

Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador
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THE CLASS NATURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY¹

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, modern revisionism, headed by Khrushchev, seized power in the Soviet Union and in the leadership of the Communist Party of the USSR. From then on, in a sustained process, the reversion to capitalism took place, culminating in its complete restoration, after the collapse of "real socialism" and the dissolution of the USSR in 1991.

For the process of capitalist restoration to be carried through to the end, the Khrushchevite revisionists accomplished the task of changing the class nature of the communist party. In the supposed updating and development of Marxism-Leninism, they elaborated the thesis of the party of the whole people. According to them, the advances of socialism allowed the elimination of classes and class contradictions, that "democracy and freedom would reign." Thus, the party of the working class would disappear and give place to the party of the whole people (including the classes and class sectors then existing in the USSR, added to the remnants of the old ruling classes and the new rich who emerged from the maelstrom of corruption and opportunism). In reality, the once battle-tested Bolshevik party did not become a party of the whole people but rather a political organization at the service of the bureaucracy and the new rich and an instrument for the restoration of capitalism, for the oppression of the working class and other laboring classes.

In the 1970s and '80, the revisionists in the leadership of the communist parties of Western Europe, particularly the leaders of the French Communist Party, advanced more rapidly and renounced Leninism and democratic centralism. The leaders of the Italian Communist Party went so far as to change the name of the party; some transformed the militant communist parties that led the resistance struggle against Nazism into harmless parties that collaborated with the bourgeoisie of their countries; above all, they fulfilled the infamous role of ideologically and politically disarming the working class. The Spanish revisionists followed a similar path, they became

¹ This was published for the first time in 2014. We are reproducing it today, from Unity & Struggle \$44, because of the importance of this issue.

monarchists under the pretext of the transition from Francoism. All of them proclaimed the renunciation of the interests of the working class, they became props to support the employers, they called themselves "Eurocommunists" and formed an open expression of treason.

In the 1990s, after the collapse of Soviet social-imperialism and the downfall of real socialism; the frenzy of the neoliberal policies of finance capital; the defeat of some revolutionary processes in progress, the collapse of socialism in Albania; and, in the course of the infamous anti-communist campaign unleashed by reaction and imperialism, an ebb in the revolutionary struggle took place. There was an ideological confusion and organizational dispersion of the workers' and trade union movement, the crisis of the revisionist parties sharpened, various revolutionary organizations of the petty bourgeoisie suffered the impact and dissolved or were seriously affected; our Marxist-Leninist parties also felt the onslaught, we suffered setbacks.

One of the elements that the events put forward in the debate within the movement of the workers and peoples, of the revolutionary organizations and parties, was the need for the existence and struggle of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the communist party.

Those who accused the Communist Party of responsibility for the defeat of socialism were not lacking; from that assumption they concluded that to make the revolution there was no need for a political party, much less a communist party. Some directed their blows at what they called "Stalinist" schemes, at the character and nature of the party, at democratic centralism, at the "absence of democracy and the domination of authoritarianism", at the "elimination of individual initiative." From that premise they concluded that the party that would be able to make the revolution should be "a democratic, pluralist, multiclass party" that would recognize the new times and problems.

In the first years of the new millennium the old theses of "the new left," of "21st century socialism," of the "peaceful revolution," of the "new actors of the revolution," reappeared. Supported by the electoral victories of the progressive and advanced forces in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and other countries, they decreed the end of the communist party, of what they called "class reductionism" and proclaimed the emergence of "left and revolutionary" parties labelled as multiclass, that is, as representatives of the interests of the various "revolutionary" classes. In fact, the PSUV (Venezuela), the MAS (Bolivia), Alianza País (Ecuador) are political parties that proclaim themselves revolutionary and socialist but in reality they support the

capitalist system, the sacrosanct right of private ownership the means of production. They are political organizations that represent the interests of a section of the ruling classes.

The Marxist theory of political parties

For bourgeois political science a political party is the sum of people organized in a stable manner with the purpose of gaining power and from there concretizing their proposals for the social and state organization.

All political parties have an ideology that characterizes them and endows them with some common purposes, which are embodied in doctrines and theories, in platforms, programs and slogans.

There have always existed groups and organizations that sought to hold power, that carried out activities, actions and struggles, but only in the second half of the 18th century, as a result of the liberal revolutionary processes, they began to form what were called political parties and, in the 19th century, they basically acquired the conditions that characterize them.

The Marxist theory of political parties fundamentally takes up these concepts, developing them to the point of defining the objectives and purposes of political parties as expressions of the class interests of their representatives and leaders. It emphatically points out that the decision to organize as a political party is not due to moralist positions but, mainly, to the defense of their material interests and the willingness to take political power from there to defend these interests.

Independently of the integration into the political parties of hundreds and thousands of people coming from the working masses, from the oppressed peoples and nationalities, the nature of the ideology, programs and proposals of the political organizations correspond to the economic, social, cultural, military and political interests of the class or sector of the class to which the main core of its leadership belongs. In the conservative and/or liberal parties, in the reactionary and fascist parties that have existed and continue to exist, the bulk of their members and militants come from the working classes and social strata, who make up the rank and file, who are indoctrinated in the ideology, proposals and thinking professed by the leadership and who, fundamentally, consciously defend their proposals and militancy. This situation does not mean that this or that bourgeois party, because it is organizationally made up of people belonging to

the working classes, represents their interests and defends them, even less that it carries out these interests when in power. Clearly, when a bourgeois political party, independently of its ideology, fights for power and eventually forms the government, it works to maintain and broaden its social base, its adherents, its voters. Therefore, they propose and develop programs and activities that respond to the yearnings and aspirations of the masses, promote material achievements that allow the voters to look upon them and accept them as "good rulers," concerned about the people, at the service of the country and the nation.

Generally, the bourgeois political parties hide their true economic interests behind a democratic, patriotic phraseology; they proclaim freedom, democracy, the defense of sovereignty but these refer to their particular and group interests, to the class sector to which they belong. For this reason, it is pertinent to recall the wise popular saying that people, political parties and particularly their leaders must be recognized for what they say and what they do, but mainly for what they do, for the way they act.

With the advent of capitalism, of bourgeois society and of one of its highest and newest expressions, representative democracy, the political struggle for power (the most important expression of the class struggle, under these conditions) is expressed fundamentally in the existence and confrontation of political parties.

In capitalist society the bourgeoisie, the holder of power, expresses its interests through the existence and struggle of various political parties, all of them representatives of class interests, of those general interests of the capitalists and imperialists, private property, the right to competition and the accumulation and concentration of the wealth created by the workers. In all capitalist countries the existence of various bourgeois political parties is evident, each of them besides representing and defending the general interests of the big business owners and bankers, of the monopolies and the imperialist countries, also embodies the specific interests of each of the different sections of the bourgeoisie, of the big economic and monopoly groups.

The confrontation among the bourgeois political parties for power is a question that is relevant in all circumstances; it is expressed in elections, in parliament, in local governments. At certain moments it can be expressed in uprisings, in coups d'état, even in civil wars. In all conditions the supposed pluralism that should take place,

according to capitalist ideologists, in the existence of diverse bourgeois parties, comes into play. None of the bourgeois parties share their specific objectives with other such parties; they even contest them tooth and nail. This confrontation among the various political formations of the bourgeoisie expresses in reality the inter-bourgeois contradictions, among economic groups, among sections differentiated by different economic interests. In certain circumstances the various capitalist groups reach agreements, enter into alliances, together face some special situation without any of them renouncing their own interests.

Populism is one of the political forms of certain segments of the bourgeoisie that is taken up in order to win the support of the working masses in the name of the people. Bourgeois political science identifies populism as the immediatist version of power, as the management that squanders the country's resources without taking into account a medium and long term economic and political project.

The various forms of populism occupy a wide spectrum: there are those who proclaim themselves defenders of order and openly oppose change, identifying the social fighters, the workers' organizations as enemies of society, as representatives of evil. There are populist positions that claim to be nationalist and patriotic, raising the banners of independence in order to win the support of the masses. There are populist positions that openly proclaim defense of freedom and democracy, that disparage the ruling circles as oligarchies, the privileged ones; they use the popular dissatisfaction to gain followers. In short, the different varieties of populism do not change the essence of its nature and purposes; they try to take political power to shore up the capitalist system from those positions, taking advantage of those circumstances for the benefit of the sector of the ruling classes that they represent. In its political history, populism emphasizes a charismatic personality who unveils his proclamations before the people, uses his histrionic qualities to establish himself as a caudillo. Populism awakens illusions, it can organize very active political movements, even important levels of political organization, through trained cadres.

Some of the populist expressions have taken power, generally through elections, although they can also gain come to power through popular uprisings, even insurrections. From power, populism seeks to affirm and prolong itself. It continues its demagogic work, devel-

ops the discourse of promises and identifies enemies that it must continue to confront with the support of the voters; it puts into effect a good part of its proposals through welfare programs; it seeks to create works that shine brilliantly.

Essentially, populism is a bourgeois option that exists at certain moments and circumstances, which is developed in the great majority of countries. In special situations it is an ideal instrument to divert the mass movement and the youth from revolutionary policies. In Latin America there are typical expressions of populist regimes: Peronism in Argentina, the long history of the PRI in Mexico, Goulart in Brazil, Velasquez in Ecuador, among others.

Political parties of the petty bourgeoisie

As is known in capitalist society, in addition to the class of capitalists and the working class there are other secondary social classes and strata, the so-called middle classes and strata, which in reality correspond to the different strata of the middle bourgeoisie and the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie that also take part in the political contest, organizing political parties that represent them. In general, the various political parties that express the interests of the middle sectors and strata of the population are conservative political formations, defenders of social peace, order and private property (let us bear in mind that these social sectors aspire to accumulation, to individual economic growth, to share power with those above, to climb the economic and social ladder). A good part of the phraseology of these political parties is developed by appropriating for themselves the interests of the people, of those from below, in order to use them as a platform to maintain and increase their electoral base.

In some countries and in certain circumstances, the political parties that defend the interests of the middle classes and strata take on an air of opposition to the capitalist system, they take up patriotic positions in opposition to imperialist plundering, democratic proposals that oppose authoritarianism and the abuse of the ruling classes. Some of them even take up revolutionary programs and positions, they become involved in the revolutionary armed struggle, they lead heroic actions, they proclaim freedom and socialism. These various political expressions take place in different countries and, in general, we proletarian revolutionaries have to take up united positions towards them, to work so that they join the struggle for socialism through a correct united front policy.

In the dependent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America some processes for independence and national liberation have been led by petty bourgeois and bourgeois political formations and have even won victory, but they have not been able to lead them in a consistent manner and carry them through to the end with the objective of achieving independence, as happened in Iraq, Algeria and Nicaragua among others.

Political parties in Ecuador

In Ecuador, the conservative party and the liberal party, which became the main political parties in the 19th century, historically represented the interests of the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie, respectively. These parties were the leaders of an intense and acute political struggle for power, the conservatives to maintain and perpetuate the interests of the landowners, the liberals to defend and impose the interests of the bourgeoisie. As we know, these struggles took the form of palace conspiracies, elections, revolts and military uprisings, in a long guerrilla struggle, in civil wars, and ended with the defeat of feudal obscurantism and the imposition of the interests of the merchants, with the victory of the bourgeois revolution and the formation of the liberal state. The existence and activity of the conservative and liberal parties continued until the 1980s.

With the rise of the working class, the socialist party was also born in the 1920s and later the communist party.

Today, various political parties representing the interests of different sections of the ruling classes are evident on the political scene. The old forms of the partyocracy are on the scene and new faces of the bourgeoisie are appearing, seeking to get in tune with the times, with the relation of social and political forces, the Social Christian Party, the Democratic Left, among others. There are also some political formations from among the petty bourgeoisie that seek to get involved, to gain the favor of those at the top and to participate in the political struggle. Although the old forms of populism are in crisis, it is not possible to deny the possibility of the emergence of new experiments and experiences.

In Ecuador in recent years, Rafael Correa's party, Alianza País, has existed and been playing a decisive role in the political development of the country. We have maintained that it is a party at the service of the system, of the international monopolies, of the big busi-

ness owners and bankers. The conduct of Alianza País from the government, the political events, the nature of the interests it proclaims and defends, its demagogic and populist policies, its attacks against the trade union and popular movement, against the indigenous movement and its rabid attacks on the revolutionary left are a clear demonstration of what class interests Alianza País and President Correa represent. In this as in all cases, things are judged by what they say and proclaim, but, fundamentally, by what they do.

Some analysts who act as leftists and even as revolutionaries talk about the existence and vanguard role of what they call multi-class parties. In arguing these ideas, they refer to the PSUV (Unified Socialist Party of Venezuela), the MAS (Movement towards Socialism of Bolivia) and Alianza País. According to these fabrications that try to theorize about current political science, they are organizations made up of the working class, peasants, self-employed workers, "the class of intellectuals" who have developed a revolutionary program that represents those interests and those of the nation and the country, that would play from within the government the role of vanguard of the revolution and of socialism. (They are always careful not to speak of the proletarian revolution and instead mention the "Bolivarian revolution," the "democratic and cultural revolution," the "citizen's revolution," 21st century socialism which according to them is the negation of Marxist-Leninist socialism, it constitutes the tool for liberation.)

Evidently these parties and the governments they have formed have received an important degree of support from the workers of the city and the countryside, from the most impoverished social sectors and from the middle strata. Through their discourse, demagoguery and important material achievements, they continue to enjoy this support.

Their ideological, political and programmatic proposals, as well as the conduct of these governments, are far from representing and serving the interests of the working classes, of social change, of putting an end to the expropriation of their wealth by the capitalists, of the elimination of the privileges of the big business owners, bankers and landowners. In spite of their patriotic speeches, in reality they shore up their dependence on the imperialist system, on Yankee imperialism, trying to disguise it by creating ties with other imperialist countries, especially China and Russia.

It is clear that the social revolution has not taken place, that capitalism continues to rule, that the workers, peasants and indigenous people continue to be at the bottom, exploited and oppressed; that

Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia continue to be under the iron rule of dependence. They are therefore not a revolutionary party, much less a socialist political organization.

The integration into these parties of a good part of the working classes does not mean that they (the working classes) lead them. In each of these political formations, in the leadership, there is a layer of politicians coming from the bourgeois parties, from the revolutionary organizations of the petty bourgeoisie, from renegades to the revolution and socialism. At the top, in the decision-making bodies, there is a small circle that holds the privileges and is at the service of capitalism and imperialism.

This means that the existence of a multi-class party is nothing more than a fiction, a smokescreen to hide the truth, capitalist domination.

**The Marxist-Leninist party is the party of the class,
of the working class.**

In today's world there are various parties that claim to be communist. These are the parties that were founded in the heat of the revolutionary struggle of the first half of the 20th century, which later became revisionist formations. They are the followers of Khrushchevite revisionism; to a large extent, these parties have unmasked themselves, they have renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolutionary violence, they have become opportunist and reformist parties.

There are parties that call themselves communist and keep their distance from the traditional CPs, they recognize part of the Marxist literature, but, in practice, they develop a reformist policy that seeks "benefits" for the working class while renouncing the organization of the revolution.

In Ecuador the revisionist party goes from bad to worse. In the 1990s its leadership decided to dissolve and merge with the socialist party. Later a group of its members reformed the "communist party". Currently they are divided into at least three forms that differ from each other by the degree of support to the Correa government and by the positions they are given.

What we have just stated must be taken into account in order to return to our initial idea, that political parties must be judged by their proposals, their program and their social practice.

The revolutionary party of the proletariat was formed in Ecuador in the 1920-30s. It played an excellent role in the course of the class struggle, contributed to organizing the workers of the city and the peasantry and youth, it participated actively in the national political life. At the end of the 1950s it succumbed to the revisionist barrage coming from the leadership of the CPSU in the USSR, it became an opportunist and reformist party.

Rescuing Marxism-Leninism, the tradition of struggle of workers and peoples, of the youth there arose the new Communist Party of Ecuador, which demarcated ideological, political and organizational positions with the old party and understood the need to put Marxism-Leninism in its name. Thus emerged the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador, PCMLE.

In the Declaration of Principles of the PCMLE it is expressly stated: **"The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador is the political Party of the Ecuadorian working class, its conscious vanguard, its highest detachment of class organization"**. And **"The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador is independent of all forms of capital, of all the policies of imperialism and of the class of capitalists."**

These formulations show that the PCMLE is a political party, that is, it was organized to seize power and not only for the struggle of the unions and associations.

The PCMLE takes up the responsibility of placing itself at the head of the economic and political demands of the working class, to make its best efforts for the organization of the workers and youth, for their political education, to direct the daily struggle towards the objectives of overthrowing capitalism and seizing popular power. These characteristics of the party make it the vanguard of the working class; however, the role of vanguard is not established by decree, by calling itself Marxist-Leninist; it is won in the midst of social practice, immersed in the torment of the class struggle. The communist vanguard of the working class is trained in its adherence to Marxism-Leninism, in its elaboration of a correct policy, in its consistency in pushing forward that policy, in the role of organizer of the unions and the strike struggle, in the leadership of the struggles developed by the peoples and youth, in fully taking up the responsibilities of organizing and making the revolution.

The PCMLE in its political line and revolutionary practice is independent of any of the forms of capital. It adheres to the positions

put forward by Marx, Lenin and Stalin on the need to be an independent party in all its aspects. The social practice of 50 years confirms this view; the PCMLE has never placed itself at the tail of any sector of the bourgeoisie, it has never taken up the banner of the lesser evil to underhandedly support a sector of the ruling class, it has never conciliated with the class enemy.

Fundamentally, the class nature of the party of the proletariat is expressed in that it defends and fights for the immediate, medium-term and strategic interests of the working class. Its program, policies, proposals and slogans directly correspond with the interests of the working class. They are openly anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist, they propose to abolish private ownership of the means of production, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and bury imperialist plundering. It fights for the working class to make the decision to become the ruling class, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and from power to build a new society, the society of the workers, built by themselves for their own benefit, socialism, to abolish social inequality, all kinds of privileges, to eliminate social classes, to establish the society of abundance, communism on the face of the earth. Their final objectives converge in the emancipation of humanity.

The working class lives by the sale of its labor power, it directly takes part in production, it is grouped in large concentrations, it is linked to the chain of development of industry, it is in contact with the most recent advances in science, technique and technology, it is subject to the discipline of the working day. The material situations of the experiences of the working class allow it to have a disposition for organized work, a practical spirit, a significant degree of collective consciousness, of fraternity and solidarity. The material conditions, the social practice of the working class allow it to relatively quickly take up the class consciousness for itself, to appropriate the revolutionary theory, Marxism-Leninism if the communist party works tenaciously for that purpose.

In the struggle against capital, as the Manifesto of the Communist Party states, the working class "has nothing to lose but its chains, it has a world to win." The working class, in possession of its own ideology and with the leadership of its party, is the class best equipped to lead the other laboring classes in the struggle for emancipation.

In today's Ecuador, the current interests and objectives of the working class coincide with the interests of the other laboring masses

of the city and the countryside; they cannot be fully resolved without the victory of the social revolution. This situation allows us to state with certainty that the working class genuinely represents the interests of the self-employed workers, the peasantry, the teachers, the youth and the peoples of Ecuador. By taking these interests as its own, the working class places itself at the head of the struggle to resolve them, it becomes in fact the vanguard of the liberating process, of the revolution and socialism.

The social composition of the communist party is one of the fundamental pillars of the class character of the party. As clearly indicated in its statutes, the members must be workers, agricultural wage earners, poor peasants, employees or revolutionary intellectuals; that is, members of the laboring classes. These postulates have been largely fulfilled; the great majority of its members come from these laboring classes and social strata. There is no place in the party for people who live off the labor of others.

Clearly, the ideology of the working class, the programmatic proposals, the slogans, the policies are contained in the programmatic documents of the party. Within the party, the members who come from the other laboring classes, from the progressive intelligentsia, fully take up those ideological and political postulates, which means that they renounce the economic, political and ideological interests of the social classes from which they come. The communist militant who comes from the poor peasantry adheres to the cause of the revolution and socialism, accepts the Political Line, the Declaration of Principles, the Program and Statute; he or she leaves aside the immediate aspirations of the poor peasantry to win the land to work it for their personal and family benefit, and takes up the determination to continue that battle for the land to the seizure of power, the fulfillment of the achievements demanded by all the workers, the peoples, the nation and the country, the determination to fight for the overthrow of the capitalists and imperialism and the building of people's power and socialism, he or she becomes a fighter for communism. This is the essential condition; the communist militants are proletarian revolutionaries.

These circumstances substantiate the Marxist theory on political parties; in theory and in practice they mean that the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party is a class party, it is the party of the working class.

If one starts from the idea that the members of the revolutionary party of the proletariat come from different laboring classes and one

goes on to say that therefore it is a multi-class party, one is stating a falsehood, one is misrepresenting the facts and its nature. The question of the class character of a political party is expressed, fundamentally, by the ideology, policy, program and activity of that party.

The leading nucleus of the Marxist-Leninist party has the responsibility to train itself in theory and practice in the genuine expression of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, of the immediate, medium-term and strategic interests of the working class, the laboring masses and the peoples; It must be capable of integrating socialism into the workers' and popular movement. This activity is fulfilled through the formulation of the general policy and the concrete orientations for the workers, for the situation of society and the country, and above all in taking up the leading role in the party, in the workers' and popular movement, in the leadership of the social and political struggles developed by the working masses and the youth. If the leadership of the party, the Central Committee takes up these responsibilities in the field of deeds it contributes to consolidating the class character of the party; if it does not do so or develops it in a defective way, it can help to divert the party from the revolutionary policy of the proletariat, from its class nature, from being an instrument of the working class to acquire the objectives of other social classes, of the petty bourgeoisie or even of the bourgeoisie. This means that the leadership of the party, its composition and its practice constitute a fundamental pillar of its class nature.

The revolutionary party of the working class adheres to and is guided by the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The doctrine of the working class is Marxism Leninism; the political party of the working class takes it up as its ideology and policy, as its philosophical conception, as its economic and social program.

Marxism Leninism emerged as a consequence of the theoretical abstraction of the organization and struggle of the workers, as the development of materialist philosophy, of historical materialism, of political economy, as a result of the analysis of the nature of capitalism. Its creators were immersed in the organization and struggle of the workers, in the ranks of the International Association of the Workers, they were fighters and union leaders, organizers of the communist party. They elaborated the science of the revolution; this science has been and is proven in social practice, in the struggle of the working class in each country and on an international scale, in the victory of

the October revolution and of the other socialist and national liberation revolutions. It is the revolutionary thought, the most advanced political doctrine elaborated by humanity throughout its extensive historical journey; its revolutionary principles have universal validity, they are valid in all countries; obviously, their application takes into account the concrete situation. Marxism-Leninism is a living doctrine, a doctrine in development; each of the victorious revolutions contributed to its development; the various struggles of the working class and the work of the communists in all countries are a contribution to this advancement.

Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma; it is a guide for action, it is a philosophy to interpret the world but, fundamentally, to transform it.

The PCMLE was born in defense of Marxism-Leninism, in opposition to the traitors who tried to revise it and vulgarize it; it has been fighting with its orientations, it strives to apply it with initiative and audacity in the changing situations of the country and the world; it will persist in its principles to carry the revolution through to the end.

The central objective of the party is the seizure of power.

The policy, programmatic proposals, platforms and slogans follow in that direction. The struggle for power is waged every day, on the concrete terrain of society, in the heat of the class struggle.

The class struggle develops independently of the will of individuals, of political parties; it is expressed in the confrontation between the workers and the bosses, between the laboring classes and the bourgeoisie, between the peoples and imperialism. In certain conditions the class struggle becomes acute, it takes on great magnitudes, it involves the working class, the other laboring masses, the peoples, the ruling classes, and it could lead to a political crisis. At other times this confrontation is of lesser intensity, it unfolds in isolated social combats, it is dispersed; at certain times it would even seem that things are calm, that there is social peace. In any case, the class struggle does not disappear, it has different connotations, forms and levels.

The leading role of the party of the proletariat is expressed in a specific way by leading the organization and struggles of the working class, the peoples and the youth in the struggle for the immediate economic interests, using them as a means to unravel the real causes of

the situation of the working masses, to identify the immediate enemies as well as the holders of power, to educate them politically and to point out the road to power.

We communists are deliberately involved in the struggle for power that develops daily in the heart of society; we take sides for the cause of the workers, of the poor, the exploited and oppressed. We confront the institutions, we are against the anti-worker laws, in opposition to authoritarianism and repression, against the abuses of the judges, the police and the armed forces. Together with the rejection of the policies of the capitalists, we put forward programmatic proposals, proclamations, paths and slogans that allow us to promote the policies of the working class, so that the workers, peoples and youth, but also society as a whole can take hold of them. Essentially this is the revolutionary policy of the party of the proletariat; it is expressed every day, in all circumstances and places. Clearly, in capitalist society, at certain moments the political struggle for power intensifies, the confrontation to settle accounts between the different segments of the ruling classes in general are resolved through the elections of representative democracy; suddenly political crises arise. These events involve the whole of society, all the social classes, the class sectors; objectively, no one sits on the sidelines. In all these events the PCMLE has been taking part with its own voice, from the interests of the working class and the peoples, from the positions of the peoples and the nation, from the objectives of development of the country.

The capitalist class, like the ruling classes of the past, ascended to power and works daily to maintain and perpetuate itself. The power of the bourgeoisie is based on force, on the role of the police and the armed forces; it defends itself through coercion and reactionary violence. However, in order to sustain and develop its power, essentially the class of capitalists works for the legitimization of its domination.

It justified its rise, the use of violence and terror by raising the banners of "freedom, equality and solidarity," proclaiming the freedom of the serfs, the emancipation of the slaves. It advanced to elaborate legislation proclaiming equality before the law, the law of universal suffrage, the alternation in the exercise of government, the existence and relevance of parliament, of representative democracy. In the stage of imperialism it declares itself the guardian of peace and freedom, of democracy, and proclaims its readiness to intervene in any country where these principles are violated. According to their

suppositions and all the developments that are taking place in these times and events, the world is reaching its highest levels of development, of democracy and peace thanks to individual freedom, to competition and free trade. The workers take part in this society, they are involved in this democracy, they must be the leaders in the incessant development and beneficiaries of what is due to them, a salary to subsist and reproduce themselves.

With the advent of capitalism, the industrial working class arose, the proletariat that makes possible the creation of wealth, the transformation of nature's resources into commodities, into material goods that make life and its incessant development possible. Clearly, the wealth produced by the workers is expropriated by the owners of the private property of the means of production, by the class of capitalists turning them into wage slaves.

This situation places the main classes of capitalist society at opposite poles: the workers and the bourgeoisie.

When it overthrew feudalism, the bourgeoisie established a new, revolutionary world; it gave a great impulse to science, technique and technology, it permanently revolutionized the instruments of production, creating great quantities and also a great concentration of wealth. This new world was built on the foundations of the exploitation of the wage labor of billions of human beings, on their social and political oppression, on the plundering of the natural resources of all countries. This was marred from its beginnings by the reasons for its aging and disappearance. This new world is now an old, rotten, decaying world.

The class of the capitalists, by basing itself on the exploitation and oppression of millions of human beings, became a giant with a weak and vulnerable base; as it grew it transformed the former serfs into "free" workers, it multiplied them in numbers and spread them to all the ends of the earth, it placed them in direct relation with the advances of science and technology, it trained them as social subjects who were acquiring the consciousness of their role as gravediggers of the world of capital, the forgers of a new world, the society of the workers, socialism.

The bourgeoisie and the proletariat are the adversaries in capitalist society; they are in permanent struggle for the dominant role. For now, the capitalists are in power, but the workers are struggling to overthrow them, to bring them down and become the new ruling

class; that struggle will continue until finally the proletariat will definitively win and social classes will disappear; the material and subjective conditions for the elimination of social classes, including their own disappearance as a class, for the advent of communism.

The ideological struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie exists in all situations and moments of the class struggle. It is expressed in the struggle of the revolutionary new against the reactionary and outdated old; between the tradition of struggle of the working class and of the revolutionary movement, and the new and reactionary elitist; between "individual freedom", individualism and egoism against collective interests and solidarity; between bourgeois democracy that justifies the oppression of the working masses and the repression of the trade unionists and revolutionaries, and proletarian democracy, the right to speak, to decide and carry out great achievements for the benefit of the great majority, direct democracy, the democracy of the masses; between representative democracy and the revolutionary government that will take up the great achievements of socialism.

The Communist Party is the consistent standard-bearer of the great ideals of the proletariat; it participates decisively in this ideological contest, raising the principles of the revolution and socialism, of people's power and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In opposition to the bourgeois dictatorship we fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Society divided into classes from its beginnings formed the State as an expression of its institutions, as an instrument for the exercise of power, to subordinate and exploit the laboring classes and social strata.

The capitalist State does not escape these conceptions; it is the instrument of the class of capitalists and imperialism for the exercise of economic power, to safeguard, preserve and develop their interests. It is organized for the subordination of the working class and the other laboring classes; it becomes the guarantee for the perpetuation of their domination. The bourgeois state, regardless of its form, regardless of the level of social and political rights won by the workers and peoples, despite the formal declarations, constitutional dogmas and laws in force, **is an expression of the domination of the bosses, of the dictatorship of the class of capitalists** that proclaims freedom

and democracy for the powerful, and institutionalizes exploitation and subordination for the workers.

Representative democracy, military dictatorship, authoritarian governments, fascist regimes or reformist governments are forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, expressions of the supremacy of privileges for the few and poverty and oppression for the vast majority.

The working class and its party cannot take over the bourgeois State and with its content and purposes carry out their class achievements; they must destroy the state machinery established by the exploiters and on its foundations, raise up the People's Power, the State of the Workers which will take on the essence of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, assuming various forms according to the concrete historical circumstances. This will always be the expression of the broadest democracy for the workers and of dictatorship for the capitalists and other reactionaries. Historical experience has shown various forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the future the workers and the peoples, without a doubt, will find the most valid forms to exercise the power of the proletariat and the other laboring classes over the former exploiters, over the forms of capital within the country and to defend themselves from the attacks of reaction and counterrevolution at the national and international level.

We recognize revolutionary violence as the midwife of History.

The liberation of the slaves was the result of their rebellion, of great revolts and revolutions that broke their chains and gave rise to a new stage of development of human society, to the autocracy of the feudal lords, to absolutism, and to the serfdom of millions of peasants who as "free men" were chained to serfdom. Obscurantism was eradicated by the revolution of the artisans and peasants which was taken advantage of by the bourgeoisie in order to gain access to political power and establish the capitalist system. The repeated attempts of the feudal aristocracy and reaction to restore their privileges also made use of violence, but they were defeated again and again by the revolutionary violence wielded by the bourgeoisie, counting on the workers and peasants as their troops. The bourgeoisie in power uses violence to preserve its interests, to increase and perpetuate them; imperialism affirms its economic and political domination with wars of aggression, with the establishment of puppet regimes, with occupa-

tion troops. The first victorious proletarian revolution, the Paris Commune, established the first workers' government, the first expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat by an armed insurrection of the workers; it defended itself until it succumbed to the superiority of the capitalists through revolutionary violence. The Great October Revolution was born of the armed insurrection of October 25, 1917; it resisted the counterrevolutionary offensive and defeated it after a bloody civil war, counting on the Red Army, on the workers and peasants armed and fighting for their destiny. The Albanian revolution, the Chinese revolution, the war of liberation in Vietnam and all the revolutions that seized power and then formed the great socialist camp were the consequence, the result of revolutionary warfare, of guerrilla warfare, of insurrections.

The liberation of the workers, true independence can only come with the organization and victory of the revolutionary armed struggle. We Marxist-Leninist communists declare ourselves in favor of revolutionary violence; we strive to organize it under the concrete historical conditions.

To conceive of revolutionary violence as the form of struggle that leads to power presupposes for the proletarian party the use of all the other forms of struggle: the economic struggle, the struggles of trade union and associations, the democratic struggles of the people, the company strike and the general strike, the popular uprisings, the street struggle, the marches, sit-ins, seizures of highways and land, the participation in the elections of representative democracy. The capability of the party of the proletariat develops to the extent that it can resort to all forms of struggle, can use them to accumulate forces, to contribute to the organization of the workers and youth, to educate them politically, always having in view the power and victory. To use all forms of struggle, to combine them correctly, to subordinate them to the revolutionary armed struggle will allow the working class and its party to fulfill the first stage of the revolution, the seizure of power, and then the exercise of its rule and the realization of the great task of building socialism.

**The ideology and politics of the proletariat are expressed
in the Leninist organization of the party.**

The communist party is radically different from each and every bourgeois and petty bourgeois party in the first place by its aims and objectives, by the interests that it defends, by the way it conceives

and carries out the struggles for their achievement; it is also a different party by the way it is organized.

It is a centralized party, with a single leadership and a single will of action. This organizational conception conceived by Lenin has democratic centralism as its backbone. Democratic centralism is expressed in the equal rights of members and leaders; in the participation with voice and vote in the discussion and elaboration of the Political Line, the Declaration of Principles, the Program and the Statute of the party; in the right to elect and be elected for leadership positions; in the right to criticize the policy, members and leaders of the party, that is, in the broadest democracy in the party. And it is affirmed in a centralized leadership, in responsibilities and obligations to be fulfilled without restriction. Democratic centralism means the unity of opposites: freedom and discipline, right and duty, collective discussion and individual responsibility, decision making by majority, subordination of the members to the leadership at the different levels and of the whole party to the Central Committee.

Those who attack democratic centralism, misrepresenting it as an expression of the coercion of individual freedom, are in reality advocating an amorphous organization in which personal freedom is supposedly expressed. Those elements who sincerely criticize democratic centralism are wrong; personal freedom becomes a living expression when it is concretized in collective opinions and decisions. When it is expressed in a voluntarist manner it has no political effect; it is only a manifestation of an idea, of a desire. Those who attack democratic centralism from reactionary and opportunist positions are not right; they wield fallacies on purpose. In the bourgeois and petty bourgeois political parties, without exception, there is no individual freedom, the voices are not heard and even less are they taken into account for decisions. It is in those parties where authoritarianism is evident, the expression of the will of a small core of leaders and in some of them the decision of a single person, the caudillo or the boss of the party.

The Leninist character of the party is expressed in the organization of cells, in the obligation to be a member of one of the organizations; the party does not consider sympathizers as members but works tenaciously to attract them to its ranks.

The communist party organizes its cells at the enterprise level, in the factories, farms and mines, on the territorial level with the aim that the social base of each organism is formed by a concrete sector

of the masses in which the cell fulfills the leading role of the party, all its tasks and responsibilities.

Marxism Leninism is the philosophy of praxis, it is the unity of theory with practice. The political decisions of the party are taken from the positions of the working class, with the guidance of the Political Line; they take into account the concrete situation. They are correct to the degree that represent the interests of the working masses and project them to the political struggle, to the extent that they are taken up by the masses and converted into material force by their social and political struggle.

Criticism and self-criticism, the ideological struggle are tools that allow one to affirm the class character of the party, purifying it of erroneous conceptions, eradicating the wrong ideas and correcting errors and overcoming difficulties. The PCMLE strives to make revolutionary use of these tools.

Proletarian internationalism

The revolutionary party of the working class expresses in its policies and activities the validity of proletarian internationalism.

Capitalism and imperialism exploit the workers throughout the earth; the wealth created by billions of workers goes into the coffers of the big international monopolies and their allies, the bourgeoisie in each country. These conditions make the working class an international class, a social subject exploited and oppressed by the same bosses, by the same system; but at the same time, they endow it with ideological and political characteristics common in all countries.

The material situation of the working class, the capitalist exploitation and oppression demand the same position, the same policy; they give the proletarian revolution an international character, give the working class in each country and the communist parties internationalist obligations. Historical experience corroborates these conceptions, the Great October Revolution took place at a turning point in the imperialist capitalist system and formed a base of support for the international revolution.

Proletarian internationalism does not eliminate the Marxist conception that the working class stands as the ruling class in its own country; therefore, the socialist revolution took and will take place in each country, it will be, fundamentally, the result of the struggles of the workers and youth of that country, but also of the contribution of

the international workers' movement, of the internationalist work of the communist parties.

In the epoch of imperialism, it is urgent, in the dependent countries, to take up national banners, the struggle for national liberation together with the struggles for social liberation, for the abolition of capitalist exploitation. In the imperialist countries, it is necessary to fulfill the tasks of the socialist revolution while condemning the imperialism of one's own country that accumulates wealth and power in the dependent countries.

The communist party is internationalist and simultaneously it is the most consistent fighter for national liberation, for the building of the New Homeland.

Ecuador, November 2014