

**PUEBLO PERUANO
¡NO VOTAR!
¡VIVA LA GUERRA POPULAR!**

PCP



A WORLD TO WIN 1985/3

“Peruvian People! Don't Vote! Long Live People's War!” Painting done in Peruvian prison.

PCP Central Committee:

Don't Vote, Step Up Guerrilla Warfare to Seize Political Power for the People!

By the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP)

"Strengthen the People's Committees, develop the base areas and advance the New Democratic People's Republic"—PCP

"All reactionaries try to eliminate the revolution through mass slaughters and think that the more people they kill the more they will weaken the revolution. But, despite their wishes, facts show that the more people they kill, the stronger the revolution becomes and the closer the reactionaries come to their doom. This is an irrefutable law."—Chairman Mao

I. The General Crisis of Peruvian Society

Contemporary Peruvian society is in a general crisis. This society which arose at the end of the nineteenth century is gravely and incurably sick; it can be transformed only through armed struggle, and this is what the Communist Party of Peru has been leading the people in doing. There is no other solution.

Contemporary Peru is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society in which bureaucrat capitalism is developing. It is a belated capitalism tied to the interests of the landowners; as a result, it doesn't in any way seek to destroy semi-feudalism,

but rather, at most, to evolve it. Most importantly, it is a capitalism completely subjugated by imperialism, in our case mainly Yankee imperialism, and therefore does not develop the potentially great productive forces of our country, but rather squanders them, fetters them or destroys them, and in no way develops a national economy but on the contrary is completely at the service of imperialism's increasing exploitation, and completely opposed to the national interests, the interests of the vast majority, and even the basic and most urgent needs of the masses of our people.

The modern Peruvian economy

was born defective and is sick in its very roots. It arose tied to the worn-out semi-feudal system, which despite the much-touted agrarian laws, deceitfully called "agrarian reform," continues to exist and to brand the country from its deepest foundations to its most elaborated ideas. The question of the land remains a giant problem, in essence; it is the motor of the class struggle of the peasantry, especially the poor peasants who make up the great majority. But furthermore, this economy arose subjugated by imperialism, capitalism's final stage masterfully characterised as monopolistic, parasitic and moribund. Imperialism, while consenting to our political independence as long as that serves its interests, controls the entire Peruvian economy: our natural resources, exports, industry, banking and finance. In short, it sucks our people's blood, devours the energies of our nation in formation and today in particular squeezes us by means of our foreign debt, as it also does to other oppressed nations. As a result, the modern economy, bureaucrat capitalism, is tied from its very birth to the unburied corpse of semi-feudalism and subjugated by dying capitalism which increasingly lives off the blood of the oppressed, obtained by exploitation guaranteed by the force of its arms and those of its flunkies, while dispute takes place amidst incessant crisis and contention for world domination waged principally by the two superpowers, the United States and the social-imperialist Soviet Union. In conclusion, we are experiencing a general crisis of Peruvian society and this crisis means the crisis of bureaucrat capitalism which has entered its final stage, thus bringing to full maturity the conditions for the revolution's development and triumph, because the general crisis suffered by the old society grips it overall and in each of its aspects.

This is our reality. This is the foundation on which Peruvian society rests and the material roots of our problems and our people's misfortunes. And this is the social system which the ruling classes and their Yankee imperialist master enjoy the use of and defend at gun-

point, through their landlord-bureaucrat State based upon their reactionary armed forces, relentlessly exercising their class dictatorship (of the big bourgeoisie and the landowners), whether through a de facto military government, of which we've had many, for example, Velasco and Morales Bermudez¹, just to cite the most recent, or through elected, so-called constitutional governments, like the present Belaunde government.

Thus the governments of Peru, whether civilian or military, elected or not, are no more than cliques which take turns exercising dictatorship over the people, over the proletariat, peasantry, petit bourgeoisie and even over the national or medium bourgeoisie itself, on behalf of the big bourgeoisie (especially, today, big bankers), of the landowners (manifested especially through the authority of local feudal tyrants to exercise political power in the countryside), on behalf of the ruling classes and Yankee imperialism and completely against the interests of the people and the nation. This requires no further historical discussion nor examples, since the proof is before our eyes: the current government of Belaunde and his gang, an elected government, chosen at the polls by the "sacred" electoral system, has done more than any other government to sell out the country to imperialism and has sunk Peruvian society into the greatest crisis of its modern history. It has plunged the people into the most insatiable hunger and has persecuted, jailed, tortured and murdered them, and even carried out massacres and genocide, because the people, with the Communist Party, have dared to rise up in arms, unfurling the banner "It is Right to Rebel," the inalienable right of every people plunged into exploitation and oppression, the irrevocable right of every people and every class which refuses to be slaves.

This is the reality of the country, of Peruvian society and of the function of the rotating governments, and so it will be until we overthrow the reigning order by force of arms through people's war. World history and our own have proved it and today it stands before our very eyes:

the reactionary government of Belaunde and his sinister gang with its policies of starvation and genocide will go down in history as the government of starvation and genocide.

II. To Vote Is To Endorse the Social System and Choose Another, Even More Starvation-Ridden and Genocidal Government

Under what conditions are the new general elections taking place?

Economically, everyone agrees that the country is undergoing what is at least its greatest crisis in the last hundred years²; furthermore, the outlook for the future is bleak. It will take almost until the year 2000 before the country will be able to once again attain the economic levels of 1976; in other words, a quarter of a century of this country's much-praised economic development will have been lost. But the problem goes further than that. Since World War 2 the country has regularly undergone a crisis in the second half of every decade and each new crisis is worse than the preceding one. The next crisis is already underway. The reactionary economists themselves paint the coming years black. What's more, the foreign debt and the country's inability to pay even the interest make it impossible to count on foreign capital, which is always presented as something wonderful, while at the same time internal savings are falling, industrial production is in a recession, agriculture is in crisis, the prices of our exports will continue declining, foreign markets are shrinking, etc. In sum, a dark future in which there is no real solution in sight, much less one that can satisfy the growing basic needs of the masses, which are more unfulfilled every day, a future which offers only more unemployment, a longer work day just to survive, lower wages and salaries, less rights and more cutbacks of benefits and gains. Thus outworn Peruvian society offers only bleak economic perspectives and greater exploitation and oppression.

Politically: The 1979 constitution, like all those of its type, takes back every right it guarantees, and doesn't even satisfy the various factions in the reactionary camp, much

Proletarios de todos los países, uníos

**¡NO VOTAR! SINO,
¡GENERALIZAR
LA GUERRA DE GUERRILLAS
PARA CONQUISTAR
EL PODER PARA EL PUEBLO!**

COMITE CENTRAL
PARTIDO COMUNISTA DEL PERU

less the people. The question of modifying it is and will continue to be a field of contention. But besides allowing for the direct participation of the armed forces and police in every aspect of social life, strengthening their predominance, building up the powers of the Executive while organising the most police-ridden and repressive system in our history, and despite their filthy rhetoric, the current constitution is in bloodier and more violent contradiction with our reality than any other in our history, as shown by its so-called "right to life" and the sinister genocide carried out by the armed forces in the Ayacucho region, shamelessly, with impunity, and led by Belaunde himself.

How are the sacred bourgeois-democratic institutions working? The parliament abdicated its legislative functions on behalf of the Executive; the judiciary is incapable of trying the thousands of people who have been indicted, and even more incapable of complying with its own laws—it approves and protects the plan to wipe out prisoners of war in the concentration camps known as "El Fronton" and the secret camps in Totos, "Los Cabitos," the Huanta stadium, etc., with the complicity of the Public Ministry. The Executive has become the real legislative power, with the country's basic laws in the hands of greasy bureaucrats and imperialist-trained and advised technocrats,

with super-ministers who do what they want like the aristocrats of old, using their wide and increased repressive powers daily, from clubs, bombs and bullets to decreeing a state of emergency even to deal with a strike, and of course the state of siege whose application has been so demanded. Finally, the reactionary armed forces and police have fully shown their hatred of the people and the brutality that is the main characteristic of their actions, as well as their clear "authorisation" to commit any outrage, even murder, against the sons and daughters of the people. And the Armed Forces, who continue calling themselves "guardians" of society (as though the Peruvian people were made up solely of children), are as experienced in being defeated by foreigners as they are in using their guns to drown our unarmed people in blood. Today they even more obviously express the interests of the ruling classes they defend and all the class hatred contained in their intervention against the victorious armed struggle, while their leadership, the Joint Command, the National Defense Council and its head Belaunde himself, in their impotent and desperate fervour, trying vainly to distance the masses from the armed revolution, have found no solution but the monstrous and infamous genocide which has unmasked before our people and the world their sinister antiguerrilla actions, their fraudulent Peruvian democracy and Belaunde himself, that phony democrat and cunning demagogue.

Presiding over these bleak perspectives are worn-out and reactionary institutions which survive only through the force of inertia and of arms that uphold them, increasingly spilling and bathing in the incendiary blood of the unarmed and cruelly oppressed people who have already begun to say, Enough! and who believe less and less in the old State and expect less and less from the government. In conclusion, discredit, disorder and chaos, and corruption and the most shameless cynicism corrode the landowner-bureaucrat State. Its government is the object of renewed and frivolous contention, with verbal skirmishes

and sometimes real clashes, between a handful of demagogues with ill-concealed interests and unbridled ambitions like Alva Orlandini, Bedoya Reyes, Morales Bermudez and Alan García, the candidates, respectively, of Popular Action, the Democratic Convergence, the Democratic Front of National Unity and APRA, all well-known defenders of the reigning order, and among them the slimy and obliging Barrantes Lingán, that phony Mariáteguist and real and faithful defender of the ruling system, the representative of the so-called United Left hatched up by its leaders as the most unbridled expression in this country of the old electoral opportunist road, of parliamentary cretinism.

But the rotten legacy does not end there. The class struggle of our people has gone over to developing as an armed struggle against the old social order, the old State and its reactionary armed forces and police, a revolutionary war which has now been going on for almost five years, including two years of combat against the old armed forces themselves, and this historic fact has radically changed conditions, has shown how by means of arms the worn-out system can be overthrown piece by piece and a new State power for the people, the oppressed, created. This new and irreversible process will continue unfolding more and more as the Peruvian State's main problem, since it is that State's negation and destruction, and the Peruvian State must more and more concentrate on attacking this process to defend the exploiting classes and their imperialist master, while ever greater numbers of the people, of the masses, especially the peasantry, will continue to join the peasant war now being waged. As Lenin said, hunger itself leaves them no choice: "In the West, tens of millions of people are suffering the torments of hunger. This is exactly what makes the social revolution inevitable, since it arises not from programmes but rather from the fact that tens of millions of people are saying, 'Before living in hunger, we would rather die for revolution.'"

The question should be asked: what is the meaning of these elec-



"Long live the Fifth Anniversary of ILA '80!" (the PCP's April 1980 Central Committee meeting which approved the plan and gave the signal to initiate the Armed Struggle.) Woodcut done in a Peruvian prison.

tions? Do the people need to go to the polls? Is voting in the people's interests? Looking at the experience of Peru, what revolutionary transformation have the people ever won through elections or parliament? Every gain has been a product of the people's struggle, snatched from the enemy, and it is on the basis of such deeds that these laws have come about. Either the law has limited these gains from the very start or else there has been a process of restricting and annulling them. The development of labour legislation is an example of this. The same also applies to the winning of political rights. All this is said, of course, without even mentioning the seizure of political power, since for a revolutionary political power can be won only through revolutionary violence, which in Peru simply means armed struggle from the countryside to the city. But let's ask ourselves, furthermore, what have been the real benefits for the people from participating in the Constituent Assembly and the 1980 General Elections? The former served simply to carry out the third restructuring of the reactionary Peruvian state in this century, with results already exposed, while the latter simply gave rise to the Belaunde government, which is one of the worst betrayers of the fatherland in our history, a government which has plunged the people into the darkest and most cruel hunger and genocide.

And furthermore, given these perspectives, what can the people, the masses, expect from participating in the 1985 general elections, since simply and concretely, to vote is to endorse the social system and elect another government to impose yet more hunger and genocide! To vote is to help the landowner-bureaucrat State replace, according to its own laws and on its own terms, the authorities who exercise its class dictatorship over the people, in order to maintain the semi-feudal and semi-colonial character of society within which bureaucrat capitalism is developing, for the benefit of the ruling classes and their main master, Yankee imperialism. To vote is to help establish a government that will cause even greater

starvation, because that's what's demanded by the necessities and class character of the State of which it is a part. To vote is to help install an even more genocidal government, because this too is determined by the old State's necessity to defend its decrepit society in the face of the developing people's struggle and especially the surging armed struggle whose rifles are tearing down the old and building the new: the forms of New Political Power, of the New Society, based upon the people rising up in arms.

The people cannot serve their exploiters and oppressors, they cannot help them solve their problems, they cannot endorse their social system, nor still less help elect yet another government which will cause more starvation and carry out more genocide, because this road does not serve the people's interests. The only fitting response today is NOT TO VOTE! This is the only response in the interests of the people to the genocidal, hunger-producing and reactionary State's elections.

III. Step Up the Guerrilla War to Seize Political Power for the People!

The Communist Party of Peru, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party, a communist party rebuilt in the fight against revisionism, including within its own ranks, a party of a new type to seize political power for the proletariat and the people, assumed its role of carrying out revolutionary violence with the initiation of the armed struggle on the 17th of May 1980¹, and with this the protracted process of the class struggle of the Peruvian proletariat and people has taken a qualitative leap: the continuing political struggle went over to revolutionary warfare, with armed struggle as the main form of struggle and the revolutionary armed forces as the main form of organisation. In this way our party cast off the dead weight of more than 50 years and overcame the shameful and rotten electoralism imposed upon the masses, and began to write the people's real liberation with dynamite and lead, together, from the beginning of the armed struggle, with the masses of people, especially peasants, masses who have always supported the most heroic actions of

the Peruvian revolution and who do so more than ever now that the armed struggle has concretised their centuries-old hopes into an inextinguishable blaze.

As Chairman Mao says, "When its existence is threatened the ruling class always resorts to violence. As soon as it sees revolution arise it strives to exterminate it by force of arms...and when the people rise up to seize political power, right away it uses violence to suppress the revolutionary people." Or, as said in the second quotation at the beginning, "All reactionaries try to eliminate the revolution through mass slaughters..."

The Peruvian State, the old State, has acted according to these laws. First it used its police forces, the GC, GR, PIP, and its special corps: *Sinchis*, the self-proclaimed "Llapan Atic," *Dircote*, etc.⁴. They carried out their usual persecution, torture, imprisonment and murder with the cruelty and brutality that is their essence. They went over to patrols, searches and incursions in the countryside and the city, especially the former, carrying out the reactionary rule "steal all, burn all and kill all." At the height of their actions these forces carried out three operations, in January and October 1981 and March 1982, highly touted and exaggerated in the press, which despite the leadership and support of the armed forces ended in resounding failure, suffering humiliating defeats at the hands of the revolutionary armed forces, as even their own reactionary press admitted. Thus the police were used as cannon fodder and guinea pigs because of the contradictions within the reactionary camp.

The armed forces of the Peruvian state did not enter directly until the end of 1982, despite the clamour demanding their participation in the antiguerrilla struggle, because Belaunde opposed it, fearing that the military would use its intervention to carry out a coup or take over little by little. So that they would all be equally responsible, all three armed forces, the Army, Navy and Air Force, came in together, although the first two were the main forces. None of them wanted to be alone in suffering the discredit that

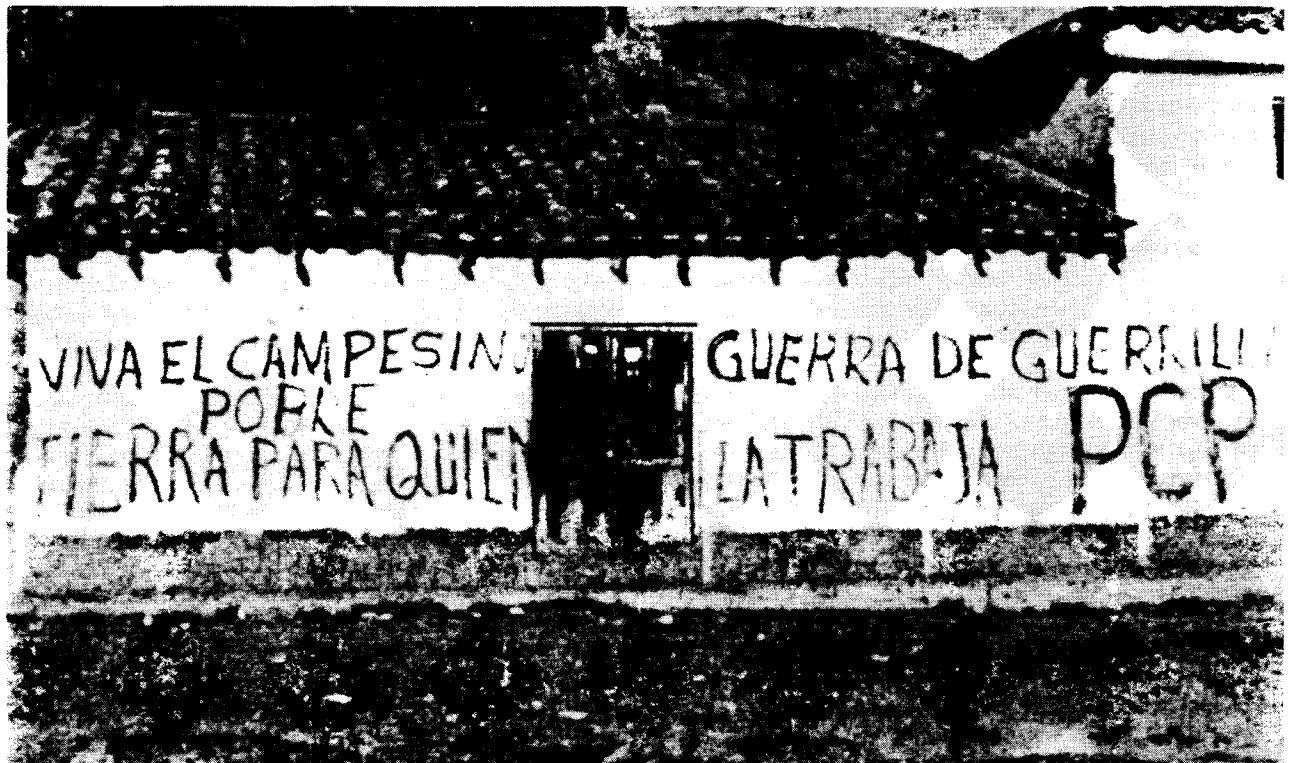
their counterrevolutionary work would inevitably bring about. But from the beginning these self-proclaimed "tutelary institutions of the fatherland" used vigilante bands (made up of traditional feudal authorities, lesser feudal authorities and their henchmen), and acted themselves under cover of such forces, including disguising themselves as peasants or Civil Guards, committing atrocities and massacres in a vain attempt to separate us from the masses. They committed innumerable cowardly and cunning massacres such as those in Huambo, Huaychao, Iquicha, Sacsamarca, etc., including the massacre of the reporters⁵, all actions approved by the National Security Council with the explicit authorisation and congratulations of Belaunde himself. But with the failure of their evil plans due to the resounding blows of the revolutionary forces and because of necessities arising from the November 1983 municipal elections, the Armed Forces began generalised slaughter. In less than two months the bodies of more than 800

brutally murdered people appeared in the area around the city of Ayacucho. The "disappearances"—foul and unpunished murders—began.

July 1984 saw important measures adopted by the State, although they were not made public, which is in itself another violation of their legal system. The Armed Forces Joint Command was given the right to intervene any and every place in the country to fight the guerrillas, to establish, at will, emergency zones and political-military commands to carry out their orders. Thus the whole country is under the Joint Command and the Executive gives the Armed Forces carte blanche to act as they so loyally know how. This is so-called Peruvian democracy today. Under this authority they are carrying out new plans: first scorched-earth thrusts and then, under pressure and the threat of death, the concentration of sections of the masses, to make it look as if there were a struggle among the masses themselves going on, when what they are really doing is simply imitating the "strategic

hamlets" of Vietnam or, taking a closer model, the "peasant organisations" formed in Guatemala under Yankee advisors. The struggle has become much more intense and widespread, especially in the countryside where the Armed Forces have to confront a real peasant war led by the Communist Party, and their ridiculous plans to separate the guerrillas from the masses are failing despite their sinister genocide. They cannot claim victory; recently the Minister of War himself spoke of the necessity of enough time and patience to fight the guerrillas, and of the urgency of more powerful measures and the support of all Peruvians in this. This is a candid confession of the difficulties they've encountered in fighting against an armed struggle that is guided by the principles of people's war. These difficulties of the reaction found expression even in the concerns of the Pope in Ayacucho, in that papal mass meeting mainly of soldiers and policemen, preceded by more than a month of intense persecution and round-ups. After blessing the murderers' arms, consecrating the

"Long Live the Poor Peasants. Land to the Tiller. Guerrilla Warfare."



infamous mass graves, sanctifying the counterrevolutionary war by blessing the genocidal armed forces and police, especially their blood-thirsty chiefs, exculpating and even supporting the Belaunde government, calling upon it to annihilate us expeditiously, in a high-sounding voice the Pope warned us to change course, to abandon the revolution, in particular to submit ourselves to the established order and betray the people. We replied to this warning immediately and firmly on February 4th with the massive blackout that plunged Lima and the whole central region of the country into darkness.

What has the armed struggle accomplished in almost five years? Nineteen-eighty could be defined as the year of getting started, 1981 and 1982 as the beginning of the development of guerrilla warfare and of the formation of the first People's Committees, the initial forms of the new State power, and from then through today the struggle has been centred on re-establishment and counter-reestablishment, that is, counter-revolutionary war to destroy the New State Power and revolutionary war to defend it, develop it and

strengthen it, destroying the old worn-out and reactionary political power more and more, bit by bit. In these nearly five years we have carried out more than 20,000 actions (up to the beginning of 1985); the party has grown in membership many times over and enjoys prestige as never before, within Peru and abroad; we have built a People's Guerrilla Army of several thousand fighters; and most importantly, hundreds of People's Committees have been formed and we are fighting to develop the base areas and advance towards the formation of a New Democratic People's Republic. In other words, a New State Power has arisen and is developing by carrying out real state functions.

In synthesis, the Communist Party of Peru is leading a successful and growing armed struggle guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the only real communist ideology, an armed struggle to carry out a democratic revolution, guided by Chairman Mao's New Democracy, aimed at breaking imperialist domination, destroying the persisting feudal landowner property relations and confiscating the pro-

perty of bureaucrat capital, an armed struggle which serves the world revolution and enjoys proletarian internationalist support, especially from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement of which our party is a part. We rely on the masses of people in this country who support us, especially the poor peasants, and we do not submit ourselves nor will we ever submit ourselves to either superpower or any power, because we unreservedly support revolution, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the guiding thought which is the application of Marxism to our conditions. Today, our immediate goal is: Step up the guerrilla war to seize State power for the people!

Long Live the Armed Struggle!
Don't Vote!

Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

Long Live Chairman Gonzalo!
Eternal glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

**Central Committee,
Communist Party of Peru**
February 1985

Footnotes

1. General Velasco Alvarado, leader of the self-proclaimed "revolutionary" military junta which overthrew Belaunde in 1968. General Morales Bermudez, who led the 1975 "coup within the coup" which overthrew Velasco, and which in turn gave way to a new civilian government headed by Belaunde in 1980.

2. Since Peru was declared bankrupt in 1879 and subsequently defeated and dismembered by Chile in the War of the Pacific.

3. The day before the national elections which brought Belaunde back into office. Although the date of the PCP's first armed action, an

attack on the polling station in the village of Cuschi in Ayacucho, is often given as 18 May, PCP had chosen the symbolism of launching it on the day before the elections to make clear their complete opposition to the entire electoral arena.

4. Peru's police corps : the paramilitary Civil Guard which patrols the rural area and the Republican Guard which is supposed to guard public buildings, prisons and borders ; the regular urban detectives ; two brigades of counter-insurgency troops modeled after the U.S. Green Berets (this in addition to armed forces units used for this purpose) ; and lastly the "antiterrorist" police.

5. Eight reporters murdered in January 1983 near the village of Uchuraccy in Ayacucho. Despite the efforts of a government-appointed investigating committee headed by novelist Mario Vargas Llosa to throw the blame for this murder directly or indirectly on the PCP, recent court testimony has shown that the commission's report deliberately falsified evidence and that, in fact, the reporters were murdered by a government-organised vigilante squad, led by a former army officer. The international press which gave the Vargas Llosa report a great deal of publicity has blacked out these latest developments. □