past actions, suffered a humiliating failure by having been compelled to later join the cunningly presented candidate of the conservatives, through the seditious liberal-socialist block. In taking charge of the Presidency, the Vice President, Mr. Arosemena, once again led the right wing to a triumph with a man who was their confidence, Mr. José Rafael Bustamante, who also was slated through the liberal-socialist block. Thus, liberals and socialists have contributed to raise to the two main posts of State two men of the right wing, instead of choosing men who might offer a firm guarantee for the maintenance of the political and social conquests gained by the Liberal Revolution and the left wing parties in more than fifty years. Thus, too, the liberals and socialists have paved the way for the apogee of the conservatives and their henchmen groups in the coming elections for Councilmen, and above all, for the President of the Republic in the next year.

The Communist Party was not surprised at the schemings of the right wing, nor even if the personal honesty of the candidates were wielded. Politicians belong to their own

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social class and the related political parties. That is the reason why the communist representatives appointed to the Extraordinary Congress held an independent position.

Through clique compromises, once again in the History of the Republic, the dearest popular hopes have vanished. The May Revolution betrayed by Velasco Ibarra and his accomplices, the conservatives, and many liberals; the drive led by the left wing parties and, too, by a liberal sector against him, caused the overthrowing of the Government by means of a coupe d'etat and not by any uprising of the people, the only thing that could have been able to create a democratic and progressive government. Colonel Carlos Mancheno, co-author of the coupe d'etat of March 30, 1947, who ended the brightest and most advanced constitutional order the country ever had, availed himself of the mutual dissatisfaction of the Army and the people to overthrow Velasco Ibarra. But, Mancheno, upon becoming a dictator, did not put into force a democratic program, but instead allied himself with certain liberal sectors repudiated by the people and to a socialist sector. The dictatorship was born weak and incapable of taking any energetic measures. Under these conditions, the conservatives and liberals who had supported the dictatorship of the 30th of March, now shoed up as "faithful" guardians of the Constitution and of the "legal order". But the Constitution was not the advanced one of 1945, dictated by all of the political parties, and it was the one of 1947, of a reactionary orientation. And, the reestablishment of the "constitutional order" was nothing but the reestablishment of a virtual dictatorship now, however, without Velasco Ibarra, who was discarded just like a useless thing. It was inevitable that the repudiation of Mancheno by many sectors of the Army--composed of many officers of undenied democratic tendency and a large part of the troops--forced them to fall into the trap set by a false constitutionality. The confusion and hesitation of the Liberal and Social Parties and of the other sectors of the left wing, did not permit the creation of a powerful coalition against the right-wing, as was proposed energetically by the Communist Party. The minute civil war that led to the overthrowing of Mancheno, has also revealed that the right wing has undermined the morale of a portion of the Army.

On the basis of patchwork, tricks, and no few dictatorial acts, there has been reestablished a Constitution that is not a guarantee for democracy and progress. There still remain all of the elements that in Ecuador are a source of continuous political disturbance, coupes d'etat, and uprisings.

It is the duty of the President of the Republic to prevent the electoral maneuvering within governmental offices and to guarantee the effectiveness of free An

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An economy with strong feudal remainders, dominated by a few monopolistic land-owners, a country backward in the technique of agriculture; with an incipient industry, with scarce means of communication, with a weak banking and commerce, and largely in the hands of foreign capital in which the imperialist has commanding posts; can by no means be the foundation for democratic stability, progress and independence of Ecuador. For this, the present situation is but a short pause between new social and political convulsions.

Such MR. AROSEMENA'S GOVERNMENT AND ITS TRANSITORY FUNCTION, to establish a solid and permanent nation that, along with the rest of Latin America, must join. While in its principles the government of Mr. Arosemena can be considered as of right wing orientation, there are in it some democratic and progressive elements. Bearing in mind the transitory character of this government, we could not demand from it but the accomplishment of certain minimum functions, apart from those of administrative character, in which we demand the most strict honesty. It is the duty of the Government to guarantee an effective democracy, the free development of the political Parties and of the workmen's organizations. If true, the statements the Press attributes to the President of the Republic violently criticizing the strikes means that his government is attempting to suppress one of the fundamental workmen's rights, which workmen and Parties, such as the Communist, defend. They cannot but refuse to accept such an attitude and to demand respect of their rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution and the Laws. In the same way, we censure the violent attacks against the "Vicente Rocafuerte" school strikers. This does not mean that the Communist Party supports the strikes, per se, although they are not helpful to workmen and students' interests, order that the government may develop the national Merchant Marine and have. Given the composition of the Government, the political sectors which are not represented in it, cannot but distrust that there may not be a real electoral freedom. At this moment, within the government are outlined at least three well defined antagonistic tendencies which will sponsor three candidates for County and Provincial Councilmen and, above all, for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the Republic. In many governmental Departments there has already been initiated activities leading to the sponsorship of one or the other presidential candidates; which means that in the coming months the government may become a fierce electoral battlefield with an attempt of mutual bureaucratic eliminations which are the sources of ministerial crises and public disturbance, in such a case the only injured are the independent political Parties and the people. It is the duty of the President of the Republic to prevent the electoral maneuvering within governmental offices and to guarantee the effectiveness of free suffrage.

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"The government must jealously guard the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ecuador, constantly threatened by the Yankee imperialism. In the same manner, the government must take the necessary steps so that in the near future they may be brought up a revision of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol, signed in 1942, between Ecuador and Peru, in order to reconsider the injustices that were done to Ecuador under the pressure of the Peruvian arms and the diplomacy of some American nations who sacrificed our country in "behalf of the continental unity".

Such a revision is a necessary precedent to establish a solid and permanent friendship with the Peruvian people, a nation that, along with the rest of Latin America, must join in the common defense against imperialistic ambitions.

The national economy, undermined by the backwardness of the ways of production, and commercial and financial speculation, has been severely affected by postwar changes. During the world war, the Ecuadoran economy channeled to exportation, was diverted to provide raw materials for the United States and Great Britian (rubber, balsa wood, quinine, rice, etc.) at not so very good prices for our country; while we imported from the United States articles at very high prices. The aforesaid raw materials are no longer bought outside the country or the prices paid for them are not very remunerative. The condition of the rice market is causing a severe collapse and foreshadowing the ruin of the rice growers and an unbalanced condition in the national economy. Such a situation demands the action of the government so that the landowners will provide the farmers with the land necessary for cultivation, under suitable conditions; it also demands that new markets be sought, among them the very vast one the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) offers. This is in order that the government may develop the national Merchant Marine and have a greater participation in the Great Colombian Fleet, protesting the interference of the United States, which is trying to destroy it. Further, the nation should endeavor to organize a great fleet for aerial navigation similar to the Merchant Marine Fleet above mentioned.

The government has the obligation to stop the commercial and financial speculation, which are the two elements that determinate the rise in living costs and of monetary depreciation.

The fair claims of workmen, peasants, Indians, and employees and students must be attended to with efficiency.

The realization of the Great Colombian Economic Conference can be a very fruitful one, if the projects are seriously those of the people who, not just for being such, must

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seriously prepared and if we look for a real basis for the establishment of economic agreements between the participating countries. The participation of Ecuador in the planned Pan American Economic Conference, demands a serious preparation on our part. There, without refusing the economical collaboration of the Latin American countries between themselves, we must demand from the United States the fulfillment of all the promises made during the war--when she needed our economic-political-military cooperation--to contribute to our economical development, but without pretending to diminish our territory or our sovereignty.

Velasco Ibarra's dictatorship and the infiltration of the conservatives into the Armed Forces, have undermined the morale and discipline of same. The conservatives' attempt to substitute the present body of officers with another formed within the Private Military Academy, is an evident fact and dangerous one which the directing officers must understand and correct.

The Pan American Conference that will take place next year in Bogota demands in the same manner that Ecuador be well represented, without subjection to electoral interests, and that our delegation contributes fundamentally to the defense of our country's interests. The Pan American collaboration must be directed toward the stabilization of commercial exchange, fostering of the economical and technical development of Latin America, the cultural exchange and aims of peace. This should be done without becoming a continental block under the service of the expansionism and war purposes of the United States.

The need for new markets for Ecuador and the establishment of relations with democratic and peace-loving countries, compel the government to establish diplomatic and consular relations with the USSR and other countries.

THE NEXT ELECTORAL CONTESTS

The disunion of the democratic forces cannot but cause the triumph of the Conservative Party and other like sectors which are unified. Hybrid coalitions made up of reactionary liberals disposed to sell the territory and national sovereignty to the Yankee imperialism; those composed of conservative elements and of strayed leftists joined together under the common denominator of anti-communists, are not truly grouped for national unity nor a democratic and progressive unit. The only means to defeat the conservatives in the next elections is to form a widespread front made up of all the genuinely democratic sectors. This should embody all the liberals who wish to defend the gains of liberalism, those of the Catholic people who, not just for being such, must

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remain tied to the Conservative Party, which is directed by exploiters of the people and largely to be blamed for the national disaster. Towards the formation of that great anti-reactionary Front must head all the genuinely democratic forces willing to defend the social and political conquests gained through the 1895 Revolution and guaranteed and extended by the left wing parties and the organized workmen.

In preparing the formation of the great Democratic Front, for the election of the President and Vice President of the Republic, and in trying to elevate to the county and provincial councils the best men; the communists will fight for the formation of widespread democratic fronts in the counties and provinces, putting into force programs that are fit to suit the local needs. Only in the case that it is impossible to form democratic coalitions in some county or province, the communists will then present their independent lists, with all the political firmness that characterizes them in the defense of the popular interests.

A minimum program that can bring all the above mentioned elements together is perfectly practicable. This program can be summed up thus:

Constitution and laws that may allow a real democracy, the progress, the national integrity and independence; Agrarian Reform, that may permit the cultivation of the land by whoever may want to work on it; that modernizes agriculture and cattle-raising, which facilitates the credits for its development and the expansion of cooperatives; other major points of such a program are: the industrialization of the country; the suppression of commercial and financial speculation; the insistence that the Central and Development Banks are of not only the benefit of privileged circles, but for the benefit of the country; the development of the ways and means of communication; the expansion of foreign commerce; the betterment of living conditions for the people; better pay for work; hygiene, health, and medical and social assistance; the amplification and betterment of the education in the hands of the State and the Municipalities; complete laicism in the teaching; stimulation for the development of sciences and arts, intensification of the literacy drive; raising of the technical level of the Armed Forces, giving its components a definite democratic orientation and patriotic morale. All this must be accomplished through an efficient and honest public administration. In its international relations, Ecuador must look for collaboration on an equality level and regarding her territorial integrity and sovereignty, and with the purpose of promoting the material and cultural well being of all the people, in an ambient of universal peace.

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These minimum project objectives may join, in the coming election for President and Vice President of the Republic, the majority of the Ecuadoran people. Undoubtedly, these are not the objectives of a regime capable of giving a definite and radical solution for the problems of Ecuador, but they are only a platform to group large democratic sectors to constitute a Government that may permit a serious national progress.

We, the communists, have always been the firm defenders of democracy, of national progress. Our honesty has never suffered the least weakening transgression. In the hours of definite proof our attitude was clean and straightforward. Treachery to the people is not found in the history of our party. With the guarantee of this behavior, we call upon the left wing parties, the genuine liberalism, the democratic organizations, to join us to form this Front.

Thus the Communist Party expresses its opinion about the present national problems and plans the popular action in the coming elections, to avoid the triumph of the conservative reaction.

LONG LIVE THE ECUADORAN NATION, A COUNTRY, SOVEREIGN, DEMOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE!

Quito, October 8, 1947

The Executive Committee of the
Communist Party of Ecuador.

End.