

COLLECTED WORKS  
OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU

VOLUME 1 - 1968-1987

Published by : Christophe Kistler & Josef Hallqvist  
Contact : [chris@kistler.red](mailto:chris@kistler.red)

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*Proletarians of all countries, unite!*



CHAIRMAN GONZALO



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# PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

Dear Comrades,

From the very beginning of the history of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), an effort was being done by our Peruvian comrades living abroad to translate and spread words of the Chairman Gonzalo. But those works, being usually available in hard to get small pamphlets, have never been fully collected and printed in volumes of full works. Luis Arce Borja from *El Diario Internacional* published in 1989 and 1994 two volumes in Spanish under the name "Guerra Popular en el Peru, El Pensamiento Gonzalo", that tried to collect the more important works of PCP. But a lot of crucial documents, like the Interview of Chairman Gonzalo, were missing from those volumes.

This is why the publication of this first edition of collected (and not "full" as we are aware of the shortcomings of this publication) works of PCP is a special occasion. It's the first time in history that an edition, as complete as possible, was compiled, translated where it was necessary, and was published in a series of four volumes, going from the beginning of PCP (1968) to the capture of Comrade Feliciano (1999).

This publication of the Collected Works of the PCP shows the necessity for all the communists and revolutionaries in the world to put Marxism-Leninism-Maoism into practice, and to study Gonzalo Thought, that is the creative application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in Peru, and is, so far, the greatest attempt to develop the fourth stage of Marxism.

We don't pretend that this edition incorporates all the documents of PCP, even if it was our goal. It is obvious that some of the

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statements, leaflets or books could have been lost in the tumult of the people's war. It is also hard to trust some documents released by fractions of the old PCP that are known for forging fake letters and statments for their own benefit.

We decided to conserve the small modification that we've done to some texts in the compilation "CPP and Mao Tsetung" in 1987.

But if some of the comrades possess some documents that we don't, we would be glad to print them in another edition of these collected works.

THE PUBLISHERS,  
CHRISTOPHE KISTLER  
JOSEF HALLQVIST



# TO UNDERSTAND MARIÁTEGUI

CONFERENCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN CRISTOBAL DE HUAMANGA  
IN AYACUCHO, PERU, 1968

It has been a little more than three years since we had the occasion to talk from this place. At the time, we spoke about the problem of education and shared our thoughts on this important issue. It was a wonderful opportunity to talk with you. Today, once again, we have the opportunity to speak with you, but the circumstances are somewhat different.

We are going to speak about José Carlos Mariátegui, of the actuality of his thought, and this task which I have been assigned to address, is not in itself an easy task, at least not to me. First of all, we believe that Mariátegui must be approached with respect, and secondly, we must approach him from a clear and precise position, because otherwise it is not possible in any way to understand the actuality and richness of his thought.

Of course, Mariátegui has been physically dead for many years, but his thought is still profoundly alive, just as it was in the 1930s. It is still vibrant, still current and still a perspective for Perú, while other thoughts of people who are still alive are truly dead.

It is difficult in an hour more or less, to talk on all Mariátegui's thought, so for this reason we want to focus on a few concrete problems and emphasize on what should do facing the image of this great Peruvian. First, we uphold the figure of Mariátegui as a proletarian intellectual. We will not get into detailed dates or other matters which are not of interest now. We will get into central problems set forth by the actuality of the thought of José Carlos Mariátegui.

## TO UNDERSTAND MARIÁTEGUI

After having tried to bury him in silence, much has been written about Mariátegui. Of course, we also see Mariátegui as very highly spoken of, so as to mystify him, to systematically try to twist him, to try to "better" him with senseless pedantry. It has been said in the first place about Mariátegui that he was not a convicted and confessed Marxist and whose thought was not sustained by Marxism-Leninism.

Mariátegui said it himself. He was a convicted and confessed Marxist, fearless, neat and precise. What does that mean? It means that Mariátegui had a proletarian class position. He was plainly and simply on the side of the exploited. Mariátegui felt in his own flesh what the exploited masses of our country felt and during his time, unfortunately for us, a very short life, he translated into deeds what he felt and put in practice written word. Mariátegui had a conception of the world. He had an ideology, and he said many times that his ideology was Marxism-Leninism. He conceived and upheld it, and he based his thesis on the contemporary world. It is not possible to understand things, and it is not possible to understand society and the world, unless we view them from the ideological conception of the proletariat.

Mariátegui was a Marxist-Leninist. If we review his works, Mariátegui tells us that in the current century (he spoke around the 1920's) Leninism was the new form, the highest Marxism acquired at the time. Mariátegui then found his affiliation with Marx and Lenin and that is why he called himself a convicted and confessed Marxist-Leninist. In the third place, Mariátegui had a working method, a method of analysis, an irreplaceable method to understand anything. Mariátegui based himself on dialectical materialism, and his works are convincing proof of that. The first

question, we said, which must be very clear, is the proletarian position of Mariátegui, the Marxist-Leninist ideology nourishing him and the dialectical materialistic method guiding him.

On these three bases it is feasible to understand the figure of José Carlos Mariátegui, but whoever cannot understand Marxism-Leninism, will not be able to understand Mariátegui, and it is not for a lack of enlightening or of intelligence that she or he cannot understand him, but because he is not on the same side, nor has the same light in the brain, nor uses the same method. That must be very clear.

We must base ourselves on facts, start from the class position of Mariátegui, start from his Marxist-Leninist ideology and one must also start, therefore, from his dialectical materialist method. Whoever does not focus on Mariategui with those three viewpoints indicated above, cannot understand his thought and will twist it in many cases in good faith or in the majority of cases, like the feathery hacks, in very bad faith.

Mariategui was a great Latin American Marxist-Leninist and we must be very proud of that fact. There is not in all of Latin America another Marxist-Leninist comparable to him in any way; truly José Carlos Mariátegui is a summit of Latin-American Marxism thought and a greater summit as time goes on.

José Carlos Mariátegui is better appreciated outside our borders. Here in our country he is less wanted, less respected, and even very little known, which is a shame. Mariátegui then is a great Marxist-Leninist, who honors our country and the exploited among our people, but not others, for the others he is a knife sunk in their hearts, which they cannot manage to take it out neither will they are able to take it out.

Mariátegui was not a mere repeater, who simply knew four or five formulas, but he is much more, something more profound, more Marxist. He takes Marxism-Leninism and introduces and fuses it with our reality, he gets it into our country, incarnates it in our soil, and upon incarnating it, introducing it, penetrating it in our country with Marxism-Leninism, he illuminates us with a thought which is still current. The interpretation Mariátegui wrote of our country, in his famous "Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality," (Siete Ensayos de Interpretacion de la Realidad Peruana) is still an unshakable document.

In Mariátegui we see the grip he had, the Marxist and genial grip of being able to fuse the universal reality of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete actuality of our revolutionary prophet. Very few persons have this quality and Mariátegui had it in excess and grandeur, and we must recognize it. Whoever does not understand the development of Marxist ideas in our country; cannot understand what is happening in Peru, and evens less, of course, can he call himself a revolutionary? Unfortunately there many revolutionaries out there who know Mariategui's thought and still fear it, a justified fear, because it is a good touching stone to find out who are genuine revolutionaries and who are not. That's the reason why they fear Mariátegui. Mariategui's Seven Essays are still a fundamental part of Peruvian thought.

Mariategui developed seven masterful interpretations for us from the Marxist viewpoint, and from the one and only correct viewpoint of our Peruvian reality. Many talented and well-versed scholars with a contrary viewpoint have tried to discredit that little book, from the reactionary position of Don Victor Andres Belaunde (TNF: Bourgeois Peruvian Historian), but their efforts have failed.

THE IMMORTAL BOOK

Mariategui's little book "Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality" is still very much alive, while that of Don Victor Andres Belaunde has been read only by very few (mostly for historical curiosity.) We must start from this, what Mariategui is telling us in that little book, in this small volume which constitutes a vision of the People's War in our country. Mariategui does an analysis of our economy, which is a vital and fundamental issue. It is impossible to understand a society if we don't understand its economic structure, unless we understand the social relations of exploitation which are the social economy, the political economy. All else are fabrications (TNF: Spanish word "engendros"). What does he tell us about Perú? He characterized it very concretely; Peru is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. He shows and proves it in his scheme of the economic process of our country. Mariátegui also develops an outline of social classes in Perú and their historical development, and he states, with other words, of what today is the Marxist thought in Perú being developed under Mao Tsetung's thought.

Mariategui not only develops an outline of the relations of exploitation in our country, not just an outline of the social classes, he also makes a schematic that describes the evolution of ideas in Perú. He speaks, for instance, of the literary problem, something we must study sufficiently to realize how literature has evolved in Perú, and how it has had a clear class character. Mariátegui makes a fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of our country, and as a result, the best, the most profound meaning of that reality emerges. This analysis of the Peruvian reality is the basis to continue advancing theoretically what he masterfully began. No one was able to seriously refute the theoretical thesis of Mariátegui, the most they could do, is to come up with superficial outlines, but they could not make the building that he designed and built so quickly and at such a

young age.

Much has been said that the "Seven Essays," was simply journalistic work, putting them down as only the work of a newspaperman. There is even a certain individual --the mere saying of his name, Ravines [TNF: usurped the Party's leadership after Mariátegui's death], pollutes the air around us-- he claiming things like this: "what can one think about Mariátegui, why so much noise about Mariátegui if he was only a frivolous journalist." That person did not understand a bit about Mariátegui; of course, how could he understand anything about Mariátegui, when he was one of those who deviated from Mariátegui's road (just like a player of a team who takes off his shirt and goes over to help the other side.) Because they lack the proletarian conception and the method of Mariátegui, that shirt will not help them. With time and exposure to the sunlight, things lose their color and become yellowish.

For this reason, the problem is not external, but three little things, three basic things about Mariátegui: his class position, his ideology and his method. Whoever is on the side of the proletariat, of the peasantry and of the exploited classes in our country is in a position to understand Mariátegui; whoever does not assume this attitude, this class position, whoever has one foot on the side of the exploited, and the other foot on the side of the exploiters, whoever cautiously sides with the exploited, but at heart is with the exploiters, is not able to understand Mariátegui; that's why we see so many salivating varmints out there. However, their spit will never reach the height of the steps reached by Mariátegui more than 30 years ago.

## MARIATEGUI WAS A FIGHTER FOR THE PROLETARIAT

We would like to go on to another point which cannot be

unlinked from the one above. These are tied like the two sides of a sheet of paper, inseparably linked. I am referring to Mariategui as a proletarian fighter, a great figure, an extraordinary thinker and also an extraordinary organizer, and the first militant Marxist fighter of our country. We must also put that out very clearly.

José Carlos Mariátegui came to our country from Europe. He brought new ideas and a new task, a mission: to build socialism in Peru. That was his mission and he fulfilled it. He worked tirelessly for socialism, he lived for socialism, he outstretched himself for socialism, and he died for socialism. At all times he remained unbeatable, with an erect spinal cord, without twisting accommodations. When one studies a bit, one finds in Mariategui a work plan, some kind of organizational development of the proletariat in our country. In the first place, he works to prepare the work of workers unions, he shows up as one of the creators of classic trade unionism. Before him there already were union struggles in the country, but Mariátegui sets the bases for proletarian industrial unionism. Mariátegui is the founder of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP). The CGTP is Mariátegui's work. He was its ideologist, its mentor, who built it organically and who conceived its foundations and organizational characters.

One of the first organizations the proletariat needs is the structuring of an industrial and trade Central Union. Mariategui understood that very well, but he not only understood it, since Mariátegui was not the type of person who upon understanding something, just laid back relaxing on the enjoyment of his own lucidity, but quite the contrary, he felt the need to fulfill the task this understanding demanded of him. He did all the preparatory work of the CGTP constitution and platform. Any constitution, no matter what it is, has two consecutive parts, two elements which together form any organization or institution. First, the

ideological part, that is, the dynamics of thought, the formation of a programme, the constitution of its points of agreement, the importance of a statute, etc., and a second part, the constitution of the organization apparatus strictly speaking. That was understood by Mariategui profoundly and masterfully, and following his Marxist analysis, Mariategui was the creator of the CGTP.

## THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF PERUVIAN WORKERS (CGTP)

There is a very interesting thing: in developing the statutes, Mariategui made a class conscientious, proletarian workers' union statute which is still awaiting to fulfill its realization. That is ironic, but more than ironic, it is proof of the disorientation and confusion that after him have imposed certain individuals in the workers' union movement in our country. If you read the CGTP statutes, in the first place you'd find some sort of introduction, an orientation says Mariategui, and it set forth how the proletariat sees the world of today, how there is a struggle which cannot be disguised, a struggle which cannot be swept under the rag, a struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and in turn he sets forth, that there is a class ideology one must follow to create a union organization, he sets it forth clearly and in a very precise language. Then, what does Mariátegui do?

Mariátegui sets forth the general bases of the organic constitution of that union organization, but he does not do it so meticulously as to suffocate it, but in general lines, and basic points which allow for the development and initiative of the people. We cannot tell the people, "when you get down a ladder, do it first with the right foot." We must allow for their initiative, their creativity, let them think with their own heads so they can understand the issues, so they learn instead of being forever "under age." He thought about the people that they did not need at all times a sort



of guiding dog, because the people aren't blind. Mariátegui understood that very well and that's why he drew the general bases for the organization. Also, when Mariátegui addressed the problem of the unions he referred to formidable ideas not found in any statute. The only favorable difference of today's statutes is that they are printed in a better quality paper.

Mariátegui sets forth the means of the struggle and speaks to us about the strike. Why does Mariátegui set forth things that way? Because in the organization one must also speak to them of the means and tactics to wage a struggle, in accordance with what we want to achieve, there is a form of the struggle.

It is important to say this, because if one reads the newspapers of today in our country, *La Prensa*, for instance, it claims that the strike is a poor method, inadequate, a method just for extremist agitators. *La Prensa* wants to domesticate the proletariat wishing it never goes on strike, but rather appeal to Congress (parliamentarism), to compromise, it pretends that the victim of theft discusses about the stolen goods with the thief. In any struggle, it is important, it is fundamental, to see what the means of the struggle is, the ways in which struggle is conducted, and what is the basic and fundamental demand that allows the mobilization of the masses, and mobilizing them for one sacrosanct reason: because through active mobilization the people open their eyes and understand and free themselves from apathy and atavism and go on to generate those who will conduct the struggles (their leaders). For this reason, a mass movement is very important, for that reason it's good to highlight this fundamental point in the statutes of the CGTP. Mariátegui also addresses the problem of propaganda and agitation. The people need their own voice to say their own words. They don't need for others to say it instead of them. The people may not talk in a florid language, they may not have a polished language, they might make mistakes

on diction, but it does not matter. What counts is that the people say what they feel, what they see, what they need and struggle consistently and to the end for what they want, regardless of defeats, because any defeats the people may suffer are temporary, all of them, each and every one of them; Mariátegui takes care of that too and when we read the statutes he speaks of propaganda and agitation.

If we study at this long historical period from Mariátegui's death, we see how this entire problem has not been understood and how reaction may shout at us every day. However, we cannot find a daily press expressing the voice of the workers, we can't find such a thing because the problem, how Mariátegui set it forth, has never been well understood. If we do this small summary of what was proposed right in the statutes of the CGTP, then we see the extraordinary capacity Mariátegui possessed and the means of solution. Mariátegui understood perfectly well this problem: "As long as they are organized, the people are invincible." Lenin, extraordinary in every sense, said: "the people are invincible, but only when they are organized like steel, united on its own principles."

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTRY

Mariátegui proposes that the people, first and foremost, must define their ideological and political position, second, they must forge their organic structure.

But Mariátegui not only takes care of organizing the workers, the gigantic work of Mariátegui does not end there, but he sees something else: he understands our country to its very entrails and discovers that in our country there are peasants. Mariátegui not only studies them but understands their role, understands their historic mission, and what it is that oppresses them.

Mariátegui says that in Perú, there are peasants who are crushed by the feudalism oppressing them. This feudalism has two expressions: Latifundia and serfdom that damned urge to exploit, to live off somebody else's labor. Mariátegui understands all that and pinpoints the fundamental cause, the malady, the origin, the historic source is feudalism which still prevails in our country. He says our country is semi-feudal and, that is a mountain yielding its weight over and crushing the Peruvian peasant. The problem of the Peruvian peasant is the problem of the land, and the problem of the land is summarized by how to conquer that land. How can the land be conquered? Mariátegui proposes that the peasantry be organized and he is the first to sow it under a correct concept, to fight for it from a proletarian viewpoint, indefatigable in the organization of peasants. Mariátegui has a profound work that is seldom read, because many consider it simple political work rather than a scientific one. Some people have monumental blindness. Mariátegui begins to address the peasants' problem and proposes organic forms, and he does an analysis in his work "Sketch of the Indigenous Problem," which was presented at an international meeting.

Mariátegui analyzes the situation of the peasantry in our country, of interest to us is that right there he proposes forms to organize the peasantry. Mariátegui calls for organizing unions of peasants, to form peasant leagues, to set forth organizations capable of mobilizing of the peasantry. Mariátegui understands that without organization the people are very weak and cannot fight. However, he does not stop there, he proposes the need to create a workers-peasants alliance, that is, one of the most fundamental principals of any revolutionary process.

Mariátegui points this out and goes further. He proposes two extraordinary things; with respect to Power, Lenin said: "the problem of the revolution is the problem of Power." That is

fundamental, everything points to conquering power, to retain it or to maintain it. Some believe that Mariátegui was a deformed humanist or a humanistic bourgeois liberal. Mariátegui goes much further and says that there is something else to do in the problem of organizing the peasantry: to find out the weaponry of the peasants, to organize the revolutionary armed forces of the peasantry. Now, don't tell me I am promoting this: I am merely speaking of Mariátegui, and Mariátegui proposes arming the peasantry as one of the necessary forms of organizing them; he not only proposed that, but proposed that Soviets needed to be formed, and that is most correct and applicable from A to Z, wholly and absolutely, outside little fears we might have. That was how Mariátegui proposed things.

## THE PARTY

Mariátegui resolves the political problem in our country. He knows perfectly well that the proletariat has organic forms such as workers unions, workers' alliances, and workers' weaponry. Well, Mariátegui knew that these three things we just mentioned amount to nothing if there is no brain guiding it. So then Mariátegui proposes founding a proletarian party and creates the party of the proletariat in our country. Anyone studying the problem of the ideas in Peru must recognize that fact. But out there we see some of the ilk of Carlos Tapia [TNF: the same individual who nowadays -1990's- is a well-paid Senderologist, an agent of reaction] saying that Mariátegui was not the founder of the Communist Party of Perú, that what Mariátegui founded was the Socialist Party of Perú, "because Mariátegui was a man of ample concepts, and an ample spirit, Mariátegui was not sectarian. He was not narrow minded, and he was very gentlemanly in his ideas." That seems like a defense of Mariátegui, but in reality it is the worst offense that can be done to Mariátegui. Mariátegui would accept anything except that, which is like telling him: "you

were a bad man, at the end, you broke down when you were only 35."

There are some "defenders" whom we are better off telling them, do not defend me, because you are sinking me, and that is what we need to tell to these "defenders of Mariátegui," who speak about a non-sectarian Mariátegui, and ample and democratic one, so ample as to confuse the exploiters for the exploited. Mariátegui founded the Communist Party of Peru, which at first was not thus named: it was named the Socialist Party. There arises the aforementioned Mr. Ravines saying, "we can prove it with documents and everything else," he says with trembling voice that he [Mariátegui] founded the Socialist Party and not the Communist Party. "I founded the Communist Party," states the miserable Ravines.

But that is false. It is true that Mariátegui founded the Socialist Party, but affiliated to the III International and subject to the principles stipulated by Lenin in 1919. How is that about? Mariátegui creating a Socialist Party instead of a Communist Party, however one affiliated to the Communist International? Were those really ignorant people who thought that this party was not the Communist Party, yet in reality it was? Mariátegui wrote its constitutive charter, its birth certificate. Mariátegui was present there. Mariátegui also wrote the party programme. We must refer to the documents found in the works of Martínez de la Torre [TNF: a biographer and close comrade of Mariátegui.], there we find the programme written by Mariátegui himself, the program of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). How is that? He does not create the Party, yet creates that document? Does that mean that those in the International were not aware? They say he did not create it, yet was affiliated to the International. He does not create it, yet writes its constitutive charter. Simply what we see is a conspiracy to wrest away from us the immense figure of

Mariátegui.

Mariátegui dedicated his life and tireless work to accomplish what he thought was his duty, to participate in the struggle for Peruvian socialism. But he wasn't only a mere participant but the one who generated it. Since then, socialism in our country has a filiation, an ideal. We are in the process of rediscovering the figure of Mariátegui.

## WE ARE THE LEGITIMATE HEIRS OF MARIATEGUI

We want to speak about the actuality of Mariátegui. But first we must speak of the enemies of Mariátegui. You already know that he died young, at age 35; his work remained largely to be done and he set the bases for his practical work. His work has had many ups and downs: open felonies, untold betrayals, opportunists attempting to cover themselves under his shade. It also has, naturally, individuals who have defended it consistently and some who today want to go back to his figure, to his source. With Mariátegui physically dead, certain elements, certain individuals, certain weasels whose name I do not even want to mention here, arise as the ones carrying the banner of Mariátegui, for the express purpose of systematically renege and distort his thought and betray in deeds the legacy they claim to have received. How do these self-proclaimed heirs of Mariátegui behave politically? , What is their practice? By their deeds you will know them. The way they act today they will act tomorrow and with still more reason in 1969. In words, they cover Mariátegui with praise, they fill column after column in newspapers to pay him homage. They call for massive and popular picnics, ostensibly to heighten the figure of Mariátegui. Behind Mariátegui's name, they pretend to hide their many years of betrayals in our country, more than 30 years. They are old and proven betrayers. Can anyone heighten the image of Mariátegui, recognize him, without

following his thought? In no way is this possible. How could they have been followers of Mariategui when, unlike the Amauta [TNF: El Amauta referring to Mariátegui, the teacher] who held that the country is semi-feudal and semi-colonial, they hold, with very loose bones and shamelessly, that Peru is a dependent nation? How can they be followers of Mariátegui? These gentlemen say, and it is on their posters, in their documents around everywhere, they claim that Mariátegui's thought is still current, is still real, concrete, that Mariátegui's economic analysis is still reality in our country, but that Peruvian society is semi-feudal and dependent. Let's repeat what Mariategui says? Mariategui says that Perú is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, and that its semi-colonial character will go on worsening and establishing itself more with the increased penetration of imperialism. Let's ask ourselves a simple question: Has imperialism penetration increased or not since the time of Mariátegui? The clear answer is obviously yes. It has penetrated more. If imperialism has penetrated more, has what Mariátegui said been fulfilled or not? He told us that with the further penetration of imperialism, and of semi-colony we would be even more at risk of becoming a total colony, that is, definitely losing our sovereignty. Mariátegui proposed, for instance, a workers and peasants front and to make Soviets. And what do these self-proclaimed followers of Mariátegui preach? They preach to make a front with the bourgeoisie. How about the workers and peasants? They are not in their plans, except for the very few they bring in pulling them from their ears, to falsely represent the genuine workers. But what do these supposed followers say? That we should participate in elections that through elections we will conquer power. What kind of followers are these? I refer myself to Mariátegui's documents. Can these gentlemen be called followers of Mariátegui? No. They are smokers of Mariátegui, arsonists of Mariátegui's work. They burn a lot of frank incense for the purpose of covering the saint with ashes, to tar him so no one will

be able to see how he really was and still is. Much picnicking, much phrase mongering, elevating the figure of the man while prostituting his thought. They mention Mariátegui a lot while denying his revolutionary vision. Are these followers of Mariátegui? No. They are traffickers, enemies of Mariátegui. They want to reduce the celebration of Mariátegui to merely commemorate his death (TNF: Las Romerías al Amauta. Yearly delivery of flowers and candle light to Mariátegui's tomb by revisionist groups in Peru). Very symptomatic. They celebrate his death because they celebrate that he is dead, understand? When should we be much happier of the fact that he was born, like for the great figures of the world, nobody celebrates the day Lenin died, but all celebrate the day on which Lenin was alive. We know them better for their deeds. We must not accept that. We must fight all those who oppose Mariátegui, who denies he. But it is not only Mariátegui who has those kinds of enemies.

#### THOSE "SUPERSEDING" MARIATEGUI'S WORK

He also has hidden enemies. Those individuals who keep on saying: "On what year was it that Mariátegui wrote? In 1928? Ah!," They say, "that was forty years ago! In 40 years historical science has progressed much in the world. The methods of investigation have progressed much, studies on Peruvian history have advanced both on the archeology, on history of the republic, on history of the Inca empire, "these things have advanced so much as to "exceed the reach of Mariátegui."The affiliation of these superseders is the same of the improvers of Marx. These "petty superseders"have not even been able to supersede their own narrow minds. They are liars, false, traffickers. What do these individuals do? They have the habit of accumulating data: that typical intellectual richness of the bourgeoisie. Data is a bourgeois concept. They believe that the more data one has, the better interpreter one is, the better understanding one has of the



national situation; which of course it is absurd. That is not where the problem lies, it is not a matter of accumulating data, because we simply are not mere counting machines; the problem lies on the interpretation, and Mariátegui called it "Seven Essays of Interpretation," not seven essays of data accumulation. And the problem of interpretation is a problem of class position, of proletarian ideology and of dialectical materialist method. What happens is that his superseders have yet to grasp the problem of knowledge in the bourgeoisie and in the proletarian. What happens is that these superseders want to make a Marxist interpretation of Perú, with a bourgeois concept in their heads, that is what really happens. What is the end result? A chili pot which not even they themselves are able to digest and that is how ambiguous things get: "Perú is semi-capitalist, Perú is a semi-colony, Perú is a neo-colony, but Perú is the same time semi-feudal, at the same time that it is capitalist." But what the hell is Perú? The problem with these individuals is that they lack unity of thought, not because they are less intelligent. They may have a great intelligence, great wit, but they lack a base. It is a like building a house that has a roof but lack of a foundation. They lack class position and that is why they cannot go further. They digress, make grandiose interpretative schemes, lucid and brilliant schemes about a stage of the country or of today's Peruvian society, but they are unable to get to the crux of the problem and therefore, end up talking about Perú having curious situations of class or curious alliances. There is nothing curious in Perú, society is not curious at all.

Society is governed by laws, but those who do not follow Marxism cannot understand those laws. To these friends, to these gentlemen who pretend to overcome Mariátegui, we must tell them to understand what the problem is, show them what a gross mistakes they make when they try to understand Mariátegui while keeping the bourgeois system in their heads. They will never

succeed.

One of the most debated problems is the capitalist character of Peru, because Mariátegui held that Perú is semi-feudal and that is correct. They claim Mariátegui made a mistake because he said we are semi-feudal when we are capitalist; what happens is that at the bottom of the thought of those individuals there is no dialectic mechanism, they believe that revolution is not feasible unless the forces of production are largely developed. That concept was superseded already: Lenin made of these ideas "mashed potatoes," but some still revive it.

Some people claim to have superseded Mariátegui. In what does this betterment consist? Where is the well-thought document showing us that the country is this or that way, or that the revolution must have this or that character? That is another problem, because Mariátegui says that the first stage of the Peruvian revolution is national democratic, people's democratic, but the superseders of Mariátegui say, no, the revolution is socialist. Finally, there is another set of twisters, they extract or cut little sentences of Mariátegui's work, then begin to make weird mental elaborations, somewhere Mariátegui says something about religion, he has an opinion about religion, about the myth, but then some rub their hands with glee, their soft hands which have never done any field work, and say: deep down Mariátegui was a mystic and not a Marxist, he was a humanist that suffered and pained for Peru.

Mariátegui set forth clearly that Marxism-Leninism is universal. The superseders take hold for one sentence of his in which he said that the revolution in Perú will not be traced nor copied. Mariátegui set forth Marxism as a universal truth and that universal truth he transferred into our reality. It is not as some say that Mariátegui attempted to squeeze reality within the narrow

Marxist scheme that is what Mr. Victor Andres Belaunde said. No. Mariategui has not done that. Mariátegui was not a senseless man. Mariátegui was a Marxist man and he understood things as a scientist, although he had an anti university feelings, this was because he was against the rigid, obsolete and a feudal university we had in our country, not against the people's university which he shone with his thought.

Reactionaries pretended to show a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois Mariátegui, and some have even said Mariátegui was a populist [laughter], a populist in the sense that it was Mariátegui who developed the pro-peasantry thought in Perú, a Mariátegui who did not develop a proletarian conception, but a conception from the viewpoint of the peasantry. That is a lie and a gross distortion. Mariátegui is a Marxist, he does not have the peasantry viewpoint, because if he had it, he would be a petty bourgeois revolutionary and nothing else.

## TO STUDY AND TO DIFFUSE

What conclusions must we the revolutionaries draw about Mariátegui's thought? First, to study and diffuse José Carlos Mariátegui. Why study Mariátegui? Because much is spoken about him in our country, but very little by him is read. Let's do a retrospective analysis and see if we have read the 10 little volumes written by Mariátegui? Strictly speaking, do we know his political proposals? Are we familiar with his anti-imperialism viewpoint? How many times have we think about the problem of an anti-imperialist viewpoint? How much have we meditated about the problems of Mariátegui? Not much.

Mariátegui is a man who shines in our country: there is no one else of this magnitude. What figure do they pretend to counterpoise? To Mr. Riva Agüero, that apprentice of fascism who

never even became a consistent one? Neither did Don Victor Andres Belaunde managed to put forth a consistent thought. Belaunde is a superficial man, who today is taken for a thinker. His work on St. Augustine does not go beyond pure quackery, it is shell without substance. We must spread Mariátegui's thought. What have we done for the fortieth anniversary of Mariátegui? Have we studied him in depth? Have we held discussions at the base level, organize seminars and conferences on the Seven Essays? Have we attempted to try to apply what Mariátegui said and to follow his line to understand in that light, the current situation in the country? Have we picked up the lantern to be able to see where we are going? We have not done so. Concretely, here is what I propose. I think we must set forth activities to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the Seven Essays. How do we do that? For now, at least by discussing it. Secondly, it seems to me that we have another task: the problem of defending Mariategui, who is being attacked openly, and covertly.

Mariátegui is a source of light which we cannot allow to be turned off, to be slander, we cannot allow for it to be seemed through colored lenses, so we would be forced to see black what is red, so his fundamental ideas would get twisted. We cannot allow that, we have to defend Mariátegui, because if we do not, then Mariátegui will be continued to be cast aside. We'd then be following the same policy of the reactionaries: what reaction did, was to take Mariátegui, chained and threw him in jail, and then tried to silence his ideas.

We must free Mariátegui, because if we do not, then neither can we liberate ourselves. Of course, this is not a personal problem but a problem of liberating all people. In third place, I think we must further the study of Mariátegui, I do not pretend to supersede or overcome Mariategui, I do no want to be classified in quarters of the superseders, but I think we must develop

Mariátegui further, take his ideology, his method, his sources as a base, and develop these problems. For example, how we analyze the Peruvian economy of 1968, in the light of the 1928 essay? It would be a magnificent thing to do the same with literature, with the problem of the land, women and other problems. I think that this is a duty and we the intellectuals, must fulfill it, and the workers as well as the peasants because we find many portions of his work which refer to them in plain and clear language. In conclusion, Mariátegui is a great example, united with other figures in our history, such as, for example, Tupac Amaru.

### THE EXAMPLE OF MARIATEGUI

Mariátegui is a historic figure of our country. Even if a recent one, he already has a perfect historical dimension that excels. He is the country's ideologist. There is no other one. The reactionary ideologists are dwarfed and defeated by Mariátegui.

We must do it. How wonderful it would be if there were a few more people like him! Because I am quite convinced that individuals like Mariátegui are not born and forged every day, but every once in a while. His family name can be changed and assumed by his relatives or not. What matters here is the example. We must raise his figure as an example to follow, as a guide of the revolution in our country, and our country is deeply changing and will change even more. It has been said, nobody can stop history, it may be deviated a bit for a short while, but not more. Mariátegui, therefore, is an example to us, but an example of what? Mariátegui is an example of proletarian revolutionary, not more, not less. We do not make him bigger. Mariátegui doesn't want that we exalt him nor he wants that we take away his merits. If we say he is an example of a revolutionary, then we would be stripping him of his proletarian family name; if we take the proletarian position out of him, then Mariátegui would be just one

more among many.

## AN ITTY BITTY THEORETICIAN

[TNF: In Spanish "Un Teoriquito Pequeñito" or a little theoretician] And what does it mean? I study Mariategui to understand what is about, I see his work, his life, and I find in Mariátegui's work a theoretical development, a Marxist-Leninist analysis of our problems, a great theoretician of Perú and of Latin America.

We must follow that example; I am not proposing that we must be equal to him, but only that we follow his road. For instance I could make a little prologue. For instance, I could do something following his light on this level, and by doing so I would be an itty bitty theoretician, but I am on his road, and if we join together all the itty bitty truths that we may be reaching at while following the road of Mariategui, then it becomes a huge river of truth. Who is more responsible for doing this? The intellectuals. But not the plain intellectuals because our country and its development not only demand intellectuals: It demands revolutionary intellectuals. What does it mean? Mao Tse-tung answer is luminous and precise and very realistic when he says we must fuse ourselves with the exploited masses of workers and peasants. He says that very concretely. If one wants to be revolutionary intellectual then one must fuse himself with the masses, work with them, feel like they do and think like they do. But this is a process, because we must leave aside our status, our business suits, we must become revolutionary intellectuals. That is a reflection proper to all of us, which carries us to the second part. In Mariategui, we see the man of action, a doer, even when he confronted some personal problems, like his family, his health, he always put those problems behind his main task.

Mariátegui was very consistent. He sacrificed all for his work because he understood the importance of it, because he was a fighter, whoever is not a fighter, is not a Marxist-Leninist.

We must follow his road, truly, letter by letter, it will be difficult to follow his road, but we must follow it.

I think some ideas have been clarified, so try to take out all the embellishment and multitude of florid words, and retain what is essential, the synthesis, the schematic, the outline, there remain, thus, a few ideas, especially the need of enthroning the thought of Mariategui, of defending it and following his example. The destiny of our people is at stake. Either we enthrone the thought of Mariategui, or the country does not go forward.

# LATIN AMERICA: PEOPLE'S WAR GREAT VICTORIES AND BRILLIANT PERSPECTIVES

BANDERA ROJA NO. 42, MAY 1970

"The revolutionary war is the war of the masses, and it can only be realized by mobilizing the masses and being supported by them."

"Our principle is: The Party commands the gun, and we will not allow the gun to command the Party." Mao Tse Tung

The world political situation has entered a new era: That of Mao Tse-tung thought (today Maoism-TNF) Under this sign, we have witnessed events in the past few years that have changed the world considerably. The National Liberation struggles have advanced unstoppably, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China has achieved great victories, the International Communist Movement has been strengthened, and the masses throughout the world, (even inside the imperialist and social-imperialist countries) have unleashed furious revolutionary storms, shaking up the entire obsolete and rotten system of exploitation of man by man.

THE FOUR CORNERS OF THE WORLD ARE ON FIRE TODAY.

The sparks of the Peoples' War set the prairies on fire. The violent conflagration of the revolution is extending, forever devouring the old world, sinking all the reactionaries in desperation and opening new and nearer hopes for all mankind.



## LATIN AMERICA IS THE "BACKYARD" OF NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

By way of its semicolonial policy, imperialism has penetrated more ferociously in the Latin American countries, accelerating the exploitation and plundering of the natural resources, oppressing and ruining the masses of the people, mainly the workers and peasants.

By way of their global counterrevolutionary strategy, the imperialists have as a priority to "strengthening" their puppet and lackey regimes. Thus, strengthening the position of feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists, by the centralization of the economy, the media, and the use of political chicanery by making them adopt "nationalist" and pseudo-anti-imperialist poses, by funding, training and developing the reactionary army, the modernization of its weaponry and repressive apparatus, the perfecting of its methods of assassinations, and the increase of its material reserves.

All the above is being done in order to unleash a bloody counterrevolutionary war, in which they attempt to use the "masses against the masses." Their goal is to keep in power not only weak and venal reactionary politicians, but military commanders and chiefs who are much more corrupt and savage and ready to massacre the people without blinking an eye.

In the eyes of the imperialists, fascist regimes and police states offer greater "stability" and "efficiency" in safeguarding their interests as well as in the violent repression of the Peoples' War. In the last decade, the military "corps" has been directly controlled by the imperialists and their "CIA-agents" subjecting most of the Latin American countries under fascist boots. Our Communist Party (PCP) has pointed out the preventive nature of

these imperialist plans many times. The real objective of modifying certain structures is to adapt them to their semicolonial plans, assuming that they will be more "productive" to them before the explosion and proliferation of guerrilla groups, and therefore, aiming at "preventing armed struggles, to contain the stormy advance of the Peoples' War."

Violent repression has always been the main weapon used by the imperialists and reactionaries. At the least sign of guerrilla activity, they launch themselves frantically, to completely destroy them as soon as possible.

"Burn all, destroy all, and kill all" is their policy used against the masses and patriotic sectors, and against the wounded and captured guerrillas they apply the policy of "war without prisoners." Their barbaric proofs of ferociousness toward the unarmed population and captured fighters are constant, including their methods of mass murder and refined CIA techniques of torture and physical annihilation.

The reactionaries have promoted and maintain, mainly in the cities, secret groups of criminals and degenerates, who with the open support of reactionary authorities have caused the violent death of thousands of patriots and progressives.

In the Peoples' War that the peoples of Latin America will eventually have to confront, they will face extremely harsh conditions in its development. It will have to overcome the most difficult conditions ever in history. But the imperialists and reactionaries are not invincible. (Our people will contribute to bury definitively all the exploiters.)

The Soviet Social Imperialists and other revisionists, showing their treacherous and counterrevolutionary face, as principal

accomplices of Yankee imperialism, deceitfully proclaim and agitate their "peaceful transition to socialism." In reality, it means submission, servility and worship to the imperialists. Because while collaborating politically and economically with the old rotten dying landlord-bureaucratic states, they call for the violent repression of the masses. Thus, under the baton of their repulsive chieftains, the revisionists of Latin America have carried out successive and permanent counterrevolutionary activities, of shameless treachery and sabotage to the revolution and the Peoples' War.

In their desperate attempts to get the "benefit" of legality, they have not hesitated to launch the most rapid attacks against the Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary violence. The revisionists have rendered "services," in favor of the enemy, and in the measures in which armed actions prosper. And when they are incapable of obstructing the growth of the revolutionary movement from the outside, they introduce themselves or infiltrate their ranks, after hypocritical demonstrations of support, in order to capture the leadership and use the guerrilla groups in their political negotiations for "legality."

The experience of Latin America has confirmed the counterrevolutionary actions of Trotskyism and the damaging effects of its fallacious thesis of "decisively anticapitalist" struggle. Many revolutionary [cadres and leaders] were murdered by the police "thanks" to the information provided by revisionists and Trotskyists. Only the people will judge them for the blood of these fighters.

With the victory of the armed struggle in Cuba in 1959, and the activity of the Castroist movement, Latin America has suffered an erroneous and harmful influence by part of petty-bourgeois "tercerismo."

Tercerismo is a renewed version of the vain attempts of the petty-bourgeoisie to substitute the proletariat as the leading factor in the revolution and wrest away its hegemony. The terceristas and their "ideologues" spread their so-called "particularity" of the revolution in Latin-America, fiercely attacking Marxism-Leninism-MaoTse-tung Thought [today Maoism], preaching its obsolescence, as well as the universal laws of the People's War.

Petty-bourgeois terceristas substitute the proletarian politics by bourgeois politics. They negate the leadership of the working class and their political party, and trust the actions of the group of petty-bourgeois heroes and their bourgeois military line. They pay homage to weapons and reject the protracted and systematic political work among the masses (especially the peasantry), favoring guerrilla "focos" for the auctioning of wandering armed bands. They cultivate spontaneity, initiating the military activities without considering the political conditions and the subjective desire of the masses (acting above the conscience of the masses.)

All attempts by tercerismo have ended in defeat, as it was inevitable. Their vanguard endeavors, which pushed them to adventurism, have led them from failure to failure, and to suffer painful losses.

All revolutionaries have the obligation and need to study and systematize the experiences accumulated [by our people] up to now. The continuation of the struggle demands it. The best recipe to murder the revolution is to collude with revisionism and Trotskyism. The best recipe to lead the revolution to failure is to lead it on the road of petty-bourgeois tercerismo. These are the lessons drawn at the cost of the blood of so many fighters.

In Venezuela, for example, petty-bourgeois terceristas, erroneously

analyzing the conditions, (opposed at first) of taking the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside limited themselves to mobilize small petty-bourgeois sectors. They went ahead with urban guerrilla actions, practicing spontaneity and relying on the struggle of isolated elements. Their incapacity to link the revolutionary work to the workers and peasants movement, and the violent repression unfolded by reaction in the cities, forced them to abandon the cities. Later, some decomposed themselves going over to "legality" and accepting concessions, and others climbed the mountains to continue the fight in rural areas.

The revisionists, forced by the circumstances to join such groups, became agents of political corrosion to the fighters and ended up, as in other cases in Latin America, offering the guerrillas in their negotiations as bargain chips in exchange for their "legal" recognition. In the end, they were cowardly betraying, putting themselves in the tail of reaction, and shouting their stupid slogans of "democratic and peaceful development," "electoral participation," and so on.

Castro's support for terceristas, as has happened in other cases in Latin America, was conditioned to their being subject to his orientations, or those of the pseudo organizations formed for that purpose, that is, external "leading centers," violating the Marxist-Leninist principle that the revolution is done by the peoples of each country, led by their major staff, the "Communist Parties."

Another example is the case of Colombia. Armed struggles emerged there in response to one of the most brutal repressions against the people ever recorded in America. Reactionary actions were personified by "violence" that systematically murdered thousands of patriots and covered Colombia with blood.

In Colombia, revisionists and terceristas played the same role as

in Venezuela, the first ones by shamelessly sabotaging and betraying the revolution, and the latter, by leading the guerilla groups to failure. After the treason of Vicera and hard blows by the reactionary army, the groups disintegrated. Some degenerated in banditry, while others attempted to organize what it became to be known as the "independent republics of Marquetalia and El Pato." They were isolated from the large popular sectors, unable to extend their influence to any large degree, and unable to strengthen themselves through the mobilization of the masses. Thus, they were an easy prey of the counterrevolution.

In the last few years, the guerrilla struggle has revived in Colombia, but this time showing a greater tendency to orient the struggle to the proletarian conception of the People's War. As long as this position advances and leads the struggle in Colombia, it will achieve victories for their people. It will be a great contribution to the Latin-American revolutionary movement.

In Perú, the guerrilla groups that initiated their activity in 1965, under the noxious influence of tercerismo, spread away their forces, under the illusion that by so doing, they will disperse the forces of the enemy. They became into wandering bands, almost with no links to the peasants' masses, they made use of the golden rules of tercerismo: "constant distrust, constant security, constant vigilance," which in essence means: mistrust and contempt for the peasants' masses.

Meanwhile, the Cuzco guerrillas adopted the tactic of passive defense, of defending their territory inch by inch, rejecting active defense, which is a consistent Marxist-Leninist concept, and the only correct guiding thought for the peoples to be victorious in their revolutionary wars. They also built their "camps" in mountain regions, isolated from the centers of large concentrations of peasants naively thinking themselves to be

impregnable [to enemy fire.]

The case of Bolivian guerrillas constitutes a typical example of the activity of petty-bourgeois terceristas in Latin America, and one of the most important acts of adventurism perpetrated by Castroism. As worshipers of spontaneity, they trusted "prestige" more than the work of political mobilization of the masses, twisting the genuine concept of proletarian internationalism, and initiating their activities with their hopes in the bases of logistic support external to the guerrillas, neglecting the Marxist-Leninist line of only relying on their own efforts.

The failure of the National Liberation Army (initials in Spanish ELN) in Bolivia and the death of Che Guevara and the Peredo brothers, meant the total bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois tercerismo in Latin America. It was, besides, a clear example of the treachery of revisionists, and the false support preached by Castro.

The erroneous political orientation, and consequently, the erroneous military line, the isolation of the masses, the lack of revolutionary perspectives, and the abandonment of revolutionary work, led to some of the terceristas to terrorist activities in the cities, reducing themselves to such false methods. Others are getting closer, however, at the cost of painful and bloody experiences, to the road of the People's War, of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought [today Maoism].

The proletarians "need not only a just Marxist political line but also a just Marxist military line." Without the guidance of a correct political line, it is impossible to develop a correct military line, and without a correct military line, it is also impossible to apply and implement a correct political line.

This truth has been understood by the Marxist-Leninist [Maoist] parties of Latin America, which have made efforts to prepare themselves for the People's War and dare to carry on the People's War, following the proletarian military line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Thanks to the correct orientation of the Marxist-Leninist [Maoist] parties and the powerful influence of the International Communist Movement, the idea that "power grows from the barrel of the gun," a priceless teaching of Mao Tse-tung, that has taken deep roots in the masses, there is a greater and more profound understanding of the basic ideas of the People's War and the People's Army: the War of the People, and the Army of the People.

Understanding the road of the People's War, and under the Leadership of their Communist Parties, the Marxist-Leninists [Maoists] of Latin America have consistently gone to the rural areas to do political work among the peasants' masses, and to lay down the bases for revolutionary wars.

The leadership of the Communist Parties, the Marxist-Leninists is a very important and essential factor for the triumph of the People's War in Latin America. Only such Parties, armed with the invincible Mao Tse-tung Thought [Maoism], will be able to carry on assuredly and victoriously the revolutionary struggles until the end.

Our glorious Communist Party is a firm Marxist-Leninist [Maoist] party. Within our Party have been always struggles at every historical stage of the development of the revolution, between two diametrically opposed military lines. Our party has known how to successfully defend the proletarian military line, contributing mightily to defeat the false theories of contemporary



revisionism and petty-bourgeois tercerismo.

In particular, the present internal struggle, against the liquidators, has left our Party in the best conditions and has gotten us closer to the brilliant reality of the People's War. Our Communist Party is committed to contribute to the struggle of the peoples of Latin America with the development of the struggle of the Peruvian people, maintaining itself firmly on the side of the fraternal parties in Latin America, and envisioning that the People's War in Perú will provide greater contributions to the total victory of the world communist movement.

Only by firmly struggling against revisionism, trotskyism, all revisionists including the petty-bourgeois terceristas, and by discrediting them thoroughly and completely, will we be able to fight truthfully and resolutely against imperialism and feudalism.

We must energetically destroy the bourgeois military line and eradicate its venomous influence in Latin America. We must prioritize the politics of the proletariat, which is to say Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought [Maoism], and the thought of Jose Carlos Mariategui, and our Party's line. We must insist on arming our cadres, militants, and the masses, with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. The decade of the 1960's was a stage of victory for Marxism-Leninism in Latin America and the entire world and the new decade of the 1970's will bring about even greater victories for world revolution.

We have achieved great victories. Let us warmly welcome the new decade. The perspectives are brilliant.

LONG LIVE THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE-TUNG

COLLECTED WORKS OF PCP - VOLUME 1 (1968-1987)

THOUGHT!

DOWN WITH PETTY-BOURGEOIS MILITARISM!

# MARXISM, MARIATEGUI AND THE WOMEN MOVEMENT

PCP - CENTRAL COMMITTEE - APRIL, 1975

## I. THE WOMAN QUESTION AND MARXISM

The woman question is an important question for the popular struggle and its importance is greater today because actions are intensifying which tend to mobilize women; a necessary and fruitful mobilization from the working class viewpoint and in the service of the masses of the people, but which promoted by and for the benefit of the exploiting classes, acts as an element which divides and fetters the people's struggle.

In this new period of politicization of the masses of women in which we now evolve, with its base in a greater economic participation by women in the country, it is indispensable to pay serious attention to the woman question as regards study and research, political incorporation and consistent organizing work. A task which demands keeping in mind Mariátegui's thesis which teaches that: "WOMEN, LIKE MEN, ARE REACTIONARIES, CENTRISTS OR REVOLUTIONARIES, THEY CANNOT THEREFORE ALL FIGHT THE SAME BATTLE SIDE BY SIDE. IN TODAY'S HUMAN PANORAMA CLASS DIFFERENTIATES THE INDIVIDUAL MORE THAN SEX." That way, from the beginning, the need to understand the woman question scientifically doubtlessly demands that we start from the Marxist concept of the working class

### 1. The theory of women as "deficient feminine nature"

Through the centuries the exploiting classes have sustained and

imposed the pseudo-theory of the "deficient feminine nature," that has served to justify the oppression which up to now women experience in societies in which exploitation continues to prevail. That way, the Jewish men's prayer: "Blessed be God, our Lord and Lord of all the worlds, for not having made me a woman" and conformity by the Jewish women who pray "Blessed be the Lord who has created me according to his will," clearly express the contempt the ancient world had for the woman's condition. These ideas also predominated in Greek slave society; the famous Pythagoras said "There is a good principle which has created order, light and man and there is a bad principle which has created chaos, darkness and woman;" and even the great philosopher Aristotle pronounced: "the female is female by virtue of certain qualitative fault," and "the character of women suffers from a natural defect."

These proposals passed on to the final period of Roman slave society and to the Middle Ages, the contempt for woman intensifying in Christian thinkers by imputing her with being the source of sin and the waiting room of hell. Tertulian claimed "Woman you are the door of the devil. You have persuaded him whom the devil did not dare to attack frontally. By your fault the son of God had to die; you should always go dressed in mourning and rags"; and Augustine of Hipona "The woman is a beast who is neither firm nor stable." While these condemned, others passed sentence on feminine inferiority and obedience; thus Paul of Tarsus, the apostle, preached "Man was not taken from woman but woman from man;" and "Just as the church is subject to Christ, let woman be submitted in all things to her husband." And hundreds of years later, in the 13th century, Thomas Aquinas followed with similar preaching: "Man is the head of the woman, just as Christ is the head of man" and "It is a fact that woman is destined to live under the authority of man and that she has no authority by herself."

The understanding of the feminine condition did not progress much with the development of capitalism, since while Candorcet pointed out its social root when he said: "It has been said that women ... lack a sense of justice, and that they obeyed their feelings rather than their conscience ... that difference has been caused by education and social existence, not by nature," and the great materialist Diderot wrote: "I feel sorry for you women" and "in all customs the cruelty of civil laws joined the cruelty of nature against women. They have been treated as imbeciles"; Rousseau, advanced ideologist of the French Revolution insisted: "All education of women must be relative to that of men ... Woman is made to yield to man and endure his injustices." This bourgeois position is carried on to the age of imperialism, becoming more reactionary as time goes on; which, joined to Christian positions, and reiterating old theses sanctioned through John 23: "God and nature have given women various chores which perfect and complement the chores entrusted to men."

That way we see how throughout time the exploiting classes have preached the "deficient feminine nature." Sustaining themselves in idealist concepts they have reiterated the existence of a "feminine nature" independent of social conditions, which is part of the anti-scientific "human nature" thesis; but this so-called "feminine nature," eternal and invariable essence, is also called "deficient" to show that the condition of women and their oppression and patronage is the result of their "natural inferiority compared to man." With this pseudo-theory it is intended to maintain and "justify" the submission of women.

Finally, it is convenient to point out that even an outstanding materialist thinker like Democritus had prejudices with respect to women ("A woman familiar with logic: a fearful thing"; "Woman is much more prone than the male to think evil"). And that the

defense of women is based in metaphysical or religious arguments (Eve means life and Adam means land; created after man, woman was finished better than him). Even the bourgeoisie, when it was a revolutionary class, only conceived of women in reference to men, not as independent beings.

## 2. The development of capitalism and the women's movement.

The development of capitalism will incorporate women into labor, providing the basis and conditions for her to develop; that way, with their incorporation into the productive process, women will have the chance of more directly joining the class struggle and combative action. Capitalism carried out the bourgeois revolutions and in this forge, the feminine masses, especially working women, advanced.

The French Revolution: the most advanced one of those led by the bourgeoisie, was a great nourishment for feminist action. Women got mobilized together with the masses, and participating in the civic clubs, they developed revolutionary actions. In these struggles they organized a "Society of Revolutionary and Republican women," and through Olimpia de Gouges, in 1789 they demanded a "Declaration of the Rights of Woman" and created newspapers like "The Impatient" to demand improvements in their condition. In the development of the revolutionary process women won the suppression of the rights of the first born male and the abolition of the masculine privileges, and they also obtained equal rights of succession with males and achieved divorce. Their militant participation rendered some fruits.

But once the great revolutionary push was halted, women were denied access to the political clubs, their politicization was suppressed and they saw themselves blamed and urged to return

to the home, they were told: "Since when have women been allowed to renounce their sex and become men? Nature has told woman: be a woman. Your chores are to tend to infants, the details of the home and the diverse challenges of motherhood." Even more, with bourgeois reorganization initiated by Napoleon, with the Civil Code, a married woman returned to be subject to patronage, falling under her husband's domain in her person and goods; she is denied the questioning of paternity. Married women, like prostitutes, lose their civil rights, and they are denied divorce and the right to transfer their properties.

In the French Revolution we can already see clearly how the advance of women and their setbacks are linked to the advances and setbacks of the people and the revolution. This is an important lesson: The identity of interests of the feminist movement and the people's struggle, how the former is part of the latter.

Also this bourgeois revolution shows how the ideas about women follow a process similar to the political process; once the revolutionary upsurge was fought and halted, reactionary ideas re-emerged about women. Bonald maintained: "Man is to woman as woman is to child"; Comte, considered the "father of sociology," proposed that femininity is a sort of continued infancy and that this biological infancy is expressed as intellectual weakness; Balzac wrote: "The destiny of women and their only glory is to make the hearts of men beat. The woman is a property acquired by contract, a mobile personal property, because the possession is worth a title; in all, speaking properly, woman is but an annex to man." All this reactionary ideology is synthesized in the following words by Napoleon: "Nature wanted for women to be our slaves ... They are our property ...; woman is but a machine to produce children"; a character for whom feminine life should be oriented by "Kitchen, Church, Children," a slogan endorsed by Hitler in

this century.

The French Revolution raised its three principles of liberty, equality and fraternity and promised justice and to meet the demands of the people. Very soon it showed its limits and that its principled declarations were but formal declarations, at the same time its class interests were counterpoised to those of the masses; misery, hunger and injustice kept on prevailing, except under new forms. Against such an order of things the utopians launched themselves with a sharp and demolishing criticism although, due to historic conditions, they could not reach the root of the evil. Utopian socialists also condemned the condition of women under capitalism. Fourier, representing this position, pointed out: "The change of an historical age can always be determined by the progress of women .. the degree of emancipation of woman constitutes the natural path for general emancipation."

Confronted with this great assertion it's worth counterpoising the thought of the anarchist Proudhon about women, and keep in mind his ideas when there are attempts today to propagate anarchism to the four winds, presenting them as examples of revolutionary vision and consequence. Proudhon maintained that woman was inferior to man physically, intellectually and morally, and that represented together numerically, women have a value of 8/27 the value of man. So for this hero a woman represents less than a third of the value of a man; which is but an expression of the petty-bourgeois thought of its author, a root common to all anarchists.

Throughout the 19th century, with their increasing incorporation into the productive process, women continued to develop their struggle for their own demands joining the workers' unions and revolutionary movements of the proletariat. An example of this participation was Luisa Michel, a fighter at the Paris Commune of



1871. But the feminist movement in general oriented itself towards suffragism, to the struggle to get the right to vote for women, in pursuit of the false idea that in getting the vote and parliamentary positions their rights would be respected; that way feminist actions were channeled towards parliamentary cretinism. However it is good to remember that the vote was not achieved for free but that during the last century and the start of this century women fought openly and determinedly to get it. The struggle for the feminine vote and its achievement show once more that, while this indeed was a conquest, it is not the means allowing a genuine transformation of the condition of women.

The 20th century implies a greater development of the feminist economic action, women workers increase massively, as well as women employees, to whom are added strong contingents of professionals; women enter into all fields of activity. In this process world wars have great importance because they incorporated millions of women into the economy to substitute for the men mobilized to the front. All this pushed the mobilization, organization and politicization of women; and starting from the 1950s the feminist struggle starts again with greater force, amplified in the 1960s with great perspectives for the future.

In conclusion, through the economic incorporation of women, capitalism set the basis for their economic autonomy; but capitalism by itself is not capable of giving formal legal equality to women; in no way can it emancipate them; this has been proven throughout the history of the bourgeoisie, a class which even in its most advanced revolution, the French Revolution of the 18th century, could not go further than a merely formal declaration of rights. Further on, the later development of the bourgeois revolutionary processes and the 20th century show not only that the bourgeoisie is incapable emancipating the masses of women,

but with the development of imperialism the bourgeois concept as regards the feminine condition becomes more reactionary as time goes on and in fact confirms the social, economic, political and ideological oppression of women, even if it disguises and paints it in myriad ways.

### 3. Marxism and the emancipation of women.

Marxism, the ideology of the working class, conceives the human being as a set of social relations that change as a function of the social process. Thus, Marxism is absolutely opposed to the thesis of "human nature" as an eternal, immutable reality outside the frame of social conditions; this thesis belongs to idealism and reaction. The Marxist position also implies the overcoming of mechanical materialism (of the old materialists, before Marx and Engels) who were incapable of understanding the historical social character of the human being as a transformer of reality, so irrationally it had to rely on metaphysical or spiritual conditions, such as the case of Feuerbach.

Just as Marxism considers the human being as a concrete reality historically generated by society, it does not accept either the thesis of "feminine nature," which is but a complement of the so-called "human nature" and therefore a reiteration that woman has an eternal and unchanging nature; aggravated, as we saw, because what idealism and reaction understand by "feminine nature" is a "deficient and inferior nature" compared to man.

For Marxism, women, as much as men, are but a set of social relations, historically adapted and changing as a function of the changes of society in its development process. Woman then is a social product, and her transformation demands the transformation of society.

When Marxism focuses on the woman question, therefore, it does so from a materialist and dialectical viewpoint, from a scientific conception which indeed allows a complete understanding. In the study, research and understanding of women and their condition, Marxism treats the woman question with respect to property, family and State, since throughout history the condition and historical place of women is intimately linked to those three factors.

An extraordinary example of concrete analysis of the woman question, from this viewpoint, is seen in *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, by F. Engels, who, pointing to the substitution of mother right by father right as the start of the submission of women, wrote:

"Thus, the riches, as they went on increasing, on one hand provided man with a more important position than woman in the family, and on the other planted in him the idea of taking advantage of this importance to modify the established order of inheritance for the benefit of his children .... That revolution--one of the most profound humanity has known--had no need to touch even one of the living members of the gens. All its members could go on being what they had been up to then. It merely sufficed to say that in the future the descendants of the male line would remain in the gens, but those of the female line would leave it, going to the gens of their father. That way maternal affiliation and inheritance by mother right were abolished, replaced by masculine affiliation and inheritance by father right. We know nothing of how this revolution took place in the cultured peoples, since it took place in prehistoric times .... The overthrowing of mother right was THE GREAT HISTORIC DEFEAT OF THE FEMALE SEX THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. Man also grabbed the reigns of the house; woman saw herself degraded, turned into a servant, into the slave of man's lasciviousness, in a

mere instrument of reproduction." (Our emphasis.)

This paragraph by Engels sets the fundamental thesis of Marxism about the woman question: the condition of women is sustained in property relations, in the form of ownership exercised over the means of production and in the productive relations arising from them. This thesis of Marxism is extremely important because it establishes that the oppression attached to the female condition has as its roots the formation, appearance and development of the right to ownership over the means of production, and therefore that its emancipation is linked to the destruction of said right. It is indispensable, in order to have a Marxist understanding of the woman question, to start from this great thesis, and more than ever today when supposed revolutionaries and even self-proclaimed Marxists pretend to have feminine oppression arising not from the formation and appearance of private property but from the simple division of labor as a function of sex which had attributed less important chores to women than those of men, reducing her to the sphere of the home. This proposal, despite all the propaganda and efforts to present it as revolutionary, is but the substitution for the Marxist position on the emancipation of women, with bourgeois proposals which in essence are but variations of the supposed immutable "feminine nature."

Developing this materialist dialectical starting point, Engels teaches how on this basis the monogamous family was instituted, about which he says: "It was the first form of family not based on natural but on economic conditions, and concretely on the triumph of private property over spontaneously originated, common primitive property." And: "Therefore, monogamy in no way appears in history as a reconciliation between man and woman, and even less as a higher form of marriage. Quite the contrary, it enters the scene under the form of the enslavement of one sex by the other, as the proclamation of a war between the

sexes, up to then unknown in prehistory." (Origin .... Our emphasis.)

After establishing that private property sustains the monogamous family form, which sanctions the oppression of women, Engels establishes the correspondence of the three fundamental forms of marriage with the three great stages of human evolution: savagery and marriage by groups; barbarism and pairing marriage; civilization and monogamy, "with its complements, adultery and prostitution." That way the Marxist classics developed the thesis about the historically variable social condition of woman and her place in society; pointing out how the feminine condition is intimately linked with private property, the family and the State, which is the apparatus that legalizes such relations and imposes and sustains them by force.

This scientific proposition systematized by Engels is a product of the Marxist analysis of the condition of women throughout history, and the most elementary study fully corroborates the accuracy and actuality of these proposals, which are the foundation and starting point of the working class for the understanding of the woman question. Let's make an historical recount allowing us to illustrate what Engels and the classics set forth.

In the primitive community, with a natural division of labor based on age and sex, men and women developed their lives on a spontaneous equality and participation of women in the social group decisions; later on women were surrounded with respect and consideration, a deferential and even privileged treatment. Once riches began to grow, which heightened the position of men in the family, pushing forward the substitution of father right for mother right, women began to move to the background and their position deteriorated; echoes of this reach the times of the great

Greek tragic Aeschillus, who in his work *Eumenida*, wrote "It is not mother who engenders that which is called her son; she is only the nurse of the embryo deposited in her womb. Who engenders is the father. The woman receives the seed as a foreign depository, and she preserves it if so pleases the gods."

Thus, in Greek slave society the condition of women is that of submission, social inferiority and object of contempt. Of them it is said: "The slave absolutely lacks of the freedom to deliberate; woman has it but in a weak and inefficient manner" (Aristotle); "The best woman is that of whom men speak the least" (Pericles); and the answer by the husband who investigates public affairs "it's not your thing. Shut up lest I hit you... Keep on weaving" (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*) What reality is entailed by these words? Women in Greece were kept as perpetual minor; under the power of their tutor, whether the father, the husband, the husband's heir or the State, their lives passed under constant tutelage. They were provided a marriage dowry so they had something on which to live and did not go hungry, and in some cases they were authorized to divorce; for the rest, they were reduced to misogynism in the home and in society under the control of specialized authorities. Women could inherit when there was no direct male heir, in which case she had to marry the oldest relative within the paternal gens; that way she would not inherit directly but was merely a transferor of inheritance; all to preserve the family property.

The condition of women in Rome, also a slave society, allows a better understanding of it as derived from property, the family and the State. After the reign of Tarquinius and once patriarchal right was set up, private property and therefore the family (*gens*), became the basis of society: women will remain subject to patrimony and the family. She was excluded from every "virile job," and in public affairs she was "a civil minor"; she is not

directly denied inheritance, but is subject to tutelage. On this point said Gaius, the Roman jurist: "Tutelage was established in the interest of the tutors themselves, so the woman of whom they are supposed heirs cannot wrest their willed inheritance from them, nor impoverish it by alienation or debts." The patrimonial root of the tutelage imposed upon women was therefore clearly exposed and established.

After the Twelve Tables, the fact that women belonged to the paternal gens and to the conjugal gens (also strictly for reasons of safeguarding property) generated conflicts which were the basis for the advancement of the Roman "legal emancipation." The "sine manu" marriage appears: her goods remain dependent on her tutors and her husband only acquires rights over her person, and at that shared with the "pater familias," who retains an absolute authority over his daughter. And the domestic tribunal appears, to resolve discrepancies which may arise between father and husband; that way the woman can appeal to her father for disagreements with her husband, and vice versa: "it no longer is the matter of the individual."

On this economic basis (her participation in the inheritance even if tutored), and the conflict between the rights of the paternal and conjugal gens for the woman and her goods, a major participation of Roman women in their society develops, despite the legal restrictions: the "atrium" is set up, the center of the house, which governs work by the slaves, conducts education of the children and influences them until a rather advanced age. She shares the works and problems of her spouse and is considered co-proprietor of his goods. She attends parties and on the street she is given preferential crossing, even by consuls and magistrates. The weight of Roman women in their society is reflected by the figure of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

With Roman social development, the State displaces the contention among the gens and assumes the disputes about women, divorce, adultery, etc., which went to be heard in public tribunals, abolishing the domestic tribunal. Later on, under imperial rule, tutelage on women will be abolished, answering to social and economic demands. Women get a fixed dowry (individual patrimony) which does not return to the agnates (parental relatives) nor belongs to the husband; that way she is given an economic base for her independence and development. By the end of the Republic mothers had been given recognized rights over their children, receiving custody of them due to the father's misconduct or his being placed under tutelage.

Under emperor Marcus Aurelius, in the year 178, a great step is taken in the process of property and family: children are declared heir to their mother in preference to agnates; that way the family is based on a link of consanguinity and the mother emerges as equal to the father before the children, the children also are recognized as children of the wife and, derived from the above, the daughter inherits just as her male siblings.

But while the State "emancipates" women from the family, it submits them to its tutelage and restricts their acts. And simultaneously to the social rise of women, an anti-feminist campaign was initiated in Rome invoking their inferiority and invoking their "imbecility and fragility of the sex" to legally reduce them.

In Rome then, socially women had it better than in Greece and acquired respect and even great influence in social life, as shown by the words of Cato: "Everywhere men govern women, and we, who govern all men, are governed by our women." Roman history has outstanding exalted women, from the Sabines, through Lucretia and Virginia to Cornelia. Criticisms of women, not as



women but as contemporaries, developed by the end of the First and Second centuries of our era; in this way Juvenal reproaches them: lasciviousness, gluttony, to dedicate themselves to manly occupations and their passion for hunting and sports.

Roman society recognized some rights of women, especially the right to property, but did not open to them civil activities and much less public affairs, activities which they developed "illegally" and in a restricted way; for that reason Roman matrons ("having lost their ancient virtues") tended to seek other fields in which to employ their energies.

In the decline of slavery and the development of feudalism, to consider the feminine situation one must keep in mind the influence of Christianity and the Germanic contribution. Christianity contributed quite a bit to the oppression of women; among the fathers of the church there is a definite demeaning of women, whom they consider inferior, servants of men and sources of evil. To what has been said let's add the condemnation by St. John Chrisostomus, a saint of the Catholic Church: "No savage beast is as damaging as woman." Under this influence the advances reached under Roman legislation are at first mitigated and later on denied.

Germanic societies based on war gave women a secondary situation due to their smaller physical strength; however they were respected and had rights which made them an associate of their spouse. Let's remember that on this subject Tacitus wrote: "in peace and in war she shares his luck; she lives with him and dies with him."

Christianity and Germanicism influenced the condition of women under feudalism. Women were in a situation of absolute dependence with respect to the father and husband; by the times

of king Clovis "the mundium weighs over her during all her life." Women developed their lives completely submitted to the feudal lord, although protected by the laws "as property of man and mother of children"; her value increases with fertility, being worth triple the value of a free man, a value she loses when she can no longer bear offspring: woman is a reproductive womb.

As happened in Rome, also under feudalism we see an evolution in the condition of women, in function of the curbing of feudal powers and the increase of royal powers: the mundium is transferred from the lords to the king; the mundium becomes a burden for the tutor, yet the submission by tutelage is kept.

At the convulsive times when feudalism was formed the condition of women was uncertain; since the rights to sovereignty and property, public and private, were not well specified, the condition of women was changing and heightened or lowered according to social contingencies.

First they were denied private rights, because women had no public rights. Until the 11th century force and arms impose order and sustain property directly: to jurists, a fiefdom "is a land possessed with charge of military service" and women could not have feudal right since they could not defend it with arms nor render military service. When fiefdoms turn into patrimonies and are inheritable (according to Germanic norms women could also inherit), feminine succession is admitted; but this does not improve their condition: woman is just an instrument through whom dominion is transferred, as in Greece.

Feudal property is not familial as in Rome, but of the sovereign, of the lord, and women too belong to the lord; it is him who chooses her husband. As it was written, "an heiress is a land and a castle: suitors contended to dispute that prize, and often the

young woman is only 12 years old, or younger, when her father or lord gives her as prize to any baron." The woman needs a lord who "protects" her and her rights; thus a Duchess of Burgundy proclaimed to the king: "My husband has just died, but what good is mourning ...? Find me a husband who is powerful, because I much need him to defend my lands." In this form her spouse had great marital power over the woman, whom he treated without consideration, mistreating her, beating her, etc. and whose only obligation was to "punish her reasonably," the same some codes required today to correct children.

The prevailing warlike conception made the medieval knight pay more attention to his horses than to his wife, and the lords preached: "damned be the knight that seeks advice from a woman when he should participate in a tourney". While women were commanded: "get into your apartments, painted and gilded; sit in the shade, drink, eat, weave, tint the silk, but bother not of our affairs. Our affairs are to fight with sword and steel. Silence!" That is how the medieval world of the lords demeaned and cast their women away.

The 13th century saw the development of a movement of literary women, which traveling from south to north increased their prestige; the same one which was linked to chivalry, love and the intense Marianism of that era. It did not modify it deeply, as S. de Beauvoir said in *The Second Sex*, a book in which abundant information about the history of women is found; useful data, of course, aside from the existentialist concepts of its author, since it is not ideas which fundamentally change the condition of women, but the economic basis sustaining it. When the fiefdom goes from a right based on military service to an economic obligation, we see an improvement in the condition of women, since they are perfectly capable of fulfilling a monetary obligation; that way the seignorial right to marry his vassals is suppressed and women's

tutelage is extinguished.

In this way, whether single or widowed, women have the same rights as men; in possessing a fiefdom she governs it and fulfills its administrative duties and even commands its defense, participating in battles. But feudal society, like all those based on exploitation, requires the submission of women in marriage, and marital power survives: "the husband is the tutor of the wife," is preached; or as Beauvoir said: "As soon as marriage was consummated, the goods of one and the other are common by virtue of the marriage," justifying marital tutelage.

In feudal society, as in others ruled by exploiters, slavery or capitalism, what has been described about the condition of women has governed and governs; but we must highlight that only in the condition of poor women can we see a different and softer condition in the face of marital power; the root of this situation must be seen in the economic participation by women of the popular classes and in the absence of great riches.

The development of capitalism takes feudalism to its decomposition, a situation which impresses its marks on the condition of women, as we have seen already. It suffices to emphasize that in the beginning and development of the burghs, women took part in the election of deputies to the General States; which shows feminine political participation, as well as the existence of rights over family goods, since the husband could not alienate real properties without the consent of the wife. However, absolutist legislation will soon fetter these norms to fight off the diffusion of the bad bourgeois example.

This historical exposition exemplifies the thesis by Engels and the classics on the social roots of the condition of women and its relationship to property, family and State, it helps us to

understand its certainty and see its actuality more clearly. All this carries us to a conclusion, the need to firmly adhere to the working class positions and apply them to understand the woman question, participate in its solution, and reject, constantly and decisively, the distortions of Marxist theses on the subject and the so-called superior developments which are but attempts to substitute bourgeois ideas for proletarian concepts on this front, to disorient the women's movement on the march.

Having exposed the social condition of women and the historical outline of its development linked to property, family and State, what remains is to treat the question of the emancipation of women from a Marxist viewpoint.

Marxism fundamentally holds that the development of machinery incorporates women, as well as children, into the productive process, thereby multiplying the number of hands to be exploited, destroying the working class family, physically degenerating women and materially and morally sinking them into the miseries of exploitation.

Analyzing women and children at work Karl Marx wrote: "In so far as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing laborers of slight muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all the more supple. The labor of women and children was, therefore, the first cry of the capitalist application of machinery. That mighty substitute for labour and labourers was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage-labourers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the woman's family, without distinction of age or sex. Compulsory work for the capitalist usurped the place, not only of the children's play, but also of free labour at home within moderate limits for the support of the family."

"The value of labour-power was determined, not only by labour-time necessary to maintain the individual adult laborer, but also by that necessary to maintain his family . Machinery, by throwing every member of that family on to the labour-market, spreads the values of the man's labour-power over his whole family. It thus depreciates his labour-power..." Thus we see, that machinery, while augmenting the human material that forms the principal object of capital's exploiting power, at the same time raises the degree of exploitation."

"By opening the factory doors to women and children, making them flock in great numbers to the combined ranks of the working class, machinery finally breaks down the resistance of the male worker to this, despite the despotism of capital within manufacturing." (Capital, Volume I, pp. 394-395. Economic Culture Fund, 1966. Emphasis in original.)

Continuing his masterful analysis, Marx himself describes to us how capitalism uses even the virtues and obligations of women for its advantage: "Mr. E., manufacturer, told me how in his textile mills he employed exclusively women, preferably married ones, and above all those who had at home a family living from or depending on her salary, since these were much more active and zealous than single women; besides, the need to procure sustenance to their families forced them to work harder. In this way, the virtues characterizing women are turned against them: all the purity and sweetness of their character are turned into instruments of torture and slavery." (Note 57 of above quoted volume and edition of Capital, p. 331.)

But just as by incorporating women into production capitalism increased exploitation, simultaneously with this process it provides the material basis for women to struggle and demand

their rights, and it's a starting point for the struggle for their emancipation; since as Engels taught in *Origin...*: "The freeing of women demands as a first condition the reincorporation of the entire female sex into social industry, which in turn requires that the individual family no longer be society's economic unite" (our emphasis). And evidently capitalism, with its own future interests, set the basis for the future emancipation of women, as well as creating the class that will destroy it as it develops: the proletariat.

On the other hand, their economic participation and the development of the class struggle pushes forward the POLITICIZATION OF WOMEN. We already highlighted how the French Revolution pushed forward the political and organizational development of women and how, by uniting them, mobilizing them and forcing them to fight, it set the basis for the feminist movement; we also saw how feminist demands were reached through the rise of revolution, and how their rights were abolished and their conquests swept away when the revolutionary process was fettered and thrown back. However, with all the positive aspects that the incorporation of women into the French Revolution had, the resulting politicization of women was but elementary, restricted and very small compared to the major advance represented by the politicization of women by the working classes. What does this politicization imply? When capitalism massively incorporates women into the economic process, it wrest them away from inside of the home, to attract them mostly to factory exploitation, making industrial workers out of them; that way women are forged and developed as an integral part of the most advanced and latest class in history; women initiate their radical process of politicization through their incorporation into the workers' union struggle (the great change implied by this is observed concretely in our country by the transformation seen in women workers, peasants and teachers of Peru, amidst the union struggle). A woman arrives at more

advanced forms of organization, which goes on building her up and shaping her ideologically for the proletarian concepts, and finally she arrives at superior forms of struggle and political organization by incorporating herself, through her best representatives, into the ranks of the Party of the working class, to serve the people in all forms and fronts of struggle organized and led by the working class through its political vanguard. This politicization process which only the proletariat is capable of producing and the new type of women fighters it generates has materialized in the many glorious women fighters whose names are recorded in history: Luisa Michel, N. Krupskaya, Rosa Luxemburg, Liu Ju-lan and others whose memory the people and the proletariat keep.

For Marxism yesterday like today the politicization of women is the key issue in her emancipation, and the classics dedicated special attention to it. Marx taught: "Anyone who knows something of history knows that the great social changes are impossible without the feminist ferment. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the weak sex." (Letter to Kugelman, 1888.) And to Lenin the participation of women was more much urgent and important to the revolution:

"The experience of all the liberation movements confirms that the success of the revolution depends on the degree in which women participate." (Our emphasis.)

Thus the development of the class struggle and its ever greater sharpening, within the specific social conditions of the revolutionary struggle under conditions of imperialism, sets forth and demands more decisively the politicization of women; that is why Lenin himself, in the middle of World War I and foreseeing future battles for the working class which required preparedness, called to fight for: "17. Abolition of any and all limitations



without exception to the political rights of women in comparison to men. Explaining to the masses the special urgency of this transformation at moments in which the war and scarcity disquiet the masses of people and awaken interest in and attention to politics particularly among women." And he proposed, "it is necessary that we fully develop systematic work among these feminine masses. We must educate those women we have managed to wrest away from passivity, we must recruit them and arm them for the struggle, not just the proletarian women who work in the factories or toil in the home, but also the peasant women, the women in the various layers of the petty-bourgeoisie. They too are victims of capitalism." With those words Lenin demanded the politicization of women, the struggle for demanding their political rights, the need to explain to the masses the urgency of politically incorporating women, the need of working together with them, to educate them, organize them and prepare them for all forms of struggle; finally, he emphasized orienting themselves towards working women; but without forgetting the importance of peasant women and remembering the various classes or layers of women being exploited, since all of them could and should be mobilized for the people's struggle.

From the above we see how the politicization of women was proposed by Marxism from its beginnings, considering women's struggles as being in solidarity with the struggles of the working class; that is why last century Bebel said that "woman and the worker have in common their condition as oppressed," and why the Socialist Congress of 1879 proclaimed the equality of the sexes and the need to struggle for it, reiterating the solidarity of the revolutionary feminist women and the working class struggle. Or as China proclaims today, following Mao Tse-tung's thesis: "The emancipation of women is an integral part of the liberation of the proletariat." (Peking Review, No. 10, 1972.)

This brings us to consider HOW CAN THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN BE ACHIEVED? Investigating capitalist society and societies in general where exploitation and oppression prevail, Engels verified that misery, inequality and submission exist among men, and emphasizing the woman question he pointed out, "The state of affairs with respect to the equality of men and women is no better than their legal inequality, which we have inherited from prior social conditions, is not the cause but the effect of the economic oppression of women." And he continued "Women cannot be emancipated unless they assume a large socially measurable role in production and are only tied insignificantly by domestic work. And this has only been possible with modern industry, which not only admits feminine labor in a large scale but fatally demands it."

This assertion by Engels, taken out of context and unrelated to similar ones from Origin... helps some people, pseudo-Marxists and distorters of Marxism, stretching his ideas, to claim that the mere participation of women in the economic process is sufficient for their emancipation. Engels proposed that the incorporation of women into production was a condition, that it is a base upon which women act in favor of their emancipation, and that this demands to socially end domestic work which absorbs and annihilates women, which to Engels implies destroying private ownership of the means of production and developing large-scale production based on the social ownership of the productive means. We repeat that it is good to be very clear about this thesis by Engels, because today some attempt to hide themselves in this classic to distort the Marxist position on the woman question and preach, for the sake of the exploiting classes, on the plain and simple participation of women in the economic process, hiding the root of women's oppression which is private ownership and sidestepping large-scale social production based on destroying private property of the means of production.

Foreseeing this distortion, as in other cases, the classics analyzed the problem of whether the incorporation of women to the productive process, which capitalism began, was capable of making men and women truly equal. The concise and powerful answer was given once more by Mao Tse-tung in the 1950s: "TRUE EQUALITY BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED IN THE PROCESS OF THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE WHOLE OF SOCIETY."

Lenin researched the situation of women in bourgeois society and compared it with how it was under the dictatorship of the proletariat; an analysis which led him to establish: "From remote times, the representatives of all the movements of liberation in western Europe, not for decades, but during centuries, proposed the abolition of these antiquated laws and demanded the legal equality of women and men, but no democratic European State, not even the most advanced republics, have managed to achieve this, because wherever capitalism exists, wherever private ownership of the factories is maintained, wherever the power of capital is maintained, men go on enjoying privileges."

"From the first months of its existence, Soviet power, as the power of workers, realized the most decisive and radical legislative change with respect to women. In the Soviet Republic no stone was left unturned which kept women in a position of dependence. I am referring precisely to those laws which used the dependent situation of women in a special way, making her victim of the inequality of rights and often even of humiliations, that is to say laws on divorce, on natural children and on the right of women to sue the father in court to support the child." (Tasks of the Women Workers in the Soviet Republic.)

From this comparative analysis the conclusion is taken that only

the revolution which places the working class in power in alliance with the peasantry is capable of sanctioning the true judicial legal equality between men and women, and even further, of enforcing it. However, as Lenin himself taught, this true legal equality initiated by the revolution is but the beginning of a protracted struggle for the full and complete equality in life of men and women: "However, the more we rid ourselves of the burden of old bourgeois laws and institutions, the more clearly we see that we have barely cleared the terrain for construction, yet construction itself has not begun."

"The woman continues to be a slave of the home, despite all the liberating laws, because she is overburdened, oppressed, stupefied, humiliated by the menial domestic tasks, which make her a cook and a nurse, which waste her activity in an absurdly unproductive, menial, irritating, stupefying and tedious labor. The phrase emancipation of women will only begin for real in the country at the time the mass struggle begins (led by the proletariat already owning the power of the State) against this petty home economy, or more precisely, when their mass transformation begins in a large-scale socialist economy." (A Great Initiative; emphasis in original.)

Thus Lenin and Mao Tse-tung answered the anticipated opportunist distortions and pseudo-developments of Marxism which today attempts to distort the theses of Engels and confuse the working class position on the woman question.

Marxism conceives the struggle for the emancipation of women as a protracted but victorious struggle: "This is a protracted struggle, which requires a radical transformation of the social technique and of customs. But this struggle will end with the full victory of communism." (Lenin, On the Occasion of International Working Women's Day.)

The above, in essence, shows there is an identity of struggle between the revolutionary feminist movement and the working class struggle for the construction of a new society; and, besides, it helps to understand the sense of Lenin's words calling women workers to develop the institutions and means which the revolution placed at their disposal: "We say that the emancipation of workers must be the work of the workers themselves and likewise THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN WORKERS MUST BE THE WORK OF WOMEN WORKERS THEMSELVES." (The Tasks ....)

These are the central theses of Marxism on the emancipation, politicization and the condition of women; positions which we prefer to transcribe for the most by quotations from the classics, because these positions are not sufficiently known, and besides that because they were masterfully and concisely expressed by the authors themselves, which relieves us from the task of pretending to give them new editing, more so after seeing their full and complete actuality. On the other hand, the distortions of the Marxist positions attempted today on the woman question also demand the dissemination of the words of the classics themselves.

Finally, it is indispensable, even if only in passing, to make note that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung set forth the thesis of the emancipation of women and not that of women's liberation, as can be appreciated from the cited quotations. On this particular, it suffices to say that the analysis of the condition of woman through history shows her as subject to tutelage and in a situation of submission with respect to the male, which makes woman a being who, while belonging to the same class as her husband or the man she has a relationship with, finds herself in a situation of inferiority with respect to him, an inferiority which the laws bless, sanctify and impose. Consistent with this situation

of undervaluing throughout history we see the need to demand her rights to achieve a formal equality with man under capitalism, and how only the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the proletariat is capable of setting up and fulfilling a genuine legal equality of men and women, though, as we saw, plentiful equality in life, as Lenin said, will develop as large-scale socialist production develops. These simple observations show the certainty of the thesis on women's emancipation conceived as part of the liberation of the proletariat. While the thesis of women's liberation historically surfaces as a bourgeois thesis, hidden at the bottom of which is the counterpoising of men and women due to sex and camouflaging the root of the oppression of women; today we see how women's liberation is exposed more each day as bourgeois feminism, which aims at dividing the people's movement by separating the feminine masses from it and seeking mainly to oppose the development of the women's movement under the leadership and guide of the working class.

## II. MARIATEGUI AND THE WOMAN QUESTION

50 years ago Mariátegui, with his sharp historical foresight, perceived the importance of the woman question in the country and its perspective ("The first feminist quivers are latent in Peru ..."); he devoted two of his works to this question, *Woman and Politics* and *Feminist Demands*, besides many other contributions found in his writings. It is indispensable to go back ourselves to this source, because in it we will find the position of the Peruvian working class with respect to the Woman question; even more, because this problem is a little known and researched aspect of Mariátegui's work.

José Carlos Mariátegui taught us: "In our times life in society cannot be studied without investigating and analyzing its causes: the organization of the family, the condition of the woman;" and

researching the nascent Peruvian feminist movement he said: "Men who are sensible to the great emotions of our times cannot and should not feel themselves out of place or indifferent to this movement. The woman question is part of the human question."

So let's keep in mind that from the beginning of its political emergence the working class of this country paid attention to the situation of women, establishing through its great representative their position with respect to women, as well as offering fighting support to feminist struggles, as shown by the solidarity of textile workers and drivers with the women workers of A. Field Co. in 1926.

What was the feminist development which attracted such accurate attention? The condition of women in the country suffered a noticeable change especially in this century and more specifically after the two world wars. While the condition of peasant women changed more slowly, that of her sisters turned workers and professionals experienced more rapid and profound changes. Evidently the presence of women in our society has been conquering positions ever more widely.

Last century the action and literary work of Clorinda Matto de Turner, Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera and Margarita Praxedes Muñoz, highlighted the feminine presence over a background of millions of peasants, workers and other women who, while anonymous, were subject to harsh social repression of feudal roots. The Peruvian woman of the 19th Century had minimal access to education, and when she was allowed to attend secondary education, the educational norms followed would establish for her a watered down curriculum comparable to the last primary grade for males plus some of the secondary school courses these would follow. The abandonment of feminine schooling is clearly shown by the fact that, while there were

private institutions which tended or prepared students to enter the university, it was not until 1928 that the National Women's School of Lima opened its doors in Lima; up to then there was no such school of its kind in the capital city. It's good to notice how by the end of last century some women educators worried about the education of women, proposing its renewal: it demands overcoming the erroneous concept of "educating them only for marriage, which leads one to think such is their only purpose in life," that their education must not be in the hands of nuns, who having abandoned the world are not in a position of forming good women, and that we need to end the misconception that the single or married woman who works outside the home degenerates socially; at the same time they demand and create new educational centers. Teresa Gonzalez de Fanning was outstanding in this aspect.

Similarly college education was closed to them, their presence at the University is not noticed until the 1890s, and it wasn't until 1908 that women were authorized to enter and seek a degree at the University and exercise the professions. The demeaning of women and their social outcasting is thus clearly seen in education. However with the 20th century transformations, women see an increase in their possibilities to pursue studies and work as professionals, most of them finding work as teachers. Only after World War II is a diversification of women's careers seen. University graduates, whom early in the century could be counted with the fingers of the hand, almost reach the current 30% of college graduates of the country.

But what really would imply a profound, radical and far reaching change is the incorporation of women into factory production. The proletarianization of the Peruvian woman began this century hand in hand with the introduction of machinery and the development of bureaucratic capitalism. We see in our



environment with its specific conditions, the situation described by Marx and which we quoted above, with the productive incorporation of women as workers, the process of proletarian politicization opens up to the feminine masses of Peru. The participation of women in worker's unions begins, women join the struggle for salaries, the eight hour workday and working conditions; they participate in people's struggles together with other workers in actions against the high cost of living and price increases, which develops their ideological understanding, and finally the women of the country amidst revolutionary combat, become political militants of the working class.

The process of the political development of the Peruvian woman, parallel to their incorporation into labor, provided significant gains to the country's class struggle in the first third of this century, among which milestones we must highlight the struggle for the eight hour workday by agricultural workers at Huaral, Barranca, Pativilca and Huacho, in which five female workers offered their lives in 1916, sealing with their blood their adherence to their class. Just as we highlight their participation in momentous actions against rising prices and the high cost of living in May of 1919, actions in which women workers organized a Women's Committee so as to channel their supportive actions and agreed "To make a call to all women, without distinction of classes, to cooperate with their action to the defense of the rights of Peruvian women"; in this great struggle women faced police forces at their meeting on the 25th, during which, after overcoming the bloody police repression, they proclaimed the following conclusions:

"The women of Lima, surrounding towns and peasants met in great public meeting on Sunday 25 May 1919 at Neptune Park, having considered:

"That it is not possible to further tolerate the situation of misery to which the high cost of subsistence goods and residential rents and all of life's necessities have reduced the people; that Peruvian women, as well as women in all civilized countries, have understood their mission to intervene in the resolution of the economic and social problems affecting them;

Have agreed:

1. To make as their own the conclusions of the people's meeting at the Alameda de los Descalzos on May 4th.

2. In case those conclusions are not accepted, to declare a general women's strike in all branches of industry, leaving the date to the discretion of the Men's Committee for Diminishing the Cost of Subsistence" (Martinez de la Torre, Notes for the Marxist Interpretation of the Social History of Peru, Volume I, Lima 1947. Our emphasis.)

Another chapter in this history of women's struggle was waged by Socorro Rojo against the persecution, repression, imprisonment and blood politics unleashed by the dictatorship of Sanchez Cerror defending the rights and liberties of the people, especially the proletariat.

In the struggles referred to, besides the politicization of women, or more strictly, as index of a correct perspective, it must be highlighted that in them the feminine masses waged their actions intimately united to the people's interests, which are their own, and in direct unity with and support for the struggles of the working class, which is their class.

In synthesis, the road traveled by Peruvian women in this century and the final part of last century is marked by their widespread

incorporation into production and under bureaucratic capitalism pushed forward by North American imperialism and by their increased access to education, especially at the university. These are the bases on which the first feminist impetuses of the country will hatch, a phenomenon which Mariátegui described as follows: "Feminism has not made its appearance in Peru artificially or arbitrarily. It has appeared as result of the new forms of intellectual and manual labor of women. The women with true feminist affiliations are those women who work, the women who study. The feminist idea prospers among women in intellectual jobs and in manual jobs: professors, university students, workers. It finds a propitious environment for its development in the university classrooms, which attract more Peruvian women every day; and in the workers' unions, where factory women enroll and organize with the same rights and the same duties as the men. Besides this, we have the feminism of dilettantes, a little pedantic and a little mundane. For feminists of this kind, feminism is a mere literary exercise, merely a fashionable sport." (Feminist Demands; our emphasis.)

It is on this basis that Mariátegui elaborated the position of the Peruvian proletariat on the woman question, by establishing the general line to follow on this matter for whomever wants to develop from a Marxist viewpoint. Let's see the basic problems from this position:

### 1. The Situation of Women.

The starting point of the study of the woman question from the viewpoint of the Peruvian proletariat, demands to keep in mind that Mariátegui represents in the country the application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the material conditions of a backwards and oppressed country, an application which leads him to scientifically present the semi-feudal and semi-colonial

character of our society, in the midst of which a national-democratic revolution has developed since 1928 through a long and sinuous process whose higher stage is still pending. This is the substance and guidance of Mariátegui's thought; and starting from these considerations we must treat all the problems and policies he established, among them what is relevant to the woman question.

Thus Mariátegui starts from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial character of Peruvian society to judge the situation of women. This in itself rejects from the outset the obsolete theory of "feminine nature," conceiving of women in a situation or condition derived from the structure of society in which they function and emphasizing the dynamic, changing character of women's situation, he points out the transforming role work has on the condition of women with respect to social status and ideas about them. The following paragraph expresses this and other points well:

"But if bourgeois democracy has not realized feminism, it has involuntarily created the conditions and moral and material premises for its realization. It has valued women as a productive element, as an economic factor, by making more intensive and extensive use of their work each day. Work radically changes the mind and the spirit of women. Women acquire, by virtue of their work a new concept of themselves. In ancient times society destined women to marriage and idleness or menial work. Today it fates them, above all, to work. This fact has changed and elevated the position of women in life." So it remains clear, for the Peruvian proletariat, that it is society which imparts women their condition and not some mischievous nature; that the feminine condition is a changing one and that it is work which is imparting a great leap in the position and concept of women. This is the Mariáteguist starting point, at the same time it charges

against the biological determinist reduction of women to simple reproducers, and goes against the rose colored myths which treacherously help to maintain their oppression: "the defense of the poetry of the home in reality is a defense of the serfdom of women. Far from ennobling and dignifying the role of women, it diminishes and reduces it. The woman is more than a mother and a female, just as man is more than a male." (The last two paragraphs belong to Feminist Demands, our emphasis.)

Developing the thesis of the social root of the feminine condition, Mariátegui sets out the difference between Latin and Saxon women, establishing the causal connection between feudal background and temperament and differences in each woman: "The Latin woman lives more prudently, with less passion. She does not have that urge for truth. Especially the Spanish woman is very cautious and practical. Waldo Frank, precisely, defined her with admirable accuracy: "The Spanish woman--he wrote--is a pragmatist in love. She considers love as a means of creating children for heaven. Nowhere in Europe is there a less sensual, less amorous woman. As a girl she is pretty; fresh hope colors her cheeks and enlarges her black eyes. To her, marriage is the highest state to which she can aspire. Once married, this innate coquettishness of spring disappears like a season in her: in a moment she turns judicious, fat and maternal." (Signs and Works, Waldo Frank's Rahab.)

What was said about the Spanish woman naturally extends to Latin American women and among them those in this country, and it shows that the feminine mentality generated by the ancient and present feudal background is still not overcome. But besides this, analyzing the relations between imperialism and the oppressed countries of America, Mariátegui highlights the alienating mentality which Yankee domination impresses on feminine mentality: "The limeña [native of Lima--Trans.]

bourgeoisie fraternizes with the Yankee capitalists, and even with their lower employees, at the Country Club, at tennis and on the streets. The Yankee can marry, without any inconvenience of race or religion, the creole señorita, and she feels no scruples of nationality or culture by preferring marriage with an individual of the invading race. And neither does the middle class girl feel any scruples in this respect. The huachafita who is able to trap a Yankee employed by the Grace Corporation or the Foundation does it with the satisfaction of having elevated her social condition." (Imperialist Viewpoint.)

Thus typifying the feminine condition in our society as serfdom of women, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial background which is its root is established, discarding all interpretation sustained by the supposed "deficient feminine nature."

On this basis Mariátegui goes on to the material analysis of Peruvian women belonging to the different classes; he masterfully depicts working women: "if the masses of youth are so cruelly exploited, proletarian women suffer equal or worse exploitation. Up to very recently the proletarian woman had her labor limited to domestic activities at home. With advancing industrialization, she enters the competition in the factory, shop, enterprise, etc. ... Thus we see her in textile factories, cracker factories, laundries, container and cardboard box factories, soaps, etc., where she performs the same work as the male worker, from operating the machinery, to the most menial job, always earning 40% to 60% less than the male. At the same time that women train themselves to do industrial jobs, they penetrate also into the activities of the office, commercial houses, etc., always competing with men and to the great benefit of the industrial enterprises, which get a noticeable reduction in salaries and immediate increase in profits. In agriculture and mining we find proletarian women in frank competition with men, and wherever we may look we find large

numbers of exploited women, rendering their services in all sorts of activities .... In the process of our social struggles, the proletariat has had to set forth specific demands for their defense. Textile unions, which up to now have shown the greatest interest in this question, though not exclusively so, have gone on strike more than once with the object of forcing compliance with regulations which, specified by law, the capitalists simply refuse to implement; we have some capitalists (such as the "friend" of the worker Mr. Tizon y Bueno) who have not hesitated to consider as an "offense" the fact that a woman worker was pregnant, for which "offense" she has been terminated so as to avoid complying with what the law stipulates. At the cracker factory, the exploitation of women is vile." (Manifesto of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers [CGTP] to the working class of the country. The Woman Question; a document edited under Mariátegui's leadership.)

Is this a valid description? Yes; in essence the workers' situation remains the same: the widest exploitation in ever more branches of industry, which in some of them is truly horrifying; the use of female labor so as to lower salaries, based on their salaries being lower than those paid to men; non-fulfillment of laws protecting women and hidden anti-worker positions by the false "friend" of the proletariat. Also very current is the need to support the achievements of the women workers.

Similarly Mariátegui goes on to review the condition of indigenous peasant women, of whom he says that together with their children they are obligated "to render gratuitous services to the proprietors and their families, as well as to authorities"; their miserable condition and social placement has a root: latifundia and serfdom.

As regards the petty-bourgeoisie, besides pointing out the

tribulations of the women of this class, the analysis of primary school teachers helps Mariátegui to establish how the social mean, the nearness to the people and their dedication to full time teaching modifies their attitude and spirits opening them up so in within can be shown "easily the ideals of the forgers of a new social State," since: "None of their interests has anything in common with the capitalist regime. Her life, her poverty, her work, fuses her to the proletarian masses." He proposes addressing them since "in their ranks the vanguard will recruit more and better elements."

## 2. Historical background of the feminist struggle.

As we saw, for Mariátegui industrialization incorporates woman into work and through this it transforms her condition and her spirit. He points out, like the classics, the double situation implied: "When woman advances on the road of her emancipation over a bourgeois democratic terrain, in exchange this fact provides the capitalist with cheap labor and at the same time a serious competitor to the male worker." (Above cited Manifesto.) On the other hand, pointing out that the French Revolution included some elements of the feminist movement, he vindicates the figure of Babeuf, leader of the egalitarians, whom he considers "an asserter of feminist demands" and of whom he quotes the following lucid words: "do not impose silence on this sex which does not deserve to be disdained .... If you do not count on women for anything in your republic, you will make lovers of monarchy out of them" and "this sex that the tyranny of men has always wanted to annul, this sex which has never been useless in the revolutions."

And balancing the contribution made by the French Revolution to the emancipation of women he said in *Women and Politics*:



"The French Revolution, however, inaugurated a regime of political equality for men, not for women. The Rights of Man could have been called rather, the Rights of Males. With the bourgeoisie women ended up much more alienated from politics than with the aristocracy. Bourgeois democracy was an exclusively male democracy. Its development had to end up, however, intensely favorable to the emancipation of women. Capitalist civilization provided women with the means of increasing their capacity and improving their position in life."

Therefore, what the bourgeois class does for women was set accurately: while it is capable of providing conditions for her development, it is incapable of emancipating her. Mariátegui knew this very well: how despite this limitation capitalism, as it develops, opens up for women the doors to various activities, including politics, very especially so in the 20th century, so much that it becomes a symbol of this. Developing this statement, Mariátegui himself vindicates many notable women and points out and demonstrates the contributions many women have made to poetry, to the novel, to the arts in general to the struggle and politics. Thus he teaches us how to judge women of the various classes and celebrities, pointing out their merits and shortcomings and showing what is principal in each individual case and, what is more important, highlighting their contributions to women's advancement.

### 3. Feminist Movement.

A central point and greatly important today is the Mariáteguist proposal on the general problems of women, with his theses on the feminist movement, on which subject three parts are noteworthy: feminism; politicization of women and organization.

With respect to FEMINISM, Mariátegui held that it emerges

"neither artificially nor arbitrarily" among us but it corresponds with the incorporation of women into manual and intellectual work; in this viewpoint he highlights mainly that feminism thrives among women who work outside the home, and points out that the proper environments for the development of the feminist movement are the university classrooms and the labor unions. He then sets forth the directive of orienting ourselves towards those fronts so as to push forward the mobilization of women. Although it must be decided that such orientation in no way implies discounting peasant women; since we must remember that Mariátegui considered the peasant women as the most important class in our process, no doubt peasant women too are a front of mobilization and even more, the main source which the entire feminist movement as well as the proletariat want to reach.

In *Feminist Demands* Mariátegui proposes the essence of the feminist movement: "No one should be surprised if all women do not get together in a single feminist movement. Feminism has, necessarily, several colors, various tendencies. In feminism three fundamental tendencies can be distinguished, three substantive colors; bourgeois feminism, petty-bourgeois feminism and proletarian feminism. Each one of these feminisms formulates its own demands in a different way. The bourgeois woman unites feminism with the interests of the conservative class. The proletarian woman unifies her feminism with the faith of the revolutionary multitudes in the society of the future. The class struggle--an historical fact and not merely a theoretical assertion--is reflected on the feminist stage. Women, like men, are reactionaries, centrists or revolutionaries. They cannot, consequently, all fight the same battle side by side. In the current human panorama, class differentiates individuals more than sex."

This is the essence of our woman question, the class character of the entire feminist movement. And we must keep this very much

in mind, today more than ever, since once more the organization of women is pushed forward; many groups arise, which in general are silent or hide the class character sustaining them, that is, the class which they serve, and preach a unification of women to demand their rights in opposition to men, as if to serve all women united, without distinction of class, for a supposed social transformation "humanist, Christian and in solidarity" social transformation, going through a few intermediate modalities of unclear or confused class positions. Substantially the problem is to ascertain the class root entailed by each women's group, organism, front or movement, to delimit positions and establish whom they serve, which class they serve, and if they are truly or are not on the side of the people.

These questions take us to a crucial problem: according to whose principles, which class criteria and orientation are we to build a feminist movement serving the people? Here Mariátegui's position is brilliant and concise "Feminism, as a pure idea, is essentially revolutionary." And to him, revolutionary essentially meant proletarian; that way the entire people's feminist movement which truly wants to serve the people and the revolution, has to be a feminist movement adhered to the proletariat, and today in our country adherence to the proletariat means adherence to the thinking of Mariátegui.

With respect to the POLITICIZATION OF WOMEN. The Marxist classics have always attached great importance to this point, since without it, it is impossible to develop the mobilization and organization of women, and without these women we cannot fight side by side with the proletariat for their own emancipation. Following his great example, the Peruvian working class like Mariátegui has pointed out the importance of the politicization of women, and highlighted that its deficiency or lack thereof serves reaction.

"Women, for the most part, due to their little or no political education, are not a renovating force in contemporary struggles but a reactionary force." (Figures and Aspects of Life in the World.)

This is sufficiently clear, what we must ask ourselves is this: What does this politicization mean? For the founder of the Communist Party it meant the determined and militant incorporation of women into the class struggle, their mobilization together with the people's interests, their integration into the organizations, individually learning themselves the ideology of the working class, and all this is part of, assessed by and under the leadership of the proletariat. In synthesis, to incorporate women into politics, into class struggle, under the leadership of the working class.

With respect to the ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN. Marxism teaches that in order to face their enemies and struggle for their class interests the proletariat has no other recourse than to organize itself; this principle is applied to the people, who are strong only if organized and therefore also to women, who can only fight successfully when they are organized.

As a "convicted and confessed Marxist" Mariátegui applied these principles creatively. He paid very special attention to organizing the women workers, as is seen in the proposals in the Manifesto of the CGTP referred to above:

"All this accumulation of 'calamities' weighing on the exploited woman cannot be resolved except by immediate organization. In the same way that unions have to build their youth cadres, they must create their women's sections, where our future women militants will be educated."

Mariátegui showed the same concern when under his guidance the statute of the mentioned Confederation was getting ready to form a Permanent Women's Commission at the Executive Committee level. Unfortunately, these orientations have not been correctly put into practice; it has remained a purely bureaucratic union position, called "feminine affairs" or some similar name, when it exists at all, without organically accommodating the women's sections of the unions, thus it remains as a pending task.

Later on, in March 1930, the Communist Party approved the following motion:

"First. Creating a Provisional Secretariat to organize socialist youth, under immediate control of the Party.

Second. Creating a Provisional Secretariat to organize the working women, under the leadership and control of the Party.

Third. Both secretariats will struggle for the immediate organization of youth of both sexes, for their political and ideological education, as a preparatory stage for their admission to the Party" (Martinez de la Torre, *op. cit.*, Vol. II; our emphasis.)

Here Mariátegui's thesis is materialized by the need to pay attention to the women's organizations, even at the most advanced political levels; and his position is expressed that the organization of women is, ultimately, the question of organizing them under the leadership and control of the working class and the Party. Such proposals lead us to ask ourselves, about each women's group, organism, front or movement: For which class, how and for what are women organized? And keep in mind that these points can only be satisfactorily resolved, that is, for the class and the people, by adhering ourselves to the working class positions.

These three questions: feminism, politicization of women and organization of women, and the theses which Mariátegui established must be studied and applied consistently, since only that way can an authentic popular feminist movement be developed.

#### 4. The emancipation of women.

In this point too, like in the classics, Mariátegui also holds that under capitalism and industrialization "women make advances on the road to their emancipation." However under this system she does not even reach full legal equality. For that reason a consistent feminist movement seeks to go further, and on this road it necessarily has to join the struggle of the proletariat. This understanding led the great proletarian thinker of our country to state: "The feminist movement appears solidly identified with the revolutionary movement;" and that although born of liberalism, only with the revolution could feminism be fulfilled:

"Born of a liberal womb, feminism has not yet been able to operate in the capitalist process. It is only now, when the historic path of democracy reaches its end, that woman acquires the political and legal rights of the male. And it was the Russian revolution which explicitly and categorically conferred on women the equality and the liberty which for more than a century, from Babeuf and the egalitarians of the French Revolution, she had in vain clamored for." (Feminist Demands)

And so it is that in parallel with the construction of a new society the new woman will be emerging who will be "substantially different from the one formed by the now declining civilization". These new women will be forged in the revolutionary crucible and will place the old type of woman deformed by the old exploitative

system in the back room of history, a system which now sinks for the genuine dignifying of women.

"In the same measure as the socialist system replaces the individualist system, feminine luxuriousness and elegance will decay... Humanity will lose some luxurious mammals; but will gain instead many women. The clothing of the women of the future will be less ostentatious and expensive; but the condition of this new woman will be dignified. And the axis of feminine life will progress from the individual to the social ... A woman, in sum, will be less expensive but will be worth more." (Women and Politics.)

Besides these basic ideas Mariátegui takes care of other problems intimately linked to women in particular: divorce, marriage, love, etc.; he treats them with fine irony and takes sharply critical positions on them. However, as a good Marxist he does not center his attention on them until taking them as the principal issue. To do so is to forget the principal struggle and fundamental goal, while spreading confusion and disorienting the revolutionary struggle.

Up to this point we have presented and exposition of the central theses of Mariátegui's thought on the women question, in which we have used plentiful quotations for the same reasons we had when dealing with the Marxist positions on the subject.

### III. DEVELOPING THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT FOLLOWING MARIATEGUI

#### 1. Current Relevance of Mariátegui.

A conclusion is obvious from what has been said: the theses Mariátegui held on the woman question resulted from the

consistent application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society like ours. On this, generally, there is no disagreement and even when there is no open adherence, at least by silence an acceptance of such conclusions is shown. However the question is not whether Mariátegui's thought was a correct application of Marxism to the country, the central issue is: how relevant is his thought to the present? This is a subject on which, while expressing an apparent recognition of Mariátegui and so as not to attack his immense and still growing prestige, some question its current relevance by mentioning that more than 40 years have elapsed and raising, erroneously and treacherously, the need to take into account "the creative development of Marxism in order to surpass it."

Analyzing this point leads us to review, if only in passing, some of the positions that have been sustained in this country on the woman question. Thus, the notable and contentious thinker don Manuel Gonzales Prada handled this question in his 1904 work "Slaves of the Church," a work now included in Hours of Struggle. There, while expressing important concepts such as: "We can't know the people well until we have studied the social and legal condition of women," "the moral elevation of man is measured by the concept he has on women: for the ignorant and brutal man, the woman is just a female; for the thinker and cultured man, she is a brain and a heart," "Just as we carry the family name of our father, we carry the moral making of our mother..." "The motive force, the great propellant of societies, does not function noisily at the plaza nor at the revolutionary circle; it works in the home," which help to center our attention on the importance of the woman; on the other hand, he expresses ideas such as "The emancipation of woman, like the freedom of the slave, is not due to Christianity but to Philosophy." "In Protestant nations feminine ascension is taking place so assuredly that complete emancipation is already foreseen," "Slaves and serfs



owe their personal dignity to the efforts of noble and delicate persons, the Catholic woman will only get emancipated by the energetic action of men" and "in the battle of ideas no ally is more powerful than love."

Thus we see that the contribution of Gonzales Prada to the emancipation of women overall positive. He pointed out and denounce the oppression of women, the important role they fulfill and the necessity to resolve the problem and set forth the emancipation of women. Although for him the root of the problem is Catholicism which prevails in women, he believes that it is possible to reach emancipation under capitalism and he centers the problem in the individual; yet his ideas overall represent, a positive contribution, in this and other topics, in studying the problems of women in the country.

And these ideas turn out to be more outstanding when we see nearly 30 years later Jorge Basadre proposing: "Gregorio Marañon demanded that the essential role of women is love," while the essential role of men is work... That is why little boys prefer to play with soldiers, symbol of struggle, of effort, an urge to supremacy; while little girls prefer to play with dolls, precociously motherly... By virtue of a command of nature, the charm of the Creole woman, even when not a mestiza, is different from women of other latitudes by a proper flavor like a fruit or vegetable... While, on the other hand the highest superiority of men is in their minds and since the American mind is still determinedly influenced by Europe, the American glory is lost or lessened ... A notoriously beautiful women in America can, on the other hand, raise interest anywhere." (Peru: Problems and Possibilities, Chapter XI. Here the position is so clearly reactionary that comments are unnecessary.)

If in Basadre the ruling classes speak to us of "feminine nature"

whose essence is love, they also in 1940 express themselves through Carlos Miro Quesada Laos as follows:

"The role of woman in modern life is manifold. These are no longer the times--forever gone--when work was forbidden to her. Quite the contrary. Today woman works in diverse activities... Because she has shown she can act as efficiently as man... She, therefore, has the duty to study, to prepare herself for the future. And if in these chores women share the duties with men, in others they are, and will always be, better than men. And what happens is that woman contributes to life many things which are innate to her. She has the hands of mother and nurse... That is femininity which, thanks to God, they will never lose, despite the 20th century, of wars and revolutionary theories. The word "consolation" evokes women ... After making man, the Creator... put her at his side to be his mate, to give stimulus and sweeten his life... First she must obey her parents, then her teacher, later on her husband and always duty." (Three Conferences, Lima 1941.)

With Basadre the exploiting classes postponed the work of women; with Miro Quesada, having new requirements, they exalt and demand the work of women. But deep down both are based on "feminine nature." But not only in this field do these ideas appear; incorrect positions are also found in writings and magazines which claim to be revolutionary and even Marxist; we read in them concepts like the following: Speaking of the "sense of life," that they participate in "social change," will enable, we understand it's meant women, "to undo their existential problem, since the sense of life would then reside in the profit each individual is able to offer her/his neighbors by way of will and effort." Considering the subject "Women and Society" after attempting to outline Engels' thesis on the development of the family the following is said: "we are possessed of the myth of the

inferiority of women. And from that arises the need of liberating women... her liberation can only occur when the socio-economic structure changes with the development of a new society." Thus liberation is highlighted but not its social background, which is kept ambiguous and imprecise, ending up centered on how to regulate "the relationship between sexes in answer to the new ideology. If the women is equal or must be equal to man, the bases of such relationship would be:

- a) To liberate the women from religious alienation...,
- b) To exercise the right to choose her mate without obeying prejudices about masculine initiative...
- c) Not to understand women's liberation as a synonym for free love... and (fortunately!)
- d) The woman being equal to man, she must not remain separate from politics by alleging her feminine condition... love, as a starting point for a social change, should be the stimulus for youth (men and women) to struggle to build an egalitarian world without oppression or injustice."

And in publishing the story, "The Tomb of the Unemployed," a Christmas story which handily spreads the "generosity of women" and the "selfishness of men," a treacherous version of "feminine nature": "Later on the two ghosts became silent, each with its own thoughts. The woman in her past; the man in his future. The woman on what must be done; the man on what needs to be done for him. One with generosity and one with selfishness, always nailed to their foreheads, always wrestling in the depths of their consciences." (Magazine *Mujer* number 1 and 2; while having no dates they were printed in the 1960's). Evidently the ideas contained in *Mujer*, despite their apparent Marxist and

revolutionary posturing, neatly reveal a bourgeois background, in no way do they express a proletarian position on the woman question.

What does this summary show us? The hard, cold truth that the question is by no means the time frame when the positions are presented, nor is the problem "to take into account the creative developments of Marxism," but what is central is the class position on which a proposal is based. We have seen a position prior to Mariátegui, that of Gonzalez Prada, which despite preceding Mariátegui by some 30 years entails many positive elements; as well as a position contemporaneous with Mariátegui, that of Basadre, which is openly reactionary; finally two later positions, 30 years after Mariátegui, that of Miro Quesada, which renovates some criteria but is still reactionary, and that of the magazine *Mujer*, under Marxist colors, which definitely adheres to bourgeois positions despite it being presented to us as revolutionary and in the service of women's emancipation.

What is the conclusion? As we said, the question is the class character on which a position is based, in this case the position on the woman question. With Mariátegui, the greatest exponent of our working class, the proletarian position on the woman question is established. He set the basis of the proletarian political line on this question and his positions are completely current, on this topic as well as on others dealing with the revolutionary politics of the proletariat in our country. Therefore, developing a people's feminist movement demands, today more than ever, a firm and consistent adherence to the thought of Mariátegui, starting from an acceptance of its current relevance.

## 2. Retaking Mariátegui's Road

The struggle of Peruvian women and of proletarian women has a

long tradition, sealed with their blood, for over 50 years. Similarly, feminist organizations are long standing; nevertheless, the process of organizing Peruvian women began to expand in the 1960's, forecasting a brilliant perspective, though a long and twisting one.

At present we have a multitude of organizations of varying extension and levels, and what is more important, sprouting old seeds, we already see signs pointing to a genuine people's feminist movement. Today we have a National Council of Women with fifty years of existence, nurtured by the decrepit and obsolete theory of "feminine nature", a "Women's Rights Movement" upholding a feminism aimed at liberation from dependence on men; a gamut of organizations being formed which support the current regime for the benefit of its corporativist process, under the orientation and control of Sinamos and under its concept of "participation of women," part of their "fully participatory democracy," which obscures that the root of women's oppression is private property and the subjugation of women that began with it; which, twisting our history and using a lowly and "vulgar materialism" propagandizes that "in 1968 the revolutionary process began that seeks the authentic liberation of women with political equality and active participation," concluding: "We are the ones who must create the various forms of women's organizations," saturated with the sly and underhanded bourgeois feminism. And a National People's Union of Peruvian Women, a right opportunist organization which staged, as usual, a collaborationist apparatus totally devoted to the service of the regime.

This increase and organizational strengthening of the masses of women demands a serious investigation of the woman question and a class analysis of the organizations that exist or are being formed, so the camps can define themselves in order to establish,

as in other fields, the two lines on the woman question: The counterrevolutionary line commanded by imperialism and the middle bourgeois, and the revolutionary line whose command and center is the proletariat. That will help the organizational development of the people's feminist movement, which of necessity requires its construction to be unleashed amidst the two-line struggle, the expression of the class struggle and of the similar and conflicting interests of the contending classes. And of course it must not be forgotten that within each line there are variations and differences in operation according to the classes grouped around each line. From there the problem consists of establishing the two contrary lines and, within each one the variations and nuances of the line; establishing which position is in command of each line, and, depending on the class each represents, gives each of the lines in struggle a revolutionary or counterrevolutionary character.

All that's been exposed takes us therefore to the necessity of "retaking Mariátegui's road on the woman question," in order to serve the formation and development of a PEOPLE'S FEMINIST MOVEMENT conceived as a movement generated by the proletariat among the masses of women, with the following characteristics:

1. Adherence to the thought of Mariátegui;
2. Class conscious organization of the masses;
3. Subject to democratic centralism.

The construction of such a MOVEMENT sets forth for us two problems:

1. Ideological-political construction, which necessarily implies

providing it with Principles and Programme;

2. Organic construction, which we can serve by forming cores or groups of activists for carrying the Principles and Program to the masses of women--workers, peasants, professionals, university and secondary school students, etc.--They would work toward the politicization of women, mobilizing them through their struggles and organizing them to adhere to the political struggle, in harmony with the orientation and politics of the proletariat.

To conclude this contribution to the study and understanding of the woman question, it is pertinent to transcribe a Declaration of Principles and Programme which for some time has been circulating in our midst, documents which, while emphasizing their character as ongoing projects, can serve as a useful basis for discussion of the ideological-political construction of the ongoing PEOPLE'S FEMINIST MOVEMENT.

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

SPEECH BY CHAIRMAN GONZALO AT THE CONFERENCE ORGANIZED BY THE TEACHER'S UNION OF HUMANGA, AYACUCHO-PERÚ, 1974

### Contemporary Peruvian Society

The character of our society.

The character of the revolutionary process of Peruvian society.

### Bureaucratic Capitalism

What do we mean by bureaucratic capitalism?

Three lines within bureaucratic capitalism.

### The Contemporary Situation of the Country

The conditions under which the current regime grows.

The plans and characteristics of the regime.

Evidently, it is very important and necessary to analyze the character of Peruvian society; because if we do not have a clear understanding of it, we cannot comprehend and explain adequately the process we are living in today. Thus, it is not possible to understand concrete problems of today and the current political situation, such as the law of education or law of mines, without understanding what the character of contemporary Peruvian society is. Unfortunately, little is known about the national question and this get worse with the gross disinformation campaign launched by the state on this matter lately.

### The Character of Contemporary Peruvian Society

Peru is a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Our country became independent in the last century. More than 150 years ago,



we were a colony of Spain. We lived subjugated by this metropoly and had no political independence at all. On the other hand, at the beginning of the XIX century Peru was a feudal country and our society was fundamentally based on agriculture, which was the economic base. Of course, there was trade and incipient industrial modalities, but the economic base was feudalism. The society was based on the existence of big latifundios (TNF: large farms or haciendas) that belonged to a handful of people, and upon this kind of property, servitude existed. The peasants were cruelly exploited, and had to give personal services such as working the land of the feudal lord and others, including domestic services, in order to have a plot of land.

Our country was backward, where the norm was the practice of old forms of production and modalities of government that were totally decrepit. At the beginning of the XIX century, the country had two problems, which with certain minor modifications still persist today. First, the the land question, the problem of feudalism, of the servitude of the peasantry based on the latifundia property; and the second was the problem of national sovereignty (our nation was a colony of Spain.)

The struggle for independence raised these two problems. The issue of sovereignty was present in parliamentary debates in which it was proposed that independence could only be assured if the land was handed over to the peasants, also this is proven by the decrees of Bolivar on territorial property. However, independence only meant breaking the chains with Spain. Soon thereafter the country found itself controlled and dominated by England. This great capitalist power dominated all of Latin America. What is the importance of the domination of England in our country? Up until independence, we were a feudal and colonial country, but once we became independent although we maintained our feudal base, we achieved a certain political

independence. We became a republic despite of the problems inherent to emancipation. England introduces higher modalities of development in the country, capitalist modalities, fundamentally in trade which was tied to the world market of the fertilizer guano (TNF: seabird excrement). As a result, the destruction of feudalism advanced because England brought merchandise and introduced capitalist method of production. On the other hand, England began to control the country and introduced a process of colonialization. The British domination resulted in the beginning of a change: a step toward the formation of a semifeudal and semicolonial society.

In the XX century the United States (U.S.) displaced the English domination in the Americas and becomes the master, around the 1920's. Thus, our country sees itself dominated by another world power, an imperialist power. The U.S. came when it was already an imperialist country, with a developed system of monopolies, and big corporations that concentrate the U.S.'s economy. It was already a power undergoing a colonial expansion in Latin America and even in parts of Asia.

Under the Yankee imperialist domination, our society evolves further its semifeudal character. However, it is not totally destroyed. It continues to survive. In the same manner that under English domination (especially after the war with Chile), there has been a major push toward the destruction of feudalism under the development of a form of capitalism tied to the big monopolies and dependent upon imperialism. In addition to maintaining its semifeudal character, our country continues to be a semicolony; a dominated country that even though has declared its political independence is under the domination of an imperialist power in economic, diplomatic, cultural, and military affairs. This domination turns Peru's declared political independence into a formality.

In synthesis, since the XIX century, Peruvian society has evolved from a feudal society into a semifeudal one, and from a colonial society into a semicolonial one. In this long process, three powers have dominated and exploited us: First Spain until 1821 (although it continued its domination for many more decades.) Then England dominated us in a more subtle way. The British even fabricated for us political parties of a bourgeois nature, and organized a better state apparatus in order to subjugate us better with its subtle domination. It was a subtle domination but no less exploitative than the previous one. Finally, the U.S., which continues to oppress and exploit us, an imperialism that despite all that is said (about "independence,") dominates us on all levels.

When we were a colonial country we had two problems: the land problem and the national question. Under English domination we were a semifeudal and semicolonial society (less developed than the present time), and had two problems: the land and the nation. The land was concentrated in a few hands and servitude continued to exist in the country. In the XX century under U.S. domination, we continue to be a semifeudal and semicolonial society (undoubtedly much more evolved than before) but the basic problems of the country continue to be the two mentioned before: the land and the nation. The land question is because the feudal modalities of exploitation still survive and grip our entire society. Thus, our unscientific and superstitious mentality, our ideology in general, as well as our social and political relations, still have many feudal aspects. The national question is because we are an oppressed nation, apparently free, but at the bottom, subjugated in many ways.

Therefore, the nation's history from the XIX century to today is the feudal and colonial class struggle that under the domination of English capitalism and Yankee imperialism in succession, has

evolved and transformed into a semifeudal and semicolonial society with two basic problems still unresolved: the land question and the national question.

The character of the revolutionary process of Peruvian society

In laying down the character of Peruvian society a question arises: which is the path of revolutionary transformation? Concretely, what is the character of the Peruvian revolution? We have established that today there are two problems: the land question and the national question, from whose resolution the solution of the rest of the nation's problems will derive. The entire national question is tied to the semifeudal and semicolonial character of Peruvian society. Hence, in order for Peruvian society to change, to be truly revolutionary, these two problems must be resolved:

The land question, whose solution demands that semifeudalism be swept away, unless this is done, the land question cannot be resolved;

The national question, whose solution demands sweeping away Yankee imperialist oppression, because if this semicolonial domination is not swept away the national question will not be resolved.

Therefore, without eliminating semifeudalism and semicolonialism it is not possible to genuinely transform Peruvian society (despite all what they'd been telling us.) Furthermore, what it (TNF: by the ruling classes) being proclaimed today is nothing new. For instance, in 1,919 we heard similar siren songs. Consequently, the two tasks that must be carry out in the process of transformation of Peruvian society, scientifically called the Peruvian revolution, is to completely destroy semifeudalism and semicolonialism. These are the two tasks of the Peruvian revolution in its first stage. This means that the Peruvian

revolution is antifeudal and antiimperialist. It must destroy the feudal remnants and the imperialist domination. For this reason, the Peruvian revolution is necessarily democratic and national. Scientifically speaking the character of the Peruvian revolution is a national-democratic revolution; democratic because it will destroy the feudal relations of the nation; and national because it will destroy the Yankee imperialist oppression. Thus, in the contemporary semi-feudal and semi-colonial Peruvian society, there is only room for a national-democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

Let us analyze the character of the Peruvian revolution in relation to the concrete historical conditions. The two problems of the country (the land and the nation), during the XX century as compared to the XIX century, have big differences. In the last century there was no imperialism like there is today, and there was no international working class capable of leading the revolution, nor was there a developed working class in our country, whereas today, we have a triumphant working class (TNF: the October revolution, China, etc.) and in our country we have a working class with a long history of struggle. These are very important differences in the revolutionary process of our country.

Until the 1920's, the bourgeoisie in our country was in the capacity of leading the process of transformation towards the solution of these two problems, but they didn't. Nevertheless, in our country, before the 1920's, there were great struggles, heroic struggles and continuous uprisings of peasants, mobilizations, and student struggles, and powerful actions of the working class. All of this generated a great process of political struggle in which the ideology of the proletariat began to be spread out and be applied to our reality. The extraordinary figure of Jos, Carlos Mari tegui emerges, whose tireless work as a "thinker and activist man"

marked a milestone in history. In 1928, Mariategui founded the Communist Party, the Party of the working class in Peru. This period determined a fundamental change in our revolution through which the bourgeoisie, under the conditions of imperialist domination and the existence of a working class forged in struggle, could no longer lead the revolutionary process of our nation.

Thus, the working class has sprung forward and developed, and beyond disputing the leadership of the revolution with the bourgeoisie, it is the only class capable of carrying the Peruvian revolution to its triumph. The bourgeois revolution in the country has two periods:

The old bourgeois revolution that was able to be completed towards the beginning of this century, under bourgeois leadership; and

The new bourgeois revolution or national-democratic revolution, or bourgeois revolution of a new type, under the leadership of the proletariat which is the only historical perspective for the country.

After 1928 the proletariat achieved political organization and displaced the bourgeoisie from the historical leadership of the revolutionary process, as the only class that can complete the national democratic revolution. Thus, after 1928 the revolution in the country, the destruction of feudalism and imperialist domination, can only be completed under the leadership of the proletariat, a class that in order to fulfill its historical role must unite with the peasantry in a solid worker-peasant alliance, since the peasantry as a majority, although it does not lead the revolution, is the principal force.

We uphold the position that in the country the proletariat, with

its party, must lead the movement, or else there is no national-democratic revolution. If not, let us not fool ourselves, directly or indirectly, we would be serving the enemies of the class.

To conclude, we must point out that there are other theses opposite to what we have explained. For example, there is a thesis that states that Peruvian society is capitalist. This is the most dangerous. If the country is capitalist, the revolution must be socialist, and the proletariat and not the peasantry would be the principal force. This thesis fundamentally changes the extremely important problem, which is the road of the revolution. As we have seen here, there are two revolutionary paths:

The path of the October revolution which is from the city to the countryside, and this is the path of the capitalist countries by way of a socialist revolution, the path that old Russia took or that France would have to take today, for example; and

The path of the Chinese revolution, which is from the countryside to the city, and this is the path that semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries follow by way of a national-democratic revolution, the path the Vietnam, among others, is following today. As such, the question of whether the country is semi-feudal or capitalist is not simply a Byzantine discussion, because if we err about the character of society we err on the course of the revolution, and consequently it will not triumph.

The thesis of the capitalist character of Peruvian society has been and continues to be upheld by Trotskyism and positions close to it, nevertheless such typifications begins to be upheld by revisionism in order to deepen its surrender to the regime.

### Bureaucratic Capitalism

This question is important for the comprehension of Peruvian

society, and ignorance of it is the root of grave political errors. The thesis of bureaucratic capitalism is found in the classics and in Mariátegui, although he used another term.

What do we mean by bureaucratic capitalism?

This is the capitalism that imperialism promotes in a backwards country; the type of capitalism, the special form of capitalism, that is imposed by an imperialist country onto a backwards country, whether it is semi-feudal or semi-colonial. Let us analyze this historic process.

How did capitalism develop in the old European nations? Consider France; toward the end of the XVIII century it was a feudal country, with 20 to 22 million peasants while workers numbered only around 600,000 (from which we can see the feudal passage it had); it was based on servitude of various forms. Nevertheless, within the feudal entrails of France new productive forms, of manufacturing, and capitalist forms were generated, and a class, the bourgeoisie, was gaining ever more force, more economic power, including political influence. We ask: Was France a nation subjugated by another? No. France was an absolute monarchy that contested with England for global hegemony, it was not oppressed by anyone. Its socio-economic and historical conditions had made it develop that way. Did imperialism exist in that era? No. Imperialism is of this century. What existed were countries undergoing capitalist development, like England for example, and France was independently developing a capitalist society. Other countries followed the same path, and when they reached the XIX century, France, England, Belgium, Holland, etc. were capitalist countries that developed independently.

What was the situation of Latin America in the XIX century?



When the emancipation of America began (1810), the nations of Europe were already powerful, whereas the Latin American ones had only recently begun to structure their nationalities, a problem that has not yet been concluded. Moreover, soon after becoming independent these nations fall under the domination of a power, namely England; thus their capitalism will develop under English domination, a kind of dependent capitalism. Thus, there is a well-known historical, economic, and political difference compared to the European process.

On another side, the bourgeoisies that develop in Latin America begin to link themselves more and more to the dominant country, in such a way that these weak bourgeoisies, instead of developing independently like the Europeans did, serving the national interests, they evolve as subjugated bourgeoisies, dependent, given over body and soul to the imperialist powers (England or the U.S.) to the extent they even believe in converting themselves into rich men and developed intermediate bourgeoisies, as our history in this century shows.

This latter path is the one taken in Peru. As we have seen, in the second decade of this century Yankee imperialism supplanted English domination.

Three lines within bureaucratic capitalism

Bureaucratic capitalism develops three lines within its process: a landlord line in the countryside, a bureaucratic one in industry, and a third, also bureaucratic, in the ideological sphere. This is without pretending that these are the only ones.

It introduces the landlord line in the countryside by way of expropriatory agrarian laws that do not aim to destroy the feudal landlord class and their property, but rather progressively evolve

them by means of the purchase and payment of the land for the peasants. The bureaucratic line in industry aims at controlling and centralizing industrial production, commerce, etc., putting them ever more in the hands of monopoly with the goal of sponsoring a more rapid and systematic accumulation of capital, to the detriment of the working class and other workers, naturally, to the benefit of the biggest monopolies and consequently imperialism. In this process the forced saving which workers are subjected to plays an important role, as we can see in the industrial law. The bureaucratic line in ideology consists of the process of molding the people, by means of the massive diffusion, especially in political conceptions and ideas, that serve bureaucratic capitalism. The general law of education is a concentrated expression of this line, and one of the constants of this line is its anti-communism, its anti-Marxism, whether open or concealed.

These three lines form part of the bureaucratic path which is opposed by the DEMOCRATIC PATH, the revolutionary road of the people. If the former defends feudal property, the latter proposes its destruction, and it opposes the buying of lands with confiscation; if the former recognizes and fortifies imperialist industrial property, the latter denies it and struggles for its confiscation; if the former fights to ideologically subjugate the people, the latter strives to arm them ideologically; if the former attacks Marxism, the latter upholds that we must guide ourselves by Marxism as the only scientific instrument to understand reality. They are thus two absolutely contrary paths. The history of the country in this century is a history of struggle between these two paths: the bureaucratic path, that is capitalism submitted to imperialism, and the democratic path, the road of the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and under certain circumstances, the national bourgeoisie. In order to understand bureaucratic capitalism it is very useful to study and

analyze the decade of the 1960's, during which the process of the destruction of feudalism advanced more; in this period industry and capitalist relations in agriculture are strengthened. From another side, the class struggle developed greatly; the trade union movement, the peasant movement, and the student movement reached higher levels. Thus a strong trade union movement developed that in a particular moment took localities and bosses as hostages; the peasant movement also had a great apogee, in the second half of 1963 it ran from the center of the country to the south like a trail of gunpowder; and the student movement rose rapidly. In synthesis, the mass struggles have lived through great experiences in this period of political struggles.

Thus, party politics had a great apogee, on the one hand the reactionary political parties entered into grave difficulties and struggles leading up to the crisis of the so-called "representative democracy" in 1967 and 1968, and on the other the left developed a vigorous political life, within which it unleashed the struggle between Marxism and revisionism, which later re-took the path of Mariategui as a condition to develop the revolution.

Another very important deed which is not sufficiently studied is the question of the guerrillas: in 1965 there was a outbreak of guerrilla warfare, including this zona. The guerrilla movement in the country is part of the national process. It is a primary question that must be highlighted because due to sectarianism, sometimes it is considered as simply the experience of an organization and it is not seen as the experience of the Peruvian people. It is a movement intimately linked to the political process of the country, developed according to petty bourgeois conceptions; it is a great experience that needs to be analyzed from the point of view of the proletariat in order to draw fruitful lessons.

It is impossible to understand our situation and perspective since 1970 without understanding the concrete conditions of the 1960's. There is a good thing: in the last few years, the Peruvian intelligentsia begins to understand the necessity of studying the decade of the 1960's. Only by understanding this period will we be better armed ideologically, in order to understand the current situation.

The problem of bureaucratic capitalism is important because it allows us to understand which is the dominant path that imperialism imposes on a backwards country, on a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country; by understanding this problem we will be armed and equipped to combat the thesis of the capitalist character of the country and its political derivations.

In order to conclude this theme we will deal with the following: some maintain that to hold that bureaucratic capitalism is in the country is to ignore its semi-feudal and semi-colonial character; they say it proposes that the nation is capitalist in a hidden manner. This is an error ignores the laws of social development of our country and of the backwards countries; precisely because bureaucrat capitalism is no more than the path of imperialism in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country and without semi-feudal and semi-colonial conditions there would be no bureaucrat capitalism. Thus, to propose the existence of bureaucrat capitalism is to propose as a premise that the country is semi-feudal and semi-colonial.

### The Contemporary Situation of the Country

Under what conditions does the current regime arise? Let us go back to the end of the 1960's. What was happening? Economic problems: in 1967 the currency devaluation, freezing of credits, etc. An economic crisis. On another side, the struggle of the

masses was rising, strong worker and peasant struggles, and we saw daily that characteristics similar to those in the first year of the decade were beginning to present themselves; a future rise in the movement of the masses was within sight. In politics, confrontations and fractionalizing between and within the political organizations of the ruling classes; the famous dispute between parliament and the executive. Furthermore, the elections drew near, creating the juncture for many of the nation's problems to be illuminated, even for the parties in dispute, because in their eagerness to get votes the "dragged out their dirty laundry". Ideologically our country had passed through a profound debate of ideas and this greatly clarified what is Marxism and what is revisionism. Furthermore the path of Mari tegui began to be retaken by applying Marxism to the concrete conditions of the country. Aside from the above we must highlight two situations:

1. The economic situation of the country, which is the development of bureaucratic capitalism could no longer continue developing itself in the old way, urging its deepening. It needed to open a wider path so that this process in the form of imperialism would advance; with the previous forms it could not advance. We must not forget that for many years the agrarian problem was discussed, there were even agrarian laws: the Beltran project, the laws of Perez Godoy and of Belaunde. Another question: in the industrial problem the law of the second government of Prado was now insufficient and raised again the necessity of making industrial parks, give a priority to the state role in planning, etc. There is the plan of Belaunde of 1967 to 1970 that stated the necessity of changing the social condition of the country in order to construct a "new society, national, democratic, and Christian". In conclusion, the process of bureaucratic capitalism needed to deepen itself.

2. In the country there was the so-called "representative

democracy", but parliamentarism did not satisfy the needs of the exploiters; the popular masses advanced with relative ease putting the exploiting classes in difficult, although temporary, positions. Thus, they needed to substitute the representative modality, parliamentarism. Was this a typical case that only happened in our country? No. The decade of 1960 implied the fragility of the so-called "regime of representative democracy" in Latin America, the crisis of parliamentarism, and consequently the need to substitute it for state modalities more efficient for reaction.

In synthesis, the economic necessities of deepening bureaucratic capitalism and the fragility of parliamentarism, in the conditions indicated, presented the exploiting classes and imperialism with the necessity of a new political establishment for the country. Thus, the current regime arises from economic, social, and political necessities of deepening bureaucratic capitalism.

The plans and characteristics of the regime

There now exists a socio-economic plan which is little talked about. In synthesis it establishes: the need to reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism, by way of the efforts of workers and peasants, the former brought about by means of the industrial law and the others by means of the agrarian law. At the same time it proposes the direct and primordial action of the state to open conditions of investment for private capital; the financing of which necessarily comes from imperialism and since this financing is insufficient, it must fundamentally take root from its own resources. This plan clearly illustrates its linkage with the process of bureaucratic capitalism in the country; daily this play is linked to Belaunde's, and with this the entire system of bureaucratic capitalism of the country.

Very deep between the economic plan and social mobilization,

this is another thing that is not very clear. The regime, sanctioning its fundamental measures (in agriculture, industry, and education), has passed to an organizational stage. Today and in the immediate future we develop within organization, mobilization, and participation that the regime is promoting. The social mobilization must be understood linked to the economic process; the same government says that without social mobilization it will not be able to complete its socio-economic plan, and proposes that the social mobilization has a basis, the participation in property ownership. Lately the representatives of the regime talk about social property: what does this serve? This property serves, behind the decoy of participation in property ownership, to mobilize the masses to the benefit of bureaucratic capitalism. For this reason the basis of social mobilization is social participation.

What does this social mobilization serve? Social mobilization is a political instrument in the hands of the regime to strengthen its conceptions and open a "neither capitalist nor communist road", that is, to spread its ideas. Upon spreading its ideas it seeks to "avoid that foreign, exotic ideas become embedded in the masses"; what ideas are they referring to? Marxism. This ideological process is to avoid that the masses learn about Marxism and thus tie them to the bureaucratic capitalist road. Thus, the mobilization is a means of organizing, starting from the property modalities, the masses and channel them into a vertical authority. This is what they mean by social mobilization; it is a masterpiece of the system at the service of their economic and political plan. One of the reasons why the economic plan doesn't advance like they hoped it would is the lack of their so-called social mobilization.

From the above, we derive: the current political situation of the country is centered around the problem of the mobilization of the masses, now and in the immediate future we move within this

juncture, which is: who mobilizes and how are the masses mobilized. The government pretends to move them according to their conception; their actions prove it. The regime aims to organize the peasant masses. The law 19400 serves this end, and it aims to organize the workers with the so-called CTRP.

"Nationalists, revolutionary participationists"; among the students they create organizations that are born one day and disappear the next. All of this signifies the intention to organize the worker, peasant, and student masses, and it reveals that the contention is happening on and organizational plane.

Nevertheless, despite the propaganda and efforts of the regime and their followers, the struggle of the masses is alive and develops; why? Because the living conditions of the masses worsen as a consequence of the very system. For this reason, no matter how much they scream that it is the "ultra-left" that moves the masses and agitates them, what is certain is that the masses are mobilizing around their own interests, and defend them to the extent that they are conscious. Synthesizing, the social, economic, and political conditions lead to the sharpening of the mass struggle, and the organizational question is one of confronting the serious difficulties before the organizational offensive of the regime, the same one that is incapable of imposing its total control and will have to appeal more to systematic repression (of which there are many and rapidly growing examples).

In conclusion: the ideology and politics of the regime, including organizationally, express a fascist character. The regime's measures, as expressed by their leaders, their style of organizing, their attitudes towards the representative regime, their manner of treating civil liberties, only show one thing: the abandonment of the demo-liberal and representative system and adherence to fascism. The very chief of the sinamos [paramilitary squads set up by the Velasco regime] said that we are in a pre-revolutionary



period, and that all the regimes and political organizations have become invalid in the new social conditions.

From another side, the measures applied in politics, economics, and organizationally truly prove that they are laying the foundations for a CORPORATIST system. The essence of this question are the organizations on different levels, in which the bosses, the workers, and the state should participate. Three parts in the organizations, which has been defined as a corporation since the last century. This is the way it has been proposed by those who have upheld corporativism since 1920 and this is the way it is upheld today in Spain and Portugal.

Thus, the current regime is a system that has an ideological orientation of a fascist bent and is laying the foundations for a CORPORATIST system. It will be said that here is another thesis. It is very clear. There is a thesis that says that this is not certain, some maintaining that we are dealing with a revolutionary bourgeois regime that is completing a stage of the revolution; if we recall what we have seen this is a position without a political, ideological, or economic basis. Another thesis maintains that it is a bourgeois reformist regime, that it is applying reforms. What are reforms? Reforms are the concessions that the people win with their struggles, or they are the by-product of revolution, as Lenin said. Are the agrarian, industrial, or educational laws concessions to the people? This is enough to show the inconsistencies of this thesis.

Finally: when we emancipated ourselves we had two problems, of the land and of the nation, the problem of feudalism and the problem of domination by a foreign power. Many years have passed, and our society has advanced. The people of today are not the people of yesterday. We consider that today, after so many years, we continue having two problems: the land question and

the national question. From this the process of transformation in our country is scientifically called a NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION, and this can only be lead by the proletariat.

"All debates are open for those who voice opinions, not those who remain silent."

J.C. Mariátegui

"Polemics are useful when they are truly set out to clarify theories and actions, and when only clear ideas and motives are introduced."

J.C. Mariátegui

# LET US RETAKE MARIATEGUI AND RECONSTITUTE HIS PARTY

PCP - CENTRAL COMMITTEE - OCTOBER, 1975

On the 80th anniversary of the birth of José Carlos Mariátegui and 47 years from its founding, the Communist Party pays homage to its great founder and guide by calling upon its militants, upon the working class and the people of our country to obey the call of our times and prepare ourselves to occupy our place in history, LET US RETAKE MARIATEGUI AND RECONSTITUTE HIS PARTY!

## I. THE CLASS STRUGGLE GENERATED MARIATEGUI'S THOUGHT.

Mariátegui's Thought, the political expression of the Peruvian working class, was forged and developed amidst the class struggle and not outside it; thus, to understand it well, it must necessarily be linked to the struggles internationally and in our country.

The global class struggle. Mariátegui lived at a time when imperialism, according to his words, was experiencing the "capitalism of the monopolies, of finance capital, of the imperialist wars to control markets and sources of raw materials." He lived, then, and fought, when capitalism was agonizing and the class struggle was empowering the proletariat to conquer power through revolutionary violence.

From 1914 to 1918 the world was shaken by World War I, the "imperialist predatory war" which, supported by the treacherous old revisionism, launched the working classes and the peoples of some powers against those of others, so as to re-divide the world

for the imperialist powers and their monopolist bourgeoisie.

However as Lenin foresaw, the war hatched the revolution and in 1917 the Bolshevik Party, through armed insurrection, overthrew the power of tsarism in old Russia. With the October Revolution a new world era opened up, for the construction of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Communist Party. Fulfilling the scientific projections of Marx and Engels, the October Road set the general norms for the emancipation of the working class: the need for a Communist Party leading the revolution, the need for revolutionary violence to overthrow the old established order and the need to install the dictatorship of the proletariat to build socialism and march towards the classless society of the future. What Marx and Engels taught, in a word Marxism, materialized into an undeniable reality.

The October Revolution impacted throughout the world. Europe was shaken to its foundations and the proletariat launched itself to conquer power; the struggles in Germany, Italy and Hungary are examples which Mariátegui himself popularized in his *History of the World Crisis*, but while the masses were ripe for revolution there was a lack of the necessary communist parties to lead them and instead fascism was generated. The October Revolution not only changed the face of Europe, the colonial anti-imperialist movement was inspired by it; the East was convulsed by the Chinese Revolution, "the most extensive and profound sign of the awakening of Asia", and our own America developed its anti-imperialist maturity. The working class generated its own communist parties and acquired political weight.

Ideologically, the crisis of bourgeois thought became more critical while within the global working class movement, revisionist opportunism was swept away, revolutionary syndicalism was improved and Marxism progressed to a new stage, that of

## Marxism-Leninism.

Mariátegui lived through this process directly as a working class fighter, he followed and analyzed the world class struggle to understand the revolution in our country. His accurate foresight is in the following words: "The class struggle fills the first plane of the world crisis"; "the most relevant events of the last quarter of a century surpassed all limits. Its stage has been the five continents"; "the dictatorship of the proletariat, by definition is not a dictatorship of a party but a dictatorship of the working class"; "Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary method of the imperialist stage."

a) Class development and struggle in Peruvian society. Modern industry was developed in Peru from 1895 and completed in the decade of the 1920's, a decade demarcating the impetus of bureaucratic capitalism under Yankee domination. This industrialization took place in a semi-feudal society whose economy developed increasingly subjected to North American imperialism, which displaced English domination. That way bureaucratic capitalism implies development of our semi-colonial condition and underscores the entire development of Peruvian society. This understanding is vital to interpret the Peruvian class struggle in the 20th century.

In the former context, the Peruvian proletariat grew not just in numbers; the development of mining, textiles and other branches of industry gave it a progressively more important place. In synthesis, it implied the appearance of a new class and a precise goal. Our proletariat fought from the onset for salary increases, to reduce the work day and for other better living conditions, and generated a workers' movement which under a trade unionist line created unions in struggle against anarcho-sindicalism until the creation of the General Confederation of Workers of Peru, a task

precisely carried out under the leadership of Mariátegui. Even more, the struggle of the working class determined the founding of its Party, along with the acts and works of Mariátegui; in that way the Peruvian proletariat matured, conforming itself as an independent political party and having as its goal the "economic emancipation of the working class", initiating a new stage in the country, that of the democratic national revolution led by the proletariat through its Party.

The peasantry, continuing its old struggles, also fought hard for "land to the tillers"; they defended their lands against usurpation by feudal landowners and monopolist enterprises and their struggle, continuing and persistent, faced the "armed response" by the Peruvian State and its repressive bodies. We witness their fighting spirit in the great actions of the first two decades of this century, particularly in Puno. The petty bourgeoisie, for instance employees and students, also fought against their enemies; this just struggle and organization of employees for demands, such as the university reform, are examples of the widespread struggle by the people.

In the exploiters' camp the legal civil authorities, the expression of the "comprador bourgeoisie" at the service of Yankee imperialism, assumed power and became the axis of the economical process, displacing the "landowning aristocracy" which was more linked to England. Legalism implied remodeling Peruvian society and politics according to demo-liberal models, as can be seen in the constitutional ordering and legislation, e.g. the 1920 educational law and other measures. That way the Peruvian bourgeoisie which had emerged in the mid 19th century became a comprador bourgeoisie and axis of Peruvian social progress and leaders of the exploiting classes in the country.

The former was reflected in the ideological field. On one hand the

ruling bourgeoisie struck at the system of ideas of the ruling landowners, one of whose expressions was the Villaran-Deustua dispute in the educational field early in the century; criticism was always moderate and lukewarm, also as a propagation of the North American model. But while this happened in the exploiters' camp, in the midst of the people and mainly as a result of the working class, a system of democratic ideas was maturing which slowly set itself as an understanding of our society from the proletariat's viewpoint, precisely through the theory and practice of José Carlos Mariátegui, who reflected and systematized all these thirty odd years in Peruvian life and was able to do it through his direct and arduous participation in the class struggle.

b) Mariátegui's Thought is the political expression of Peruvian class struggle. The life of Mariátegui has a clear and precise trajectory as a man of the new type, an "actor and thinker," of a life which matured rather than changed, as he himself said, from "a declared and energetic ambition: that of attending to the creation of Peruvian socialism." In his 35 years of existence, in 1918 "nauseated by Creole politics", he said, "I oriented myself resolutely towards socialism" fighting for the working class; and returning from Europe where, unlike many, he felt and became more Peruvian, working ceaselessly to propagate Marxism-Leninism, organizing the masses, especially workers and peasants, and crowned his work by founding the Communist Party.

José Carlos Mariátegui was a fighter of the working class, a main actor of the Peruvian proletariat who in theory and in practice, with words and actions, grew and developed in the heat of the class struggle, mainly in our country; a proletarian militant who firmly adhered to Marxism and fused it with the concrete conditions of our revolutionary process, becoming the crowning point and synthesis of the Peruvian class struggle, in the political expression of our country's proletariat, who summarized more

than 30 years of class struggle by our working class and our people.

In short, Mariátegui is a product of the class struggle, mainly that waged by the proletariat of which he is the highest political expression.

## II. MARIATEGUI A "CONVINCED AND CONFESSED" MARXIST-LENINIST

More than 30 years ago enemies tried to deny the Marxist-Leninist position of Mariátegui and that campaign has increased by the end of the 1960's and continues to be fueled openly or covertly today. To deny his Marxist condition is to deprive his work and actions of any basis, for the purpose of undermining the struggle of the proletariat, destroy its Party and fetter the revolution. Therefore the political question is important, to reaffirm and clarify, again, the Marxist-Leninist position of Mariátegui whom, let us recall, declared himself to be so "convinced and confessed."

How to respond to those impugning him? There is only one road, and it is known: to see the position of Mariátegui in Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism; that is, to remember his theses about the three parts of Marxism because, by seeing clearly his position on these basic questions, the Marxist basis of the founder of the Communist Party will be understood.

a) Mariátegui and Marxist philosophy. He starts out with each society generating its own philosophy; in his words: "each civilization has its own intuition of the world, its own philosophy, its own mental attitude which constitutes its essence, its soul ... ideas originate in reality and later on influence it, modifying it." Thus, philosophy is a social product, it cannot be understood



outside the material base generating it, but it also reacts upon that base. He conceives that the philosophical process confronts materialism or idealism and highlights the materialist basis of Marx and, that way, the materialist basis sustaining Marxism. But that is not all, to Mariátegui, as with the classics, philosophy has a class character, it is an instrument of the class struggle to conquer power or to defend what has been conquered. Even more, he conceives that philosophy follows the direction of the class generating it; that way bourgeois philosophy by necessity follows the road and development of the bourgeoisie. And, as result, to him philosophy is product of social practice.

He considers Marxist philosophy to be the product of a long development, the culmination of classical German philosophy, mainly Hegel's; he accurately points out: "but this affiliation does not imply any servitude by Marxism to Hegel or his philosophy which, according to the well known sentence, Marx set right-side up ... Marx's materialist conception is born, dialectically, as the antithesis of Hegel's idealist conception." But even reiterating many times the dialectical character of Marxist philosophy, it impinges upon the essential of dialectics as the unity and struggle of opposites without falling into mechanistic pitfalls, clearly establishing, for example, the relationship between base and superstructure, that whether one or the other will be the main aspect depends of the concrete conditions. The astute use of dialectics is, precisely, one of the hallmarks of the theory and practice of Mariátegui.

Particularly important is his position regarding historical materialism which, by the scientific development it implies, he holds to be "a method of historical interpretation of today's society"; and his proposition conceiving the base, the support of all society, as a set of social relations of production, with the superstructure as integrated by institutions and organizations in a

legal and statutory order, a superstructure culminating in a system of ideas, is key. There we see the accurate description of base and superstructure which is the same as Engels'. He considers man not as an unvarying nature but as the product of social relations and therefore historically generated in social practice, especially molded by the class struggle, as he establishes by referring to the working class. He also establishes an indivisible unity between determinism and free will, a capacity to act as a trail blazer fulfilling the necessary laws of history; therefrom his expressive words: "history wants for each one to fulfill, with maximum action, his own role. So there is no victory except for those capable of earning it with their own resources, in inexorable combat."

Finally, speaking of human beings, whom he considers as the most valuable thing on Earth and the main thing in every economic process, and when grouped in multitudes, in masses, are the great force of history; and that the masses reflected in the working class, are mobilized towards a goal, towards a modern myth, in his own words: "The proletariat has a myth: social revolution. Towards that myth it moves with a warm and active faith."

Aren't these basic proposals, perhaps, theses proposed by the classics of Marxism? And aren't these the foundation of Mariátegui's philosophical position? And isn't this dialectical materialism, isn't this Marxist philosophy? In conclusion, Mariátegui sustained himself in Marxist philosophy, to which he arrived through his direct participation in the class struggle and we find his philosophical theses, as with all great Marxists, when we judge and resolve the complex problems of the class struggle. Whomever wants to see it as abstract meditation or academic work will not find philosophy in Mariátegui, but it will be found by whomever seeks it as a weapon in the class struggle used to

discover the laws of our revolution and politics guiding our people.

b) Mariátegui and political economy. He begins by relating economy and politics, aiming to establish the economic basis, teaching: "it is not possible to understand Peruvian reality without seeking and looking at the economic facts," "the economic fact entails, equally, the key to all other phases of the history of the Republic" and "economics does not explain, probably, the totality of a phenomenon and its consequences. But it explains its roots." He conceives economics, the social relations of exploitation, as root of the political processes; but he sees the economy of a country within the international economic system, not as an isolated thing. From that viewpoint, he analyzes economics in its political function to find the laws governing the class struggle in a country; a task especially carried out in our country by analyzing the direction historically followed by our economy, the agrarian production relations, industrialization and other economic terms, all with one goal: to establish the general laws of the Peruvian revolution.

Imperialism merited special attention according to Mariátegui; but aside from its economic character he emphasized its reactionary political character, pointing out that once "the stage of monopolies and imperialism arrives, the entire liberal ideology corresponding to the free competition stage is no longer valid." This great thesis is identical to that proposed by Lenin. Concerning imperialism, he also emphasized the sharpening of the economic crises: "All this leads us to believe that during this stage of monopoly, trustification and finance capital, crises will show up with greater violence"; crises he considered as inherent to the system and not attributable to transient problems, just as today it would be an increase in the price of oil which at most acts as a triggering factor. He similarly conceived the inter-

imperialist clash for the expansion of markets, saying; "The great capitalist states have entered, fatally and inevitably, into the phase of imperialism. The struggle for markets and raw materials does not allow them any Christian fraternization. Inexorably, it impels them to expansion"; and underscoring even more the contention among powers: "besides the acting empires we have, therefore, embryonic empires. Side by side with the old empires, the young imperialisms oppose world peace. These show more aggressive and odious language than the former ones." Extraordinary words whose importance is greater if we consider the current contention between the superpowers, imperialist and social-imperialist, and their ostensible policy of disarmament and detensioning in the light of these other ones: "Limiting naval weaponry, discussed at Geneva, may seem to more than one pacifist as a step towards disarmament. But historical experience shows us in an unforgettable manner how after many such steps the world would still be closer than ever to war." These theses about imperialism are, besides brilliant, very timely.

But economic matters do not end here. He also analyzed the economy of the underdeveloped nations; he astutely analyzed the semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition of the Latin America countries, especially ours. He showed how industrialization in the backwards nations is tied to and develops as a function of the imperialist powers, in the case of Peru Yankee imperialism. He saw clearly how imperialism does not allow the backwards nations to develop a national economy nor independent industrialization; how on top of their semi-feudal base monopoly capitalism is installed, linked to the feudal landowners and generating a "mercantile bourgeoisie," a bourgeoisie controlled by imperialism for which it is the intermediate plunderer of national resources and the exploiters of the people. And he set forth the following thesis, which we must not forget, about the Latin American republics: "The economic condition of these republics is, without

a doubt, semi-colonial; and to the same degree that capitalism grows, and consequently imperialist penetration, this aspect of their economy must grow even more acute." Have these theses been fulfilled? Even the most superficial look at America factually corroborates the semi-colonial domination exerted by Yankee imperialism. For the rest, Mariátegui's theses on capitalism in the backward nations must be understood in relation with those of Mao Tse-tung, about bureaucratic capitalism and appreciate them taking into account the specific conditions of Latin America.

In treating the economy of the backward nations, he also emphasized the imperialist plans following World War I to unload their problems upon them, promoting the development of their backward economies to suit the economic and political needs of the imperialist powers. The question arises, aren't we seeing something similar today after World War II? Let's keep in mind, however, that those plans crashed and will crash against the national movement, since as Mariátegui observed, they "try to reorganize and expand the economic exploitation of the colonial countries, of the incompletely evolved countries, of the primitive countries of Africa, Asia, America, Oceania and Europe itself... So that the less civilized part of humanity toil for the more civilized part... But their plan to scientifically reorganize the exploitation of the colonial countries, to transform them into compliant providers of raw materials and abiding consumers of manufactured products, stumbles against an historical difficulty. These colonial countries are agitated to conquer their national independence." Words which the years and reality confirm, today more than ever.

Finally, on political economy, let's recall his thesis on cooperativism: "In the degree to which the advancement of syndicalism enters a country, so too enters the progress of cooperativism" and "the cooperative, within a system of free

competition, and even with certain state support, is not opposed to, but on the contrary, quite useful to capitalist enterprises." Let's ask then, can cooperativism develop, as it is pretended, simultaneously with an anti-union offensive and even more so when a corporatist unionism is being promoted? In the age of imperialism, can cooperativism serve, within a regime like ours, as anything else but a complement to bureaucratic capitalism? In light of the ideas transcribed the answer obviously is: No! And let's bear in mind that cooperativism can be of service to the working class and the people only when the proletariat has power in their hands. To finish this point, let's remember his teaching that imperialism develops the increasing state intervention in the economic process and that, representing and defending the bourgeoisie, it sees itself compelled even to carry out "nationalizations"; so the question is to see who has benefitted from the nationalizations, and that is decided by which class controls power. In light of this, who has benefitted from the nationalizations of the current government?

b) Mariátegui and scientific socialism. He starts by distinguishing between old social-democratic reformism and militant socialism, pointing out that the difference is that the former "wants to achieve socialism by collaborating politically with the bourgeoisie" while the latter ones, Marxists, "want to achieve socialism by wholly confiscating political power for the proletariat." The matter delimited, he firmly takes the position of the Communist International, of the followers of Lenin, in whom he recognizes a great leader of the international communist movement, declaring himself Marxist-Leninist.

Another point of scientific socialism important to Mariátegui is the crisis of bourgeois democracy whose symptoms could be perceived before World War I and whose causes he sees in "the parallel growth and concentration of capitalism and the

proletariat"; in that way the development of monopoly, characteristic of imperialism, and the questioning of the bourgeois order by the proletariat are what causes the bourgeois democratic crisis. Deepening the problem he emphasizes that under the bourgeois regime industry developed immensely with the power of machinery, with "great industrial enterprises" having arisen, and since the political and social forms are determined by the base sustaining them he concludes: "The expansion of these new productive forces does not allow the subsistence of the old political patterns. It has transformed the structure of nations and demands the transformation of the structure of the regime. Bourgeois democracy has ceased to correspond to the organization of economic forces tremendously transformed and enlarged. That is why democracy is in crisis. The typical institution of democracy is the parliament. The crisis of democracy is a crisis of parliament."

Here we have a thesis intimately linked to Lenin's on the reactionary character of imperialism, on which Mariátegui bases his understanding of fascism as political reaction, as an international phenomenon not only Italian nor exclusively in imperialist countries but feasible also in backward nations like Spain, fascism which typically blames "all the misfortunes of the fatherland on politics and parliamentarism"; fascism as an expression that "the ruling class does not feel itself sufficiently defended by its institutions. Universal suffrage and parliament are obstacles in its way," how "reaction which in all countries is organized to the tune of a demagogic and subversive beat. (Bavarian fascists call themselves 'national socialists.' During its tumultuous training, fascism made abundant use of an anti-capitalist prose ...)"; as "a nationalist and reactionary mysticism" which "has taught the way of dictatorship and violence" with its taking of power and repression, the use of the blackjack and castor oil but which despite its duration, "it appears inevitably

destined to exacerbate the contemporary crisis, to undermine the basis of bourgeois society."

To Mariátegui, as he taught in "The Biology of Fascism" of his work *The Contemporary Scene*, fascism is a political process which "for many years did not want to call itself or function as a party," whose social composition is heterogeneous and in which "the national flag covers up all the contraband and equivocations in doctrine and program ... They want to monopolize patriotism." But within this "the contradictions undermining fascist unity" always develop, contradictions which first faced "two antithetic souls and two antithetic mentalities. One extremist or arch-reactionary fraction proposing the integral insertion of the fascist revolution in the Statute of the Kingdom of Italy. The neoliberal State had, in its view, to be replaced by the fascist State. While a revisionist fraction instead called for a more or less extensive political rectification"; a contradiction which, resolving itself favorably towards the first tendency, did not therefore cease to exist but continued to develop under new forms: one tendency proposing to sweep away "all opponents of the fascist regime in a Saint Bartholomew's Night," while others "more intellectual, but no less apocalyptical ... invited fascism to definitively liquidate the parliamentary regime," meanwhile "the theoreticians of integral fascism sketch the technique of the fascist State which it conceives almost as a vertical trust of workers' unions or corporations." Thus, fascism is masterfully presented, essentially analyzed even in its contradictions.

Furthermore, in his analysis of fascism Mariátegui advances to typify the "characteristic attitude of a reformist, of a democrat, however one tormented by a series of 'doubts about democracy' and of unsettled feelings respect to reform" shown by English writer H.G. Wells regarding Mussolini's regime: "Fascism appears to him a cataclysm, more than a consequence and result of the



bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy and the defeat of the proletarian revolution in Italy. A confirmed evolutionist, Wells cannot conceive of fascism as a phenomenon possible within the logic of history. He must understand it as an exceptional phenomenon." To reformism, as we can see, fascism is not the consequence of the crisis of bourgeois democracy but "an exception," "a cataclysm," which is how some see it today in our country, only and exclusively as terror on the march, not seeing it is "a phenomenon possible within the logic of history" caused by: The development of the monopolies into imperialism and the questioning of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. Let that thesis help us to reject the reformist concepts being propagated about fascism and to have a correct and necessary understanding of history and the current situation in our country.

Other problems of scientific socialism set forth by Mariátegui are the violent revolution, the role of the proletariat and of the Party. On these he maintained: "The revolution is the painful gestation, the bloody birth of the present," "that power is conquered through violence" and "it is conserved only through dictatorship," thus pointing out the role of revolutionary violence; which "the proletariat does not enter history politically except as a social class; at the instant it discovers its mission of erecting, with the elements procured by human effort, moral or immoral, fair or unfair, a superior social order," which points out the role of the working class. Judging the political weakness of Spain: "in Russia there existed, besides the profound agitation of the people, a revolutionary Party, led by a ingenious man of action, of clear vision and goals. That is what today is lacking in Spain "The Communist Party, too young, still does not constitute more than a force of agitation and propaganda," thus highlighting the need of the Party of the proletariat.

The theses on Marxist philosophy, political economics and

scientific socialism as shown, are they Marxist positions? Can anyone say these do not substantially correspond to Marxist proposals? Can anyone prove that such positions are not the ones upheld by the classics of Marxism-Leninism? Evidently Mariátegui's theses are firmly and definitely based on the concept of the proletariat and this in no way can be distorted or denied. What is the basis of those pretending to deny the Marxist position of Mariátegui? Simply and plainly a simplistic analysis which lacks any reality, and, above all, lacks a solid class position, alienated from our reality and the application of Marxism.

The position of the founder of the Communist Party with respect to Marxist philosophy, to political economy and to scientific socialism reveals, a correct and just way of thinking from a working class position. They are based on Marxism-Leninism, showing the maturing of Mariátegui's thought in his theoretical and practical participation in the class struggle, and that he arrived at that understanding, while, struggling against old revisionism and its European representatives and similar elements in our country.

### III. MARIÁTEGUI ESTABLISHED THE GENERAL POLITICAL LINE OF THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION.

What does it mean to say that Mariátegui established the general political line of the Peruvian revolution? In fact, he set forth the general laws of the class struggle in the country, and established the road of revolution in our country. That statement implies its validity and necessarily entails the Retaking Mariátegui's Road to carry forward the revolutionary transformation of our society under the leadership of the working class, through the organized vanguard, the only class capable of fulfilling such a leading role.

Let's analyze this substantial problem, whether openly or covertly;

the destiny of our country depends on the position we take in this regard.

a) The character of Peruvian Society. Let's start from the words of the founder of the Communist Party:

"Capitalism develops within a semi-feudal country like ours; at times in which, having reached the monopoly and imperialist stage, the entire liberal ideology corresponding to the free competition stage has ceased to be valid. Imperialism does not tolerate an economic program of nationalization and industrialization in any of those semi-colonial nations it exploits as markets for its commodities and capital, and as sources of raw materials. It forces them into specialization, to monoculture (in Peru petroleum, copper, sugar, cotton), suffering a permanent crisis of manufactured products, a crisis derived from this rigid determination of national production, by factors of the capitalist world market."

In these words which belong to point III of the Party Program, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial character of our society is established. The first one, semi-feudalism, "surely must not be sought in the subsistence of institutions and political or judicial forms of the feudal order. Formally Peru is a republican and democratic bourgeois State. Feudalism or semi-feudalism survives in the structure of our agrarian economy," said Mariátegui. We see it today, despite the years elapsed, because it persists and new forms of semi-feudal roots are developed, forms of unpaid labor, family obligations and deferred salaries, personal privileges, maintenance and fusion of old latifundia and the preponderance of gamonalismo, under cover of new conditions and high sounding words. Semi-feudalism, harshly attacked in years past has developed into a self-evident truth, since the class struggle itself, with the rural explosion we have seen so many times, the

agrarian reforms and the counter-revolutionary action we have seen since the 1960's, show the semi-feudal base of Peruvian society.

With respect to semi-colonialism, Mariátegui maintained that a country can be politically independent while its economy continues to be dominated by imperialism; Furthermore, he firmly maintained that South American countries like ours are "politically independent, economically colonized." And that situation continues to develop; our economy suffers growing and diversified imperialist and social-imperialist penetration, direct and indirect. The semi-colonial situation has been questioned in recent years, by affirming without proof that Peru has become a colony, since that is what is affirmed when one typifies the country as a "neocolony"; and that affirmation reaches an extreme when it is proposed that we are a "neocolony," but ruled by "a bourgeois reformist government."

The quoted paragraph proposed that capitalism develops in Peru, but it is a capitalism subjected to the control mainly of North American imperialism, not a capitalism that allows a national economy and independent industrialization; but quite the opposite, a capitalism subservient to the imperialist metropolis which does not tolerate a true national economy serving our nation, nor independent industrialization. Thus, Mariátegui does not deny capitalist development in the country, but specifies our type of capitalism; capitalism in a semi-feudal country living in the age of monopolies and political reaction, a capitalism that while it develops it increases our semi-colonial condition; a capitalism engendering a comprador bourgeoisie linked to U.S. imperialism. In summary, a bureaucratic capitalism from the viewpoint of Mao Tse-tung.

That is the valid and current understanding Mariátegui had about

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the character of Peruvian society. Later studies and research only confirmed and specified the accurate theses sustained by our founder.

b) The two stages of the Peruvian revolution. Starting from the country's semi-colonial and semi-feudal condition, Mariátegui analyzed the revolutionary forces concluding that there are two basic classes: the proletariat and the peasantry. Although the latter is the main force, being the majority, and supports the weight of semi-feudalism, the former, the working class, is the leading class; further on, he noted that only with the appearance of the proletariat can the peasantry fulfill its role: "Socialist doctrine is the only one capable of giving a modern, constructive sense to the indigenous cause, which, placed in the true social and economic arena, and elevated to the level of a realistic and creative policy, counts for the fulfillment of this enterprise with the will and discipline of a class now making its appearance in our historical political process: The proletariat."

Joining the peasantry and the proletariat is the petty-bourgeoisie, which "always played a very minor and disoriented role in Peru," put under pressure by foreign capitalism "it appears destined to assume, as its organization and orientation prospers, a revolutionary nationalist attitude." These are the driving classes of the revolution, who under certain conditions and circumstances can be joined by the national bourgeoisie, which Mariátegui calls the "left bourgeoisie." Those are the four classes who united aim at the targets of the revolution: Semi-feudalism and imperialism.

In two well known paragraphs of the Communist Party Program, written by the founder himself, the stages of the Peruvian revolution are defined and its character specified:

"The emancipation of the economy of the country is only possible

through the action of the proletarian masses, in solidarity with the world's anti-imperialist struggle. Only the action of the proletariat can first stimulate and later on carry out the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which the bourgeois regime itself is incapable of fulfilling."

"The bourgeois-democratic stage accomplished, the revolution becomes, in its objectives and doctrine, a proletarian revolution. The party of the proletariat, qualified by the struggle to exercise power and develop its own program, fulfills in this stage the tasks of organizing and defending the socialist order."

Here we see the problem of the Peruvian revolution and its stages masterfully condensed: The national-democratic or bourgeois-democratic of the new kind in the wording of Mao Tse-tung, and the proletarian revolution. Two stages, the first one which we are living in since 1928, but which still has not been fulfilled or concluded, and the future, proletarian stage; two uninterrupted stages of the same revolutionary process. Under no circumstances should their character and contents be confused. This great thesis by Mariátegui became, after broad debates and struggles, a fundamental truth of Marxist understanding of the laws of our revolution.

But if this is fundamental, then it is even more so that the working class and only the working class through its party is capable of leading the national-democratic revolution. That only by preparing and organizing within the national-democratic revolution can it develop the second, proletarian stage. Consequently, if the national-democratic revolution is not led by the working class, in no way can it be completed, much less build socialism. This is the paramount question today, since counter-revolution and social corporativism deny this great truth and assert that in our country the armed forces of the old State is

fulfilling the first stage of the revolution and even, they claim, laying the foundations for socialism. This key question differentiates revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries: The first ones, with Marxism and Mariátegui, maintain that the proletariat and only the proletariat "can first stimulate and later on fulfill the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which the bourgeois regime is incapable to develop and fulfill." That is our position. We must uphold and fight the counter-revolutionary theses, aiming our spear against social-corporatist revisionism that preaches against the thesis of Mariátegui and is the detachment of social-imperialism in our country, whose efforts serve only its collusion and collision with the Yankee superpower for world domination.

c) The anti-feudal struggle. The land program is basic to our country and, in synthesis, it is the question of feudalism with its two elements: Latifundia and servitude; that is why, as Mariátegui said, the agrarian problem in Peru is the destruction of feudalism, whose relations taint our society from top to bottom, from the base to the superstructure. The motor of rural struggles has been and is the land question, and that the three agrarian laws of the 1960's did not destroy its base is clearly shown by today's struggles by the peasantry.

In analyzing the land question, the founder of the Party highlighted the struggle confronting community and latifundia; he showed its economic and social superiority, pointing out that the community had given the peasant majorities strength to resist the thievery by feudal landowners throughout the centuries, and that it entails the living yeast which will help socialist development in the future. Reviewing the agrarian labor regime he highlighted the existence of feudal relations of exploitation hidden behind seemingly capitalist forms. These questions do not belong to the past, but to a present which we must search well to

discover its blurred semi-feudal essence hidden behind the apparent and purported "destruction of feudalism" of the so-called agrarian reform.

Considering the struggles of the Peruvian and of Latin American peasantry generally, Mariátegui brought forward the slogan of the peasants: "Land for those who till it, expropriate them without compensation" and that their mobilization demands the "arming of workers and peasants to conquer and defend their gains." In that way, feudalism must be destroyed by confiscating the lands and only the armed workers and peasants will be able to accomplish this, since there is no other way to break up feudalism, destroy latifundia and abolish serfdom. We must not forget that Peruvian laws have been ruling agrarian relations and abolishing serfdom for over 150 years, but in reality they have maintained the underlying feudalism.

Consequently, the anti-feudal struggle is the motive of the class struggle in the countryside and the basis of our national-democratic revolution itself.

c) The anti-imperialist struggle. Peru, like the rest of the Latin American countries, is a nation in a formative stage. "It is being built over the inert indigenous strata, and the alluvial sediments of western civilization." In that way, "the problem of the Indians is the problem of four million Peruvians. It is the problem of three fourths of the population of Peru. It is the problem of the majority. It is the problem of nationality," Mariátegui observed, and he added: "A truly national policy cannot do without the Indian, it cannot ignore the Indian. The Indian is the foundation of our nationality in formation. Oppression makes the Indian an enemy of civility. It annuls them, practically, as an element of progress. Those who impoverish and depress the Indian, impoverish and depress the nation... Without the Indian, the



condition of being Peruvian is not possible. This truth ought to be valid, above all, to persons of mere demo-liberal bourgeois and nationalist ideology..."

Thus, the problem of the Indian is that of the majority ignored by the policies of the Peruvian State, of the republic generally, for more than 150 years; it is the problem of acting outside the interest of four fifths of the population. As our founder said, of looking and acting with eyes aimed at the imperialist metropolis dominating us. Digging deeper into the problem, Mariátegui set forth that the Indian problem is the problem of the land; consequently, the national question is based on the land question and in no way can one be separated from the other, a proposal which follows strictly the these; of Marxism, proved by the practice of the class struggle of our own masses and expressed, incontrovertibly, in the character of our revolution.

On this basis, the founder of the Communist Party analyzed the classes and the anti-imperialist struggle in our country, and in Latin America in general; he pointed out that the Latin American bourgeoisie "feel sure enough of their ownership of power so as not to care much about national sovereignty," as well as having common interests with imperialism, adding that: "While imperialist policy ... is not forced to resort to armed intervention, in case of military occupation they will count on the absolute collaboration of the bourgeoisie." In that way the relationship of the Peruvian "mercantile bourgeoisie" and its position with respect to imperialism was clarified. Referring to our country, when treating the subject of the united front, Mariátegui proposed the possibility of uniting "with the left liberal bourgeoisie, truly disposed to struggle against the remnants of feudalism and against imperialist penetration," defining the position of what today we call the national bourgeoisie; and he specified, besides, as we saw, that the petty-bourgeoisie will go on developing "a revolutionary

nationalist position" as the foreign domination increases.

On the other hand, charging against the Apristas who had raised anti-imperialism "to the level of a program, a political attitude, a movement that is an end in itself and led spontaneously, due to what process we don't know, whether socialism or the social revolution" and exposing their thesis of "we are leftists (or socialists) because we are anti-imperialist" Mariátegui, keeping in mind that only the proletariat, together with the peasantry, can be consistently anti-imperialist, pointed out: "For us, anti-imperialism does not constitute, nor can it constitute by itself, a political program, a mass movement capable of conquering power," and he concluded: "In conclusion, we are anti-imperialists because we are socialists, because we are revolutionaries, because we counterpoise socialism as an opposite system to capitalism, destined to replace it, because in the struggle against foreign imperialism we fulfill our duties of solidarity with the revolutionary masses of the world."

Thus, the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle intermingle as two inseparable matters and as integral parts of the national-democratic revolution which only the working class is capable of leading, provided it establishes the worker-peasant alliance as the starting point of the united front of the revolution.

d) The united front. Seeing the basic problems of the character of society and of the revolution and the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggles, the question arises of the instruments of social transformation, of the "three key levers of the revolution": The united front, the military problem and the Party.

"My attitude, from the time I incorporated myself to this vanguard, was always one of a convinced, fervent propagandist of the united front," wrote Mariátegui on the occasion of the May

1st, 1924. He pointed out that "we are still too few to divide ourselves" and the many common tasks pending in the service of the class. He was a consistent defender of the united front, he demanded it as a solidarity action, concrete and practical for those who, without getting ideologically confused, "must feel themselves united by class solidarity, linked by the common struggle against the common adversary, linked by the same revolutionary will and the same renewing passion"; and after recognizing that "the variety of tendencies and the diversity of ideological shades is inevitable in that human legion called the proletariat," he demanded: "What matters is that those groups and those tendencies to know how to understand each other before the concrete reality of the day. So they do not crash like Byzantines in mutual excommunications and ex-confessions. That they do not alienate the masses from the revolution, by a big show of the dogmatic quarrels of their preachers. That they don't use their weapons or waste their time in hurting each other, but in fighting the old social order, its institutions, its injustices and its crimes."

These words resound alive today as the current order, demanding to unite so as to fulfill the common "historic duties" of developing class consciousness and the feeling of the class, of sowing and spreading and renovating class ideas, to wrest the workers away from the false institutions claiming to represent them; to fight repression and the corporatist offensive, to defend the organization, the press and the tribune of the class, to struggle for the rights and gains of the peasantry; "historical duties" in whose fulfillment our paths will meet and join."

On that basis Mariátegui proposed forming the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front which under the leadership of the working class and based on the workers' and peasants' alliance could unite workers and peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie and, under certain conditions and circumstances, the "bourgeois left," which we now

call the national bourgeoisie. The united front is a fundamental weapon of the national-democratic revolution; but it can only be developed based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the proletariat, not by the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie. In this front, the working class, through its Party, enters into an alliance with other classes. "But in any event it will give the proletariat ample freedom of criticism, of action, of the press and of organization." There we have the politics of the united front and the independent class politics which the Party must never abandon.

On the other hand, Mariátegui highlighted that when confronted by a revolutionary threat the bourgeoisie also forms a united front, "but only temporarily, only while a definite assault on the revolution is prepared. Afterwards each one of the bourgeois groups tries to recover its autonomy .... Within the bourgeoisie there are contrasts of ideology and interests, contrasts which no one can suppress"; that way, the bourgeois block is necessity broken by the development of its own internal contradictions and the development of the class struggle.

These theses, verified by reality, also demand overcoming sectarianism, which today is badly generalized, keeping in mind that "the masses demand unity" and keep our ears alert to these relevant and peremptory words: "The noble, lofty and sincere spirits of the revolution perceive and respect that above any theoretical barrier, the historical solidarity of their efforts and works. Sectarian egotism and the privilege of incomprehension belong to the lowly spirits without horizons or wings, to dogmatic mentalities, who want to petrify and immobilize life in a rigid formulation."

Our country lives today under a corporatist offensive, a reactionary offensive which like all of its kind employs political

deceit and repression, according to its needs; while in the people's camp sectarianism and hegemonism divide and conspire against the common united action, each day more necessary and urgent. We must struggle for unification, today more than ever, since "a reactionary policy will ultimately cause the polarization of the lefts. It will provoke the fusion of all proletarian forces. The capitalist counter offensive will achieve what the instinct of the working classes has been unable to do: The united proletarian front." We are fighting against a fascist government which carries on a general corporative readjustment that, after intense demagoguery and much propagandized "humanist, libertarian and Christian socialism," it confuses understanding and surrenders wills, deceitfully using the reactionary double tactic, of repression and political deceit, generates vacillation and sharpens conciliatory rightism in the people's own ranks. In these circumstances, we must adhere and apply the following proposals by Mariátegui:

"We live in a period of open ideological belligerence. The men who represent a renewing force cannot enter into concerts with or be confused by, not even casually or fortuitously, those representing conservative or regressive forces. An historical abyss separates them. They speak diverse languages and do not have a common intuition of history."

"I think we must unite those who are alike, not those who are unlike. We must get closer to those whom history wants united. That we must support those whom history wants to be solidarity. That I think is the only possible coordination. The only intelligence with a precise and effective historical sense."

And also: "I am a revolutionary. But I think that among men of clear thinking and defined position it is easy to reach an understanding and appreciate each other, even while clashing with each other. Above all, while fighting each other. With the

political sector, with which I will never reach an understanding is another thing: That of mediocre reformism, of domesticated socialism, or with the democracy of pharisees."

f) The military problem. Not much is said about Mariátegui's theses on the military problem, moreover it is believed he never expounded on such an important question; on the contrary, in his works the importance Mariátegui gave to revolutionary violence, war and military organization is notable. Already by 1921 he wrote: "there is no such thing as a measured, even, soft, serene, placid revolution"; in 1923: "power is conquered through violence ... only through dictatorship is power preserved"; in 1925: "While reaction is the instinct of conservation, the agony of the past, revolution is the painful gestation, the bloody birth of the present"; and in 1927: "if revolution demands violence, authority, discipline, I am for violence, authority, discipline. I accept them, as a whole with all their horrors without cowardly reservations." The thesis of revolutionary violence, therefore, is a constant theme of his thought, theses that are hidden by opportunism and which as Marxists we must raise firmly and consequently.

But this is not his entire understanding of the revolution, which is conceived and defined as protracted: "A revolution is not a coup d'etat, nor an insurrection, it is not one of those things here we call a revolution by the arbitrary use of that word. A revolution takes many years to be fulfilled. Frequently it has alternate periods when revolutionary forces are dominant and then when counterrevolutionary forces predominate. Just like a war is a process of offensives and counter-offensives, of victories and defeats, as long as one of the conflicting sides does not finally surrender, as long as it does not resign from the fight, it is not vanquished. Its defeat is temporary but not total. According to this interpretation of history, reaction, white terror ... are but episodes in the class struggle ... an ungrateful chapter of the

revolution." Here we see the correct Marxist position before the struggle of revolution and counterrevolution, the unchanging confidence in the necessary revolutionary triumph; here we have the theses that must guide us.

Besides, Mariátegui establishes the relationship between politics and war, he derives the weakness of the military front from the political weakness, and military strength also as a political product: "Because, that way, in this as in the rest of world war, as in the rest of its great aspects, the political factors, the morale factors, the psychological factors had more importance than purely military factors." So, war follows politics. He understood, as our founder, that revolution generates an army of the new type with its own tasks and different from the armies of the exploiters: "The red army is a new case in the world's military history, it is an army which feels its role as a revolutionary army and which does not forget that its aim is the defense of the revolution. Any specific and militarily imperialist feeling is by necessity excluded from its soul. Its discipline, its organization and its structure are revolutionary." Here we have the army of the new type which the revolution generates and which can only arise under the absolute control of the Party, as Mao Tse-tung teaches.

Finally, Mariátegui paid special attention to the Mexican Revolution in Latin America and the Chinese Revolution in Asia, highlighting in both their national-democratic character, their agrarian roots, the role of the peasantry and the vital participation of the working class, while at the same time highlighting the contrary works of imperialism and of the bourgeoisie which betrayed or trafficked with the revolution.

Starting from the basic premise of "land for those who till it," he proposed arming peasants and workers to conquer and defend it, arming the masses of peasants and workers to carry forward the

national-democratic revolution. He highlighted its development as a peasant's revolution which advances from the countryside and which develops in "revolutionary actions," in montoneras [armed group of masses in the Andes--Trans.] joined together by the solidarity of soldiers and officers in "organic unity, in whose veins circulates the same blood"; in montoneras joined to the masses with the same solidarity relations existing within them: "the same relationship of body, of class, existed within the montonera and the workers and peasants masses. The montoneras simply were the most active, warlike and dynamic part of the masses." Evidently when Mariátegui wrote those words about the Soviet guerrillas which in the 1920's fought in Siberia against the reactionaries, he thought of the montoneras in our country and Latin America; and in doing so he described and revealed for us the essential relationship between guerrillas and the masses of the people, its undetachable unity, the guerrilla condition of being "the most active, warlike and dynamic part of the masses," integral part of the masses and never an action separate from them.

These points make up Mariátegui's thought about the military problem besides his basic thesis that peasant uprisings cannot triumph on their own and if ever they triumphed it was under the leadership of the old bourgeoisie. But today, in the age of imperialism, and precisely in our America, where "the bourgeoisie has not known how or wanted to fulfill the tasks of liquidating feudalism," where "a close descendant of the Spanish conquerors, it has been impossible for it to appropriate the rights and gains of the peasant masses," it corresponds to the proletariat and only the proletariat, to lead the masses of the peasantry towards the destruction of feudalism through the protracted war of the countryside to the city in the national-democratic revolution.

g) The Party of the Proletariat. "The political struggle demands



creating a class Party," says point III of the Act of Constitution of the PCP. What does that mean? Simply that the class struggle demands from the proletariat their independent organization as a political party, with their own interests for the achievement of the historical goal of the working class. In that way, the party is the result of the development of the class struggle in our country and of the appearance, development and maturity of our proletariat. It is a need of the logical development of our history, of the existence of classes, of the existence of the working class and, therefore, in no way can it be considered superfluous, quite the contrary, it is the main and indispensable instrument for the working class to conquer power and for building the new Peruvian society, necessary for as long as there are classes and while the classless society is not yet achieved.

The Communist Party "is the organized vanguard of the proletariat, the political force assuming its task of orienting and leading the struggle for the fulfillment of its class ideals," says its Program, established by Mariátegui himself; and about social composition, the "organization of the workers and peasants with a strict class character is the object of our effort and our propaganda, and the base of the struggle," says point III of the aforementioned Act. The Communist Party is the organized vanguard of the Peruvian working class, there we have its precise demarcation and adherence to Marxism-Leninism, "revolutionary method in the age of imperialism" which "it adopts as a means of struggle," as the Program says; while its social composition aims at incorporating into its ranks the best of the proletariat and the peasantry.

The Party is not and cannot be an electoral apparatus but an organization for the taking of power; while it may be able to take advantage of elections, its power is not rooted in them. Mariátegui, analyzing the German situation, clearly delimited

what was happening: "The power of a Party, as shown in this case, does not depend strictly on its electoral and parliamentary strength. Universal suffrage may diminish their votes in the chamber, without touching its political influence .... The Socialist Party, which is a class Party with more than hundred and fifty parliamentary votes, are enough to assure for them organizing a cabinet, but does not authorize them to exclude from this cabinet the bankers and industrialists, unless it opts for a revolutionary road." That way, to Mariátegui the Party is not electoral nor can it follow "parliamentary cretinism," parliamentarism is a political organization of the bourgeoisie just as much as the corporatist modes of organization. Therefore, for the Party the question is to forge itself as a "system of organizations," as a war machine for the conquest of power by way of revolutionary violence to overthrow the governing social order, like our founder reminds us: "History teaches us that all new social State have been formed upon the ruins of the preceding social states. Between the birth of the one and the death of the other there was, logically, an intermediate period of crisis."

Once again, the founding of the Communist Party is the fulfillment of Mariátegui's theoretical and practical struggle and of his direct participation in the class struggle, it was his great contribution and service to the proletariat, over more than 30 years of combat in our contemporary history, which sustained the appearance and development of the PCP. In contributing to the building of our Party, Mariátegui gave it the ideological-political bases we find in the Act of Constitution, the Party Program. In its three fundamental theses: Background and Development of the Class Action, Anti-Imperialist Viewpoint, and Outline of the Indigenous Problem; as well as Mariátegui's entire works, among which we note Seven Essays, History of the World Crisis, Let's Peruvianize Peru, and others, in each one of them he sets forth and resolves problems of the revolutionary struggle.

Consequently, we must understand the written work of Mariátegui as part of the construction and political-ideological foundation of the Party.

José Carlos Mariátegui, our founder, crowned his struggle for the Party with his Theses of Affiliation to the III (Third) International, an important text that must be remembered:

"The Communists of the Party adhere to the Third International and agree to work to obtain that same adhesion from the groups which form the Party. The ideology we adopt is revolutionary and militant Marxism, a doctrine we accept in all its aspects: philosophical, political and social-economical. The methods we endorse are those of orthodox revolutionary socialism. We not only reject, but fight by all means and in all its forms the methods and tendencies of social-democracy of the Second International."

"The Party is a class Party and therefore repudiates any tendency implying fusion with political forces and organizations of the other classes. The Party recognizes that, within national conditions, reality will impose upon us pacts and alliances, usually with the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie; but in any event it will win for the proletariat freedom of criticism, of action, of the press and of organization."

Here, we have a document edited by Mariátegui and which he himself presented to the Central Committee on 1st March 1930 and approved on following March 4th; this document is enough to topple so much anti-Party phrase-mongering which today does not deserve to be considered.

Finally, let's recall that to Mariátegui: "Parties are not born out of some academic little council" and that the Party "is not and cannot be a peaceful and unanimous academy"; but the Party is

forged amidst the class struggle of the masses and advances amidst the internal two-line struggle, so its history cannot be understood outside the red line imprinted by Mariátegui and its protracted and winding struggle against the non-proletarian line which has always surfaced, openly or covertly, against Mariátegui's thought.

h) The mass line. Along with all that has been exposed we see how at the bottom of all these proposals there is a position, the mass line, a basic question in Mariátegui's thought, which is little known. It suffices to highlight here that Mariátegui considers that the presence of the masses fills contemporary times, that the multitudes, as he says, are the main actors today. The working class have a myth, a goal--social revolution, a goal which the proletariat upholds and marches towards, with "an active and vehement faith", in contrast to the bourgeois skepticism and decadence. The masses fight for "the final struggle" sure of their victory and he says: "The sentence in Eugene Portier's song (The Internationale) acquires historical relief: 'It's the final struggle!' The Russian proletariat greets this ecumenical cry of the world proletariat. The war cry and hope by the multitudes, already heard in the streets of Rome, of Milan, of Berlin, of Paris, of Vienna and of Lima. All the emotion of an era is with them. The revolutionary multitudes believe they are waging the final struggle."

The masses, the main actors of history, today more than ever before go on defining world history the way "the professionals of intelligence are unable to find ... that the multitudes will find"; the masses formed out of anonymous heroes, the real heroes Mariátegui admired: "The anonymous hero of the factory, of the mine, of field; the unknown soldier of the social revolution." Masses whose interests are in solidarity confronting the contradictory and concurrent interests of the bourgeoisie; masses

"which work to create a new order" and to which we must serve and interpret, since individuals and leaders are judged according to "how well they have been able to serve and interpret the revolutionary masses."

However, Mariátegui always emphasizes that the masses ultimately are the basic masses, the workers and peasants: "the force of the revolution always resided in the alliance between workers and agrarians, that is of the workers and peasants masses," as he says speaking of the Mexican Revolution; that before them opportunism is manifested by "trusting more the possibility of exploiting the contradictions and rivalries among chiefs than in the possibility of carrying the masses towards clear revolutionary politics," and that the Mexican struggle always crushed the counterrevolution "by way of a great mobilization of the workers and peasant revolutionary masses." These and other proposals show the definite position of Mariátegui with respect to the masses, in whose struggles he considers that Marxism is alive: "Marx lives in the struggle for the realization of socialism waged by innumerable multitudes animated by his doctrines throughout the world."

What is said does not imply the negation of the importance of leaders in the class struggle, leaders whose dimension, we reiterate, are measured by the identification with the interests of the revolutionary classes and service rendered to them, mainly to the proletariat, the class that generates a new type of "thinking and acting" person. With respect to the acts of revolutionaries, Mariátegui demanded taking into account the class struggle in the mind of the individual: "Decadence and revolution coexist in the same world and also in the same individual. The conscience ... is the fighting arena of a struggle between the two spirits, the understanding of this struggle, sometimes, almost invariably, escapes ... but finally one or the other spirit prevails. The other

one remains strangled on the arena." While speaking of the hero he stated: "the hero always arrives at the goal blooded and torn: only through this price can we wholly pay for his heroism," noticing that the struggle always leaves its marks; finally stating: "Today like yesterday a political order cannot be changed without individuals resolved to resist jail or exile" and, "to a revolutionary, a prison is merely a work-related accident.

Mariátegui's mass line merits our attention, more so today when the basic problem becomes the arena of a battle larger and increasing each day. Let's keep in mind today, more than ever, the following: "the masses demand unity. The masses want faith. Their souls reject the corroding voice, the dissolving and pessimistic voice of those who deny and who doubt. They seek the optimistic and cordial voice, youthful and fruitful, of those who affirm and who believe."

i) Other aspects of Mariátegui's line. All the above confirms the basic points of the general political line of Mariátegui about the Peruvian revolution; but that is not his entire work. The founder of the Communist Party, from the viewpoint of the working class and in function of the revolutionary transformation of our Peruvian society, set specific political lines for work in trade and industrial unions, among workers, feminist, youth, teachers and intellectual groups, and other working fronts. These specific policies are the basis to develop a class line in each front of the mass work; also the question in them is to Retake Mariátegui's Road and develop it according to the present circumstances in the class struggle.

j) Mariátegui set the general political line of the Peruvian revolution. It follows clearly that Mariátegui, systematizing the experience of struggle of the working class and the people of Peru, established through his direct theoretical and practical

participation in the class struggle the general political line of the Peruvian revolution, as well as the specific political class line in the various fronts of the mass work. All this can be considered Mariátegui's Road, the road of the Peruvian Revolution, the general laws of the revolution in our country and of the action of the working class as the leading class for the conquest of power and installing the dictatorship of the proletariat allowing the building of a new society in our nation, socialism as the revolutionary transformation towards the classless society, the Communist society.

Mariátegui's Road has an axis: The Communist Party, without which there can be no revolution or genuine successes for the people. The Communist Party, the organized vanguard of the proletariat, is needed so the working class can lead, since only it, through its vanguard, is able to lead the national-democratic revolution and sustained by the worker-peasant alliance fulfill the first stage of the Peruvian Revolution so that, with the dictatorship of the proletariat, it can develop into the second stage, that of the proletarian revolution.

So the decisive question in our revolution, today more than ever, is to Retake Mariátegui's Road and to develop it in the midst of the class struggle of the masses today to serve the working class, the people and the revolution.

#### IV. TO RETAKE MARIATEGUI AND RECONSTITUTE HIS PARTY SERVES THE WORKING CLASS, THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION.

a) Mariátegui's Road emerged and developed through struggle.

Mariátegui's Road emerged in the midst of the class struggle against the existing social order; it had to fight against the

reactionary system of prevailing ideas and battle arduously with APRA, which denied the need for a Party of the Proletariat. The founding of the Communist Party was the product of a sharp struggle and sets a fundamental milestone in the process of Mariátegui's Road. However the struggle which José Carlos Mariátegui waged was not only outside the ranks of the Party, but also within its ranks where he struggled to keep it adhering to Marxism-Leninism and the Communist International.

Quite soon, almost immediately after his death, a whole opportunist line developed which treacherously began to speak about the "proletarianization" and "improvement" of Mariátegui; while outside Party ranks the "Aprista criticism" labeled Mariátegui as "intellectualized" and a "Europeanizer" with the veiled purpose of denying his line and destroying the Party. By the early 1940's, questions surfaced concerning Mariátegui's Marxist foundation, though hypocritically, they recognized its great quality. Later on Del Prado and company, while calling themselves "disciples of Mariátegui," made an "inoffensive icon" out of him, whom they enveloped in frankincense while renouncing his Road. That is how an entire period of denying and questioning Mariátegui and his Road evolved; however Mariátegui's red line kept on living embodied in the struggle of the classes, mainly of workers and peasants and in the minds and actions of communists who carried forward Mariátegui's flag and continued the struggle within the Party in search of Mariátegui's Road.

b) Retaking Mariátegui's Road. The decade of the 1960's shook the international communist world with the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, which had repercussions in our country, mainly the great works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the very important struggle waged by the Communist Party of China together with fraternal parties. Simultaneously, the



1960's in our country implied the sharpening of the class struggle and a great rise in the movement of the masses, especially of the peasantry. The country experienced the deepening of bureaucratic capitalism, still going on; the workers carried out large strike movements and increased affiliation to their unions; the peasantry spontaneously carried forward, most of the time, conquering the land with their own actions and an unending wave of land occupations shook the entire country. The petty-bourgeoisie, especially teachers and students, became more and more involved in the people's struggles. At the same time, the demo-liberal parliamentary order entered a crisis, as in other parts of America, and its political parties, its reactionary political parties entered a fierce battle to gain positions and reap privileges. This confronted reaction with the need to fulfill two tasks: To deepen bureaucratic capitalism, taking the State as the main economic leverage, and the corporate remodeling of Peruvian society so as to overcome the crisis of bourgeois parliamentarism. These are the conditions and the cause of the rise of the current fascist regime and the tasks the exploiting classes and imperialism have charged it with fulfilling, when they saw the dangers of the questioning of their order entailed by the rise in the struggles of the masses, one chapter of which was the guerrilla struggle, which contained important future lessons for the people.

In the midst of these conditions and sharpening struggle, the theoretical and practical action of the communists developed, the Peruvian Marxist-Leninists, who, taking Mao Tse-tung Thought and its wise teachings, battled to Retake Mariátegui's Road and Reconstitute his Party. In January 1964, the PCP expelled from its ranks the revisionist clique of Del Prado and company, a fact which established a milestone in the long road of the Party; that way at the IV Conference a step was given to adhere to Marxism under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung Thought. Another point of advance was the V Conference, in November 1965, which

centered its attention in the understanding of our society and its revolution, getting us closer yet to Mariátegui's line. Other important moments in Retaking Mariátegui and Reconstituting His Party were the successful struggles the Communist Party waged against a right opportunist line masquerading as leftist, whose crowning point was the VI Conference, in January 1969 an event in which the Party formalized its reconstitution starting from the Basis of Party Unity, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, and Mariátegui's thought and the general political line, whose cornerstone is Mariátegui; a reconstitution which, as was sanctioned, implied reconstituting the Party for the People's War. That is how the long period of searching for Mariátegui's Thought was fulfilled, opening up the stage of: "Retaking Mariátegui's Road," one of whose stages is the reconstitution of the Party, as a basic and necessary question.

However, the struggle did not end there but is constant. The rise of the current fascist regime and its counter-revolutionary program impacted our ranks by generating a liquidationist right opportunist line, which aimed dangerously against the life of the Party itself. This struggle had as milestones the II Plenum of the Central Committee, which characterized the struggle against liquidationist opportunism, and called to fight against it, and the III Plenum of the Central Committee "ON RECONSTITUTION" which corroborated the defeat of liquidationism and set the political, organizational and mass work basis for the function of the reconstitution of the Party. That way, an ever better perspective to the fulfillment of its historic mission opened up for the Party of Mariátegui. Finally, the VI Plenum of the PCP Central Committee, under the slogan of "FULLY RETAKE MARIATEGUI'S ROAD TO DEVELOP THE MASS WORK TAKING THE PARTY AS ITS CENTER," officially sanctioned RETAKING MARIATEGUI'S ROAD as the decisive question in the Reconstitution, in synthesis, the general political line around

whose application and development we must fulfill the reconstitution of Mariátegui's Party.

Of what was said, Mariátegui's Road, that is the general political line of the Peruvian Revolution, emerged and developed itself amidst the class struggle and the two-line struggle within the Party, the proletarian red line imposed by Mariátegui and the various non-proletarian lines it has assumed along the years. Thus three moments can be distinguished in its development:

- 1) The emerging of Mariátegui's Road and founding of the Party;
- 2) The search for Mariátegui's Road;
- 3) The Retaking of Mariátegui's Road and Reconstitution of the Party. Three moments which imply over 40 years of our Party's history, of the history of the Peruvian proletariat and of the history of the class struggle in contemporary Peru.

c) The relevance of Mariátegui Thought. We saw how in the 1960's Mariátegui's thinking went on establishing itself more and more firmly; however in that period, in which we still live, interest for Mariátegui grows, inside and outside the country. At the same time, we see a denial of Mariátegui on two levels: Some attack and deny the Marxist bases of Mariátegui thinking, and others deny its relevance. Those questioning its Marxist bases contend the ideological base sustaining it is irrational idealism and the concepts predominating in western philosophical thought, mainly European. Once Mariátegui's theses about Marxist philosophy, politics economics and scientific socialism are set forth, these observations need not be analyzed any further; it suffices to reiterate that the Marxist character of the bases of Mariátegui are sufficiently clear, and point out that those impugning it have at the bottom a central argument: The impossibility for Marxism to

develop in a country with few industrial workers. This starting point uncovers an unacceptable mechanical position; for Marxism to appear on a world scale, the development of the working class to the level it had attained in Europe by the mid 19th century was needed, and on that material base Marx and Engels created Marxism, which from that point on develops vigorously and spreads itself through the five continents. The revolutionaries of the backwards countries, where there are immense masses of peasants and proportionally a reduced industrial working class, found in Marxism an instrument to guide their actions and taking its principles they fused them with specific revolutionary conditions; in that way, Marxism-Leninism fused with the concrete conditions of the movements of national liberation and their democratic revolutions. This was consequently shown incontrovertibly by Mao Tse-tung Thought, as it developed Marxism.

A similar case is that of the founder of the Communist Party of Peru. Mariátegui also applied Marxism-Leninism to a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, furthermore, he analyzed similar countries in Latin America; and participating directly in the class struggle in our country he was able to develop himself as a Marxist and to apply the universal principles creatively, therefore, there is a similarity between many of his ideas and Mao's proposals. Facts prove, as the years passed, the Marxist essence of Mariátegui's thought. What happens is that those who are unguarded get disoriented by the language he uses, which they are unfamiliar with, compounded by ignoring the conditions in our Latin America and, more fundamentally, by starting off from positions which are contrary to Marxism.

Those questioning the relevance of Mariátegui allege that, while he was indeed a Marxist and a notable thinker, his positions were left behind 40 years ago. These people forget that later studies and

researches do not deny but quite the contrary confirm Mariátegui's theses; and, what is more important, that not having completed the national-bourgeois revolution and much less initiated the proletarian one, Mariátegui's thought and his Road, his general political line of the Peruvian Revolution continue to be fully current as shown, precisely, by the four decades elapsed and even more by the need to Retake His Roads born amidst the great struggles of the 1960's and the current class struggle.

c) Retake Mariátegui and Reconstitute His Party. In reaching this point and after having seen the above on Mariátegui's thought, which is materialized politically in his Road for the Peruvian Revolution, the first thing we must reiterate is that Mariátegui is the culminating political expression of the Peruvian proletariat. On the other hand, the almost 50 years of development of Mariátegui's Road show that its flags are those of the working class, proven over long decades during which it has been clearly established that the success of the proletariat depends on holding them firmly to carry them forward, while its failure is in abandoning or underestimating them. No Peruvian class or party, except the Communist Party, is able to show such accumulated experience, nor such lofty flags proven in the class struggle.

The key today, more than ever, is Retaking Mariátegui's Road; which implies placing the working class in command of the revolution, establishing the leadership of the only consistent revolutionary class to the process which will demolish the prevailing social order; to develop the organized vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party, so it can fulfill its role of chief of staff without which there cannot be a revolution; while adhering to Mariátegui as the concentrated political expression of the working class; in synthesis, it is to struggle for the leadership of the working class in the Peruvian Revolution. In that way, Mariátegui becomes the flag for the people of Peru, the basis of

the unity of the exploited and broad masses and the only road to our national-democratic revolution.

To Retake Mariátegui's Road is to Reconstitute the Communist Party, his Party; to work for its ideological-political buildup, develop the foundations given by its founder and simultaneously, to fight for its organizational buildup by readjusting the organizational to the political. To Reconstitute the Party today is, in sum, promoting its reconstitution by Retaking Mariátegui and aiming at developing the People's War.

The Communist Party, sure of its road and conscious of its goal, in the 80th anniversary of its founder and 47th of its founding, raises its red proletarian flags and declares before the masses of our country, especially before the workers and peasants, that in the current counterrevolutionary offensive and the perspective of the increasing development of the struggle of the masses, our duty is to get ready for the struggle by preparing ourselves in the midst of the storm of the class struggle of the masses under the slogan of RETAKE MARIATEGUI AND RECONSTITUTE HIS PARTY TO SERVE THE WORKING CLASS, THE PEOPLE AND THE REVOLUTION.

# ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PARTY

BANDERA ROJA, NO. 46 AUGUST 1976

"All the revolutionary struggles in the world have the objective of taking and consolidating power."

Mao Tse-Tung

Summarizing the experiences of 100 years of working class struggle and world revolution, in 1948, Chairman Mao Tse-tung wrote:

"If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary Party. Without a revolutionary Party, without a revolutionary Party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in Marxist Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs. In the more than one hundred years since the birth of Marxism, it is only through the example of the Russian Bolsheviks in leading the October Revolution, in leading socialist construction and in defeating fascist aggression that revolutionary Parties of the new type were formed and developed in the world. With the birth of revolutionary parties of this type, the face of the world revolution has changed. The change has been so great that transformations utterly inconceivable to people of the older generation have come into being through fire and thunder... With the birth of the Communist Party, the face of the Chinese revolution took on an altogether new aspect. Is this fact not clear enough?" (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol IV p. 284. The highlights are by our Party)

Here we have condensed the question of the Party; its necessity

and its construction as a Party of the new type which builds and gives precise direction to the world revolution and of each country as it functions for the working class and its emancipation.

There are three questions that need to be taken into account :

- 1) The necessity of the Party, which is the problem of taking power for the working class;
- 2) The building of the Party, which is the problem of its construction in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country in which the working class, and only it through its Party, can lead the democratic-national revolution; and
- 3) The internal struggle, which is the problem in which the Party develops itself in the midst of the struggle with two lines in its heart, struggle around which Party unity and cohesion are sustained.

These three questions demand that we take into account: first, Marxism in theory and practice, the experience of Marxism in the problem of Party building, the great teachings systematized by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao Tse-Tung; second, the building of the Party in our own country; and third, the current situation in which the building of the working class Party unfolds in our country.

## MARXISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PARTY

In the midst of the nineteenth century, with the appearance of Marxism, the working class arose as a new class and the last one in history. With the Manifesto of the Communist Party the proletariat was furnished with the program which would take humanity towards a new world, to a Communist society, to a



classless society. This is the program and the path which all must necessarily cross under the leadership of the proletariat materialized in its Party. There is no other path for the classes, there is no other path for humanity. World history easily proves this. The October revolution, the Chinese revolution and others, the rising national liberation movement, the persistent march of the international working class and its revolutionary parties are all part of this inevitable path. A path which in the coming 50 or 100 years will decisively develop in great earth shaking struggles, as Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches.

## MARX, ENGELS AND THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY

Marx and Engels founded the concept of the working class which is Marxism. They raised solid truths which we cannot abandon such as: the principle of class struggle to understand and transform the world; violence as the midwife of history; the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of the revolutionary transformation of the old society through a long historical process, among others. But also, and at times it is not emphasized enough, Marx and Engels realized their thesis on the necessity of building the working class Party as an indispensable instrument to fight for its class interests. Thus, in the midst of arduous struggle against old anarchist concepts with a profoundly bourgeois essence, they were able to establish in the statutes of the International, in 1864 and 1872:

"In its struggle against the united power of the owning classes the proletariat cannot act as a class unless it constitutes itself into a political Party distinct and opposed to all the old political parties created by the owning classes."

"This constitution of the proletariat into a political Party is indispensable to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and

its ultimate goal: the abolition of the classes..."

"Given that the lords of the land and capital always use their political privileges to defend and perpetuate their economic monopolies and to subjugate labor, the conquest of political power has become the great duty of the proletariat." (Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 23 P. 243)

Marx and Engels started from the idea that the workers themselves had to struggle for their own emancipation as a class, and that the economic emancipation of the proletariat is "the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means." They proposed the need that the working class has in organizing itself as a political Party to struggle for its own class interests, to seize power and then, consequently, reach its goal, the realization of its historic objective: the abolition of classes and the building of a new society without exploiters or oppressors.

In the same manner they set forth that the working class organize itself "into a political Party distinct from, and opposed to, all the old political parties." This is because the working class upon organizing itself into a political Party, does so taking as its sustenance its class consciousness: Marxism. Because it has its own program, which Marx and Engels set forth in the Manifesto, which makes Communists "point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality" and in which "the varying stages of development which the struggle of the working class and against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole." Constantly keeping hold of its class consciousness which can be summarized "in this single sentence: Abolition of private property." (Marx and Engels, Vol. 6, pp. 497-498) In this manner they proposed the

building of a "distinct and opposed" Party that would serve the class unity which the revolution demanded, or, in their own words:

"To ensure the success of the revolution, the unity of thought and action is necessary. The members of the international try to create this unity through propaganda, discussion and organization..."

In addition to the development of struggle in the Party of the proletariat they conceived the stage of revolution to be connected with other oppressed classes. Marx set forth that in Germany the working class revolution would depend on backing it "with a second edition of the peasant war," while Engels maintained: "In an agrarian country, it is vulgar to rise up exclusively against the bourgeoisie in the name of the industrial proletariat without saying anything about the patriarchal 'exploitation of the stick' to which the rural workers are subjected to by the feudal nobility." As such, Lenin would state:

"While in Germany the (bourgeois) democratic revolution was not finished, Marx focused all attention on what he referred to as the socialist proletariat's tactic of pushing the peasant's democratic energy."

Finally, Marx and Engels carried out a great and intense struggle for the building of the proletariat's Party. They invested long years in struggling against anarchism until converting Marxism into the recognized conception of the working class and in support of its political organization. Marx and Engels had to confront the machinations of Bakunin and his group who "covering themselves with the most extremist Marxism, did not direct their blows against the existing governments but against the revolutionaries who did not accept their orthodoxy and their leadership" and who "infiltrate the ranks of the organization..."

and at the beginning try to take over the leadership; and when their plan fails, they try to disrupt it"; who "organize... their small secret sects"; who "publicly attack in their newspapers all those elements who refuse to submit to their will"; and who "do not retreat before any means, before any disloyalty, lie, calumny, intimidation and betrayals which all serve them equally well." (Marx and Engels, Vol. 23, P. 459) In summary, against anarchism which behind all its mascarades of high sounding radical leftism, hides its rightist essence and its economism which denies the class politics of the proletariat. Later, they carried out a struggle against rightist deviations and opportunism in the midst of the social-democratic parties, especially in Germany, because of its negations of class principles and with its bourgeois deformations of the political program. This, like the previous struggle, was carried out in defense of unity demanding that "we should have the courage to renounce immediate successes on the altar of more important things." Teaching self-criticism and the serious judging of errors and what should be greatly highlighted, pointing out the root of the struggle and schism:

"As for the rest, in the past Hegel said that a Party showed its triumph by accepting and resisting schisms. The proletarian movement will necessarily go through diverse phases of development and in each one of these some people get stuck and no longer go forward. This is the only reason in which the practice of proletarian solidarity is carried out everywhere by different groups of the Party who struggle for life or death amongst themselves, like the Christian sects of the Roman empire during the period of the worst persecutions."

These are fundamental questions which Marx and Engels taught us in relation to the necessity of the Party, its construction and development in struggle. This is a very important part of scientific socialism, of the very theory of the classic founders who many

times are not remembered. If Marx and Engels had not raised these issues, their gigantic task would not have had reason or basis. But, as it is very necessary to reiterate, since its appearance the scientific conception of the working class, Marxism, set forth and resolved the problem of the Party. What has happened is that, as in other fields of Marxism, this revolutionary theory and practice on the necessity of the Party, its construction and the struggle of two lines within it, has been developed, synthesizing the later great experiences of the international working class, efforts which have been accomplished at a global level by Lenin and Chairman Mao.

## LENIN AND THE BUILDING OF A NEW TYPE OF PARTY

The twentieth century brought us imperialism as the last and highest phase of capitalism. Lenin reestablished the old revolutionary theories of Marx and Engels, which the old revisionists had tried to destroy, and elevated them to the level of Marxism-Leninism. What implications does this development of Marxism have for the construction of the proletariat's Party? Lenin, conscious that they had reached the stage of seizing power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, repeated the necessity of the Party to transform society. His great point is shown:

"Give us an organization of revolutionaries and we'll shake Russia to its foundations."

For Lenin, to change the world requires a Party and this has a program which, according to his own words, "consists of the organization of the proletariat's class struggle and the leadership of this struggle whose final objective is the conquest of political power for the proletariat and the organization of socialist society."

Understanding, like no one else in his time, the necessity of the

organization of the proletariat in whose organization their strength resides, Lenin set forth the following principle which no Communist can forget:

"The Proletariat, in its struggle for power, has no weapon other than organization. The proletariat, disunited by anarchic competition within the bourgeois world, crushed by forced labor at the service of capital, constantly thrown in the abyss of the most complete misery, brutality and degeneration, can only become, and will inevitably become, an invincible force when its ideological union by means of Marxist principles secures itself through the organization's material unity, which gives cohesion to the millions of workers in the army of the working class. Before this army neither the decrepit power of the Russian aristocracy nor the decaying power of international capitalism will be able to sustain itself. Each day this army will extend its ranks farther, despite all the zigzags and steps backwards, despite the opportunist phrases of the puppets of contemporary social democracy, despite the fatuous eulogies of the backward circular spirit, despite the tinsel and the intellectual's own anarchist bankruptcy." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 7, p. 415)

We Communist and revolutionary Peruvians must pay attention to these words which are today more precious than ever. In them we reiterate: In the first place, the struggle for power demands the organization of the proletariat, and its importance is such that it composes its only weapon. In the second place, despite all the difficulties imposed by exploitation, if it takes Marxism as its guide and base of ideological unity and solidifies it by tightening their ranks in organization, the proletariat will be invincible. In the third place, against the organized army of the proletariat the reactionary power will be unable to stay in power in any country nor will imperialism or social imperialism on a global level. In the fourth place, the organized working class will close its ranks more

and more against the sinister plots of contemporary revisionism, advancing despite the evidently decrepit group and sectarian spirit, and will march on despite the organizational renunciation and the declamatory verbiage of the "intellectual's own anarchism."

In that manner Lenin set forth the problem of the construction of the Party, of its necessity and development in struggle and of its ideological, political and organizational construction.

But this is not all. In *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, Lenin set forth the organizational theories of the Party, whose majestic summary we take from the old and great *History of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the USSR* by Stalin, pp. 48-49.

1) The Party is a military detachment of the working class, a part of it. But it is a vanguard detachment which goes ahead, which leads. It is a conscious detachment who knows the laws of the revolutionary process, and it is a Marxist detachment which firmly sustains itself in the working classes' revolutionary conception.

2) The Party is an organized detachment, it is a system of organizations which "as a vanguard detachment of the working class, combines the maximum organization possible and only brings within it those elements who admit, at least, a minimal level of organization" for which it has its own obligatory discipline for all its members.

3) The Party is the proletariat's "highest form of organization" called on to lead the other class organizations for which goal it counts on being composed of the best children of the class (steeped in Marxism, learned in the laws of the class struggle), and with their own experience and that of the global working

class.

4) "The Party is the incarnation of the ties that unite the vanguard detachment of the working class with the masses." As such, it will not live or develop separated from the masses and, on the contrary, its life and development demand that it "multiply its links with the masses and win the masses' trust."

5) The Party should be organized along the principle of democratic centralism, with single statutes and with an equal discipline for all and "with a single leadership organ at its head, to be known as the Party congress. And in the intervals between the congress and the central committee's congress, with the submission of the minority to the majority, of the district organizations to the central organisms, and of the inferior organizations to the superior."

6) To maintain unity in its ranks the Party requires a single discipline applicable to all, a unity which demands great attention because, as Stalin would say, "Comrade Lenin gave us the legacy to care for the unity of the Party like children care for their eyes."

This thesis and the previous ones we should bear in mind as Communists and Peruvian revolutionaries, since all of them are vital. Another problem of extraordinary importance discussed by Lenin is that of clandestinity, a question which amongst ourselves is confused with hiding, with ostrich policies. Lenin set forth the need for a clandestine Party as a system of highly centralized organizations with the goal of being able to constantly count on, in all circumstances, with a "high command" capable of leading the revolution, maintaining its flags and sticking by them despite repression and persecution. Thus clandestinity serves so that the Party becomes a "war machine" which will indomitably persevere until accomplishing its goal of taking power in order to change



the world without ever separating itself from the masses. Due to the necessities of the very struggle in our country we should highlight some points on this complex problem. Here it is particularly important to have a clear idea of what the art of conspiratorial organization consists of. Lenin, in his own words, in Letter To a Comrade On Our Organizational Tasks, a booklet which is cited but whose principles are not understood much less applied, tells us:

"All art of conspiratorial organization should consist of knowing how to use everything and everyone, to give 'work for everyone' and at the same time maintain the leadership of the entire movement, not by the force of power it must be understood, but by authority, energy, greater experience and variety of knowledge and talent." (Lenin, Vol. 6, p.240)

In the same booklet, against those who understand clandestinity as something rigid and mechanical, Lenin states:

"Besides, the level of clandestinity and the organic form of the diverse circles will depend on the nature of its functions. As such it follows that the forms of organization shall be the most varied depending on the type of organization, from the 'strictest' tight and closed to the 'freest' broad, open and with little structure." (Lenin, Vol. 6, p. 245)

We consider this question to be of the utmost importance for our current revolutionary situation as there is, we reiterate, too much mechanical and non-dialectical thought in considering these problems. Lenin's theories regarding clandestine work are further set forth in *The Clandestine Party and Legal Work*:

"The problem of the clandestine Party and the legal work of social democracy within Russia is one of the Party's principal problems.

It occupies the attention of the P.O.S.D.R. during the entire period following the revolution (he refers to 1905) and has given place to the most violent struggle within its ranks."

"It is around this problem that the struggle of the liquidationists against the anti-liquidationists has developed... The December 1908 conference... focused with clarity on a special resolution, the Party's criterion on organizational questions: the Party is composed of clandestine social democratic cells who should create 'points of support for work amongst the masses' in the form of a net, as broad and branched off as possible, of legal workers' societies." (Lenin, Vol. 18 p. 386)

And highlighting the relations between legal and clandestine work:

"The main conclusion of the appreciation which our Party has at the moment is that Revolution is necessary and getting closer. The forms of development which lead to revolution have changed, but the old tasks of the revolution continue to stand. From there we draw the following conclusions: the forms of organization should change, the 'cells' should adopt flexible forms in such a manner that their expansion will not occur at the expense of the cells themselves but rather of their legal 'periphery', etc."

"But this change of form of the clandestine organization has nothing to do with the formula of 'accommodating' the legal movement. It is something completely different! The legal organizations are the points of support which allow taking to the masses the ideas of clandestine cells. That is to say that we modify the form of influence to the objective of which the prior influences continue in the sense of clandestine orientation."

"By the form of the organizations the clandestine 'accommodates

itself' to the legal. By the content of our Party's work, legal work will 'accommodate itself' to the clandestine ideas." (Lenin, Vol. 18, p. 392)

And finally:

"The social democratic Party is clandestine 'in its entirety,' in each one of its cells and, what is of greatest substance, by the entire content of its work which proposes and prepares for the revolution. Because of this, the most open work of the most open cells cannot be had as the 'open work of the Party.'" (Lenin, Vol. 18, p. 393-4)

This citation is lengthy but we consider it to be of great importance for all revolutionary work in our country and it deserves special attention as does the preceding on clandestine work.

In our country it is common to think that clandestine work separates us from the masses. But we shall recall what Lenin said with regard to this:

"But Sverdlov, this always professional revolutionary, did not become separated from the masses for even a moment. When the conditions of czarism condemned him to carry out exclusively illegal and clandestine activities, like it did to all revolutionaries of his time, Comrade Sverdlov also knew how to always march shoulder to shoulder and hand in hand with the vanguard workers under these conditions." (Lenin, Vol. 29, p. 91)

These are Lenin's fundamental theories which we should keep in mind in the building and development of the proletariat's Party and correctly apply them in the reconstitution of Mariategui's Party.

To conclude, it is sufficient to recall that these principles of the building of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat, of the Bolshevik Party, of the Party capable of taking power, did not fall out of the sky but were established in the midst of a great and hard struggle against the Mensheviks, the right opportunism of the time in Russia. Besides carrying out the struggle for the Party's organizational principles Lenin had to do so with a precise background: a right opportunist political line. It was from there that he wisely concluded that problems of organization would not change in 24 hours nor in 24 months. To finish, we recall that Lenin established that the parties advance in the midst of struggle, almost always under enemy fire. In his own words:

"We march together, arms linked, united, as a small group along a steep and difficult path. We are surrounded by enemies on all sides and must almost always march under fire. We have united ourselves by virtue of a freely adopted decision, precisely to struggle against enemies and not fall or stumble into the neighboring swamp whose dwellers criticize us from the beginning that we separated ourselves into another group and that we have chosen the path of struggle and not conciliation." (Lenin, Vol. 5, p. 355)

Are those theories of Lenin not important for us? Should not we revolutionaries and Communists really adhere to them? Are we doing it like we should? It is now time to set aside complacency and seriously judge our revolutionary reality.

## MAO TSE-TUNG AND THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY IN THE SEMIFEUDAL AND SEMICOLONIAL COUNTRIES.

To conclude our topic, Marxism and the building of the Party, we will use Chairman Mao Tse-Tung's thesis on the necessity of the

Party, its construction and the struggle in its midst. In this article's initial citation we precisely quoted his thesis on the necessity of the Party. It would be pointless to repeat it.

Going on to the problem of the party's construction we start out by noting that in *Problems of War and Strategy*, Chairman Mao sets forth the construct based on the universal principle of revolutionary violence. Thus he teaches us:

"The central task and the highest form of all revolution is the seizure of power by means of the armed struggle. That is to say, the solution of the problem by means of war. This revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle has universal validity in China as well as in other countries." (Mao, Vol. 2, p. 219)

Starting out from this Marxist-Leninist principle and differentiating between the revolution in the capitalist countries and in China, he established in the same work:

"In China the main form of struggle is war and the main form of organization is the army. All the other forms, such as the organizations and struggles of the popular masses are also very important and absolutely indispensable, and by no means should they be left aside. The goal of all these is to serve the war: before the outbreak of a war all the organizations and struggles have the duty of preparing for it,... After the outbreak of a war, all the organizations and struggles coordinate themselves in a direct or indirect manner with the war." (Mao, Vol. 2, 221)

Developing the problem of the building of the Party, Chairman Mao Tse-Tung in *Concerning the Appearance of 'The Communist' Magazine* sets forth and resolves fundamental problems. There he sets forth that, in the first place, the Communist Party of China carried out great and numerous

struggles in which it forged its militants, its cadres and its organizations, which obtained great victories and also suffered serious defeats. And to understand the laws of the Party's development requires an analysis of its own history and extracting from it the solution to its problems of construction.

In the second place, in the judgment of his own Party in its relations with the bourgeoisie and its relations with the united front and the armed struggle, he establishes the following great thesis:

"Through these complicated relations with the Chinese bourgeoisie the Chinese revolution and the Communist Party of China has developed. This is a historical particularity, a characteristic of the development of revolutions in the colonies or semi colonies, a characteristic absent in history of revolution in any capitalist country." (Mao, Vol. 2, p. 286-7)

This question is basic for we Communists and Peruvian revolutionaries as our society is also semicolonial and semi-feudal from which it is derived that our revolution will also be bourgeois-democratic just like the first stage of the Chinese revolution, and in which, in consequence, "The principal target of the revolution shall be imperialism and feudalism."

In the third place, the Chinese revolution presents two particularities, in Chairman Mao's own words:

"Thus, the formation by the proletariat into a revolutionary national united front with the bourgeoisie or the forced rupture of this front in the first place, and the armed struggle as the principle form of the revolution in the second place, have become the two fundamental particularities in the course of the democratic-bourgeois revolution in China."

In the fourth place, the preceding emphasizes that the building and development of the Communist Party of China cannot be understood on the margin of these two particularities which are basic questions of the democratic revolution's political line. The same great leader teaches us:

"The defeats and successes of the Party, its retreats or advances, the reduction or growth of its ranks, its development and consolidation cannot stop being linked by the Party's relationship with the bourgeoisie and with the armed struggle. When the political line firmly resolves the questions of establishing a united front with the bourgeoisie or of the forced rupture of said united front, the Party takes a step forward... In the same manner when the Party approaches the armed revolutionary struggle in a correct form it takes a step forward... The course of the Party's construction and its Bolshevikization has thus been tightly linked to its political line, to its correct or erroneous resolution of the united front and armed struggle questions."

In the fifth place, it unfastens the problem from a direction set in the Chinese revolution. In the cited writing the following thesis should make us think very seriously to see to what extent we are on the correct path:

"The united front, the armed struggle and the construction of the Party thus constitute three fundamental questions of our Party in the Chinese revolution. A correct understanding of these three questions and of its mutual relations then signifies an accurate direction for the entire Chinese revolution."

And finally, marking out the role of the Party he states:

"Experience... shows us that the united front and the armed

struggle are the two basic weapons by which to overcome the enemy. The united front is a front united to maintain the armed struggle. And of the Party's organizations it is the heroic combatants who wield these two weapons--the united front and the armed struggle--to assault and destroy the enemy's positions. Such is the mutual relationship existing between these three factors." (Mao, Vol. 2, p. 295)

It is here, to our understanding of the ideological and political basis of the construction of the Party in a semicolonial and semifeudal country which was established by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, that the importance of these questions cannot be obliquely slanted in any manner. Because as he himself teaches us: "the ideological and political basis must be correct, that not will decide everything."

It is on this ideological and political base that Chairman Mao Tse-tung rests his plan of the Party's organizational construction, of its tactics and principles of struggle. This problem is set forth in point 6 of his article Audaciously Expand the Anti-Japanese Forces (Volume II, Page 425). We shall analyze the problem. In the first place, it establishes the policy of organizational construction in the areas dominated by reaction:

"In the beginning (the dominated ones), our policy is to maintain the Party's organization clandestinely and make it compact, selective and efficient. To remain underground for a long period, accumulate forces and await the correct moment and not precipitate or expose ourselves."

In the second place, he establishes the tactical principle that should guide:

"In accordance with the principle of struggling with reason,  
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advantage and without overextending oneself, our tactic in the struggle against the recalcitrants is to fight on secure terrain and accumulate forces utilizing everything that is allowed by the laws and decrees of the Kuomintang and social customs."

In the third place, he establishes the penetration of the reactionary organization and the work of revolutionaries within the same.

In the fourth place, he states the basic policy:

"In all the areas dominated by the Kuomintang, the Party's basic policy equally consists of developing progressive forces (the organizations of the Party and mass movements), win over the intermediate forces (national bourgeoisie, sincere shensi, 'heterogeneous' troops, intermediate sectors of the Kuomintang, the intermediate sectors of the central army, the upper level of the petty bourgeoisie and the minority political groups and parties (a total of seven categories)) and isolate the recalcitrant forces with the goal of overcoming the danger of capitulation and being able to change the situation."

In the fifth place, he points out the need to prepare for contingencies:

"At the same time, we should be plainly prepared to confront any emergency situation at the local or national level."

In the sixth place, he highlights clandestinity:

"The Party organizations in the Kuomintang zones should keep themselves in the strictest clandestinity."

In the seventh place, he emphasizes the scrutiny of the committee

members:

"In the southeast bureau and in all the special, provincial, district or territorial committees, each one of the staff members (from the Party secretaries to the cooks) should be subjected to a severe and minute scrutiny. It is absolutely impermissible that any person susceptible to the slightest suspicion remain in these leading organisms."

And finally:

"Much care should be given to the protection of our cadres."

All of these are true and valuable instructions on the Party's struggle and organizational life.

As to the internal struggle, it is worth remembering that it was precisely Chairman Mao Tse-Tung who has magnificently developed the understanding of the struggle within the Party as a reflection of the contradictions of the class struggle and between the old and the new in the social world. More so, he proposes that the struggle within the Party is the struggle between two lines which covers its entire process of development and if such contradictions and struggles did not take place "the life of the Party would end." In the same manner, he is the one who, for the correct development of the struggle within the Party proposed the thesis of "learning lessons from past errors to avoid them in the future and to treat the illness to save the patient." Today more than ever we must apply this great theory, remembering its content: "We must put into the open without consideration for anyone, all the errors committed and analyze and criticize in a scientific manner all the bad in the past so that in the future, work will be carried out better and more carefully." That is what he means by "learn lessons from past errors to avoid them in the

future." But, in denouncing errors and criticizing defects, we do it in the same way as a doctor treating a patient with the sole goal of saving the patient, not killing him.

Chairman Mao has summarized the great historic experience of the CPC as to the two line struggle, with the following words: "We must practice Marxism and not revisionism, unite and not divide ourselves, be frank and honest and not foment intrigues or machinations." We subject ourselves to this great lesson. Nevertheless, we must never lose vigilance, as he himself taught in 1964: "We must be alert against those who foment intrigues and machinations. For example, Kao Kang, Yao Shu Shi, Peng Te-Huai, Huang Keching and others have appeared in the central committee. Everything divides into two. Some devote themselves to creating intrigue. What are we going to do if they want to act like that? Even now there are people disposed to plot. That conspirators exist is an objective fact and not a question of whether we like it or not."

But what is the struggle within the Party for? In the end it is to maintain unity and persist in Marxism, to reject schisms and repudiate revisionism because, as he himself teaches us, unity is raised over struggle and is relative while the other is absolute. Thus, in consequence, the struggle is to maintain the unity within Marxism, since unity is important. "The internal unity of the Party and the unity between the Party and the people are two weapons of incalculable value to overcome difficulties. All Party comrades should appreciate them."

Here then are Chairman Mao's substantive theories on the necessity of the Party, its construction and the struggle within it. We should study them because they are decisive in guiding the construction of the proletariat's Party in our country.

With the foregoing, we have set forth what to our understanding are the basic themes of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, on these questions which we, as we said, consider to be crucial in the construction of the Party in our actual situation: the necessity of the Party, the theory of its construction (in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country) and the struggle between two lines within it. We maintain that the problem of the construction of the Party of the proletariat does not receive the attention it deserves and does not appreciate the complexity or the importance of such a question. We have returned to re-summarizing the fundamental theories of Marxism on the construction of the Party, at risk of reiterating things already known, for the simple reason that only by truly absorbing Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will we have a correct guide, to fuse its principles with our reality, as Mariategui would show us.

# THE PEASANT PROBLEM AND THE REVOLUTION

BANDERA ROJA, NO. 46 AUGUST 1976

## I. The peasant problem and the problem of power

It is especially important and crucial to address the peasant question from the standpoint of how it serves to seize power; and this is what matters for the Party in the end, as the problem of power is the central question of revolution. In this way the class struggle must be led and organized as a whole with the defined goal of taking power, and in this perspective it is fundamental to clarify and resolve the problems that arise. The 5th plenum of PCP, when addressing topics such as this one, says:

"The problem of power as a central issue, the People's War as a realization of revolutionary violence, the conditions under which a Party develops in a country such as ours and the importance of peasant labour as the basis of the People's War are, perhaps, substantial issues of our line, which we must always bear in mind and which today, while we promote the reconstitution of the Party will be put increasingly on the table and have an impact on the political line and its application."

Thus, the importance of addressing a topic such as the peasant problem is prevalent: after all, the development of the peasant movement by means of armed struggle is now the crux of the problem of power.

The great teachers of the proletariat laid the basic questions about the issue. Marx puts it aptly in a letter to Engels:

"The whole course of events in Germany will depend on the

ability to assist the proletarian revolution by a «second edition», meaning the peasant war."

Lenin reaffirms this idea, discussing the Russian Revolution:

"The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution, by allying itself to the peasantry masses in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyze the instability of the bourgeoisie" (Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution)".

He affirms in a report to the Third Congress of the International:

"The movement progresses, and the working masses, the peasants of the colonies, despite the fact that they are still backward, will play a very great revolutionary role in the successive phases of the world revolution."

And finally Mao Tse-tung, who reached a very deep understanding of the role of the peasant movement, states:

"The current rise of the peasant movement is a great event. Soon, hundreds of millions of farmers in the provinces of Central, South and North China will rise like a storm, a hurricane, with such an impetuous and violent force that nothing, however powerful, will be able to contain it. They shall break all obstacles and shall throw themselves onto the path of liberation. They shall bury all the imperialists, warlords, military, corrupt officials, local tyrants and 'shenshi' wicked. All Parties and revolutionary comrades will be subjected to a test before the peasants and shall have to decide which side to take. To march at their head and lead them? Stay at the rear gesticulating and criticizing them? To stand in their way and fight them? Every Chinese is free to choose between these three alternatives, only that events will force him to choose

quickly". (" Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan).

Mariátegui, the founder of the Party, defined the basic problem in the General Political Line. Speaking of the indigenous peasants, he said: "The indigenous hope is absolutely revolutionary" and reminded the PCP that in order to organize workers and peasants with a class character, and to "stimulate first and afterwards perform the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution", or to lead the agrarian revolution.

To get back on Mariategui's path, PCP has been raising its understanding of this important issue. So says the editorial of Red Flag 41:

"Without revolutionary work among the peasant masses, this is politically guided by Marxism-Leninism, led by the Communist Party, there can be no development of the armed forces nor may there be People's War, in conclusion there can be no national liberation, nor, for that reason, destruction of imperialist and feudal exploitation."

II. The peasant movement and the national democratic revolution  
The peasant struggle for land, which is an anti-feudal struggle, organises the basis for the democratic-national revolution; this follows from the general laws of the class struggle of our revolution, laws codified by Mariátegui as the General Political Line. Our society has a semi-colonial and semi-feudal character, where the Peruvian people suffer exploitation and oppression of imperialism, the feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalism; this is where the need to overthrow these classes and sweep their dominion is born, this is what the current stage of the revolution calls for, its content is bourgeois-democratic, which does not pit itself against the entire bourgeoisie but only against a part of it,

the bureaucratic bourgeoisie as well as fighting the feudal landlords and imperialism.

We emphasize the role of bureaucratic capitalism, which through its development matures the final conditions for the triumph of the national-democratic revolution. Mao teaches us that this monopolistic capital associated with State power, as well as subject to and closely linked to imperialism and to the landlords forms a monopolistic, comprador and feudal state monopoly capital. In this manner it reaches the peak of its development and prepares "sufficient material conditions for the New Democratic Revolution", leaving the task of "confiscating the land of the feudal class and giving it into the hands of the peasants" and "seizing monopolists' capital". In our country, this bureaucratic capitalism increasingly deepens and employs the state monopoly capital as the lever of the economy, seeking to amass huge amounts of capital and to monopolize the vital arteries of the economy. All of which leads inevitably to the same conclusions that were made by Mao Tse-tung on the topics of National-Democratic Revolution and Peasant War. To analyze the Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung established the extent at which the deeply linked to one another peasant problem and the problem of war are absolute conditions of a bourgeois democratic revolution:

"Thus, the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China has two main characteristics: 1) the proletariat either establishes a revolutionary national united front with the bourgeoisie, or breaks it when it feels obliged to, and 2) armed struggle is the main form of revolution. We do not consider here the relationship between the party and the peasantry and its relationship with the urban petty bourgeoisie as a fundamental characteristic because first, these relationships are in principle the same with all the Communist Parties of the world, and second, in China, when we talk about armed struggle, we mean at the bottom of the peasant



war and the close relationship of the Party with the peasant war and its relationship with the peasantry being one and the same thing." ("the motive being the appearance of The Communist")

It is thus clear that the armed struggle that we have to carry out is an agrarian revolution, which shall be made by peasants under the leadership of the proletariat; which constitutes a constant, the natural environment of the revolution. If the war has not yet been brought into motion, everything must serve to prepare it, and, once it starts, everything must serve to develop it.

The worker-peasant alliance. Mariategui has taught us:

"The strength of the revolution always resided in the alliance of agrarian land and labour, it is the worker and peasant masses."

In agreement with this, workers and peasants will form the basic masses of the revolution, once they are mobilized and organized, the exploiters be overthrown and the revolution will triumph. Based on the alliance of millions of workers and peasants, it will also be possible to unite the urban petty bourgeoisie and, under certain conditions, the national bourgeoisie.

The peasantry is the most numerous and most oppressed class, and over it weigh heavy chains of the semi-feudal system, and therefore it is a formidable force. In the words of our founder:

"The Indian, so easily crippled by submission and cowardice, has not ceased to rebel against the semi-feudal regime that oppresses him under the republic as much as under the colony."

Supporting peasants in their struggle for land brings us to gain the greatest ally for the proletariat and in this way organise powerful fighting forces. The peasantry turns out to be the main

force of the national-democratic revolution and the best ally of the proletariat.

The proletariat, the most advanced class in history has the urgent duty to lead the peasantry. Mariátegui fully synthesizes this problem in the preface to "The Amauta Atusparia"

"Farmers' claims did not succeed against feudalism in Europe, since they were not being expressed but rather in the 'jacqueries'. They succeeded with bourgeois liberal revolution that transformed them into a program. In our Spanish America, still semi-feudal, the bourgeoisie has been unable or unwilling to carry out the tasks of the liquidation of feudalism. The following descendants of Spanish settlers had been unable to take over the claims of the peasant masses. This task consists of nearing to socialism. The socialist doctrine is the only one that can give a modern sense, constructive, to the cause of the Indigenous peoples, which, located in its true social and economic fields, and raised to the level of a creative and realistic policy, seeks to carry out the task with the will and the discipline of a class that, even today, makes its appearance in our historical process: the proletariat".

Giving proletarian leadership to the peasantry is the essence of the worker-peasant alliance, which means smelting the Party with the peasantry and their struggles, give proletarian conception to peasants, win over activists from among them and build the Party in the field. In concrete terms: mobilising, organising and arming the peasantry under the leadership of the working class represented by its Party, the Communist Party.

### III. The struggle for the land

The bureaucratic path. Throughout centuries, feudal oppression has manifested itself in the fact that ownership of the land is

concentrated in the hands of a few landlords in such that millions of peasants cannot take ownership of land, or if they do, the land is very little. As such, facing this gigantesque concentration of land, misused cruelly by the feudal class, a system of serfdom, which under different modes (free labor, wages in cash...), allows the class of feudal landlords to live like a parasite in all luxury at the expense of limitless misery and oppression of the peasant, therefore sinking our people in backwardness and hunger. As such, latifundium and serfdom are maintained throughout the centuries as pillars of social, political and economic organization of Peru.

The economy of landlordship is developed though a very slow and prolonged process towards a capitalist form, which follows the bureaucratic path that consists of introducing techniques and capitalist modalities that maintain the grand agrarian property and safeguards the power of the class of the landlords. In this way, the economy of landlordship has developed internally and instead of liberating the peasant, takes advantage to the maximum of the exploitation of free labor and other feudal modalities to guarantee an accelerated accumulation of capital. The peasant suffers painfully from this large process of transformation, which absorbs his work and his goods, and he finds himself stripped off his little land, and he is even chased outside the field. Landlordship and serfdom are maintained and shadowed under new names (Agrarian Cooperatives of Production - CAP, Agricultural Societies for Social Interest - SAIS, "Social Property", communal work, etc.), linking themselves more closely to bureaucratic capitalism and state Power.

Mariátegui explains this process in the following words:

"Capitalism, as an economic and political system, manifests itself in Latin America, as incapable of forming an economy that would

be emancipated from feudal defects. The prejudice of the inferiority of the indigenous race, grants to capitalism the maximal exploitation of the indigenous race's labor; and is not willing to renounce this privilege, from which many profits are obtained. In agriculture, the establishments of the wage earner, the adoption of machines don't efface the feudal character of the big property. They perfect, simply, the system of exploitation of the land and the masses of peasants."

The peasant problem cannot be detached from the national problem. Mariátegui has already told us: "the problem of the Indians is not the problem of three-quarters of the population of Peru. It is the problem of the majority. It is the problem of nationality." The struggle against imperialism has its livelihood in the struggles of the peasantry, in the semi-feudal struggle. Detaching the two would be to fall in a false rationalism.

"The land belongs to those who work it." The founder of our party, in "the Scheme of the indigenous problem" says:

"The struggle of the Indians against the landlords has always rested invariably in the defense of their land against absorption and dispossession. Therefore, an instinctive and profound indigenous claim exists: the claim to the land. To give an organized, systematic and defined character to this claim is the task that we must actively fulfill".

Mariátegui thus summarizes hundreds of years of peasant struggle; as well as the necessity to channel this peasant aspiration of "the land belongs to those who work it", therefore only the proletariat organizing with the peasant in the struggle for the land will have a good result. The transfer of the land to the peasant after crushing the class of landowners and its state will permit the erasure of serfdom forever, emancipating thus the peasant from

the feudal agrarian relations. With the peasant way in agriculture, the perceptive of a capitalist growth emerges in the best of possible conditions for the peasant. It is in the second phase of the revolution, the socialist phase that these capitalist relations are limited and restricted to give way for the collectivization of the field. As such, as a part of the democratic way, the peasants push for an agrarian reform, which would liquidate feudalism; this reform means:

Destruction of latifundium, and its repartition to the peasants

Confiscation or “expropriation without compensation”

Execution by force, for the peasants’ war, for the people’s power

#### IV. People’s war is the peasants’ war

War is an absolute necessity for the realization of our revolution. Mariátegui has instilled this Marxist-Leninist principle of universal validity in the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) and in the Peruvian proletariat in the following words: “Power is conquered with violence... Power is maintained only through dictatorship”. To train the vast masses to the use of revolutionary violence is key to achieving the liberation of our people, and this is even more urgent in a country lagging behind, that finds itself a semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition like ours.

War is the main form of struggle. The victory of the proletariat and of the people over their enemies is the inevitable future. The current situation of the weakness of the people and the power of the enemy is merely apparent and temporal, thus seeing things in their whole, the reaction is nothing more than a “paper tiger”, while the people are an iron wall, the people are invincible. This concept of Mao Zedong is fundamental for the certainty of victory in the struggle, according to his own words:

“The enemy has a fragile basis, it is disintegrating internally, it is separated from the people and submerged in inextricably economic crises and therefore can be defeated”, and at the same time “the masses, the millions and millions of men who support in all sincerity the revolution. This is the real iron wall that no force can break”. Fearing the enemy as if they were omnipotent is right-leaning that halts action. In their fear of the enemy, some will come to say: “fascism is the destruction of the people’s movement and its organizations” and they will opt for occultism, in the name of “doing the withdrawal” or “being made illegal”.

The reactionaries have a great army but their economy finds itself in big contradictions and it undertakes a serious economic, political and ideological crisis. The enemy’s strength lies in a weakness, but this weakness does not show itself overnight. Likewise, the masses are huge and strong, but their weakness consists in the fact that they are not mobilized and organized.

It is necessary therefore to undertake a prolonged war, a war until death until we destroy the enemy part by part. This way and only this way, through a long process of turns and returns, the weakness of the enemy will be rendered evident and the strength of the people will be overwhelming.

The proletariat must forge and train in the middle of the war, they must organize and mobilize all the people, mainly the peasant according to this form of struggle. The fact of being in a semi-feudal semi-colonial country, in which the vast fields are shackled in feudal oppression, without liberty nor political rights, determines that the armed revolution has to come to face with the counter-revolution if the former wants to advance.

Mao Zedong has summarized this great truth, which valid for all the countries lagging behind, and which are of a tremendous

value for building a Communist Party in these countries:

“In China, the main form of struggle is war, and the main form of organization is the army. All the other forms, like the organizations of struggle and the popular masses are also important and absolutely indispensable, and under no mode they must be left aside, but the objective of all of those is to serve the war. Before the outbreak of the war, all the organizations and struggles must have as their objective to prepare for it, ... After the outbreak of the war, all the organizations and struggles must coordinate in direct and indirect ways with the war”. (“Problems of war and strategy”).

It does not suit us to engage in a long period of preparation and legality before unleashing the war as in a capitalist country. It is in the midst of war that we will gain the people and we will destroy the enemy, part by part.

Mariátegui has analyzed the role of the peasant in the revolution and sustained the necessity of arming the workers and the peasants in order to gain their claims, the first of which is the land. He remarked “the armed action of the peasant masses” in Mexico and that there “the rebellion propagated in a fast way” even though it had no plan: “its first concrete claim was the claim to the land taken by the landlords”. (“Themes of our America”). And he pointed out that it deals with a democratic-bourgeois revolution, which will only advance if the proletariat leads it. Otherwise, the revolution will march “backwards”. The hegemony of the proletariat in the national-democratic revolution, once aligned with the right path, is measured by the influence it exercises on the peasant movement. The Party must be concerned with the mobilization of the peasant and the organization of the peasant as a powerful force in the combat.

The path of the revolution is from the field to the city. Mariátegui has taught this path when he said:

“Broken by the feudalist landlordship, urban capitalism will lack in forces to resist to the growing working class”. This path consists of encircling the cities from the countryside, to finish taking the cities. This way, advantage can be taken from the fact that the enemy is weak and that he has reduced forces in the fields and therefore the vast peasant masses are the main contingent in this war.

The revolution must develop its forces by primarily occupying large rural zones and once it is strengthened in the fields, it must go on to seize cities where the armed forces of the reactionaries are concentrated. This path of the revolution in the countries lagging behind has been systematized by Mao Zedong, who with his profound teachings, provides a valuable weapon for our own revolution:

“Given the fact that the powerful imperialists and their allied Chinese reactionaries are for a long time entrenched in the main cities of our country, revolutionary detachments, if they refuse to compromise with imperialism and its watch dogs and if they want to preserve the struggle, if they want to accumulate forces, to loosen up and avoid, while they don't have sufficient power, a decisive battle with the powerful enemy; they have to transform the rural zones lagging behind to advanced and solid basis of support, they have to transform them to big military, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution, from which to fight the fierce enemy, who attacks the rural zones using the cities, and taking the revolution step by step to complete victory through an extended struggle”. (The Chinese revolution and the Chinese Communist Party).



We will not win over the peasantry immediately. Firstly we will build base areas in large areas and from them we will develop the People's War. We will build a base of support required to annihilate the enemy forces, mobilize the peasant masses and develop our own armed forces. In these base areas the people's power rises and land reform is carried out. The problem of base areas is cardinal for the development of people's war.

Party building and its work in the field should be aimed at converting the peasant struggle to the armed struggle. In its overview of the revolutionary work it is required for the party to be built in the countryside, where it has its main weight. The Party must adequately recognize the economic and political situation of the countryside and using Marxism-Leninism must investigate classes there to define who are the friends and who are the enemies.

The Party must go to the poorest and "take root among them, mobilizing and organizing the masses in their struggle for land, this work imperceptibly leads to the armed struggle, and we should be leading this fight because toppling the reactionary power a region establishes the people's power. This is how the Party carries itself with the problems of establishing base areas, advancing in the ideological, political, organizational and military aspects. Finally, we must make the agrarian reform, confiscating the land of the feudal landlords and distributing it to the peasants.

Mariátegui was always concerned about the construction of PCP in the field. While speaking about a peasant activist of that time, he said:

"The 'new Indian' hopes. He has a goal. That is his secret and strength ... Urviola represents the first spark of fire that is to

come. It was the Indian revolutionary, socialist Indian ... today, Sierra is full of spartans.

Another important problem of warfare is the people's army which is the main form of organization and one of the three instruments of the revolution. Mariátegui defines the role of this military of a new type and says:

"The Red Army is a new occurrence in the military history of the world. It is an army that feels its role as a revolutionary army and does not forget that its purpose is to defend the revolution. " And, highlighting the guerrillas, he said that "the same form of body, class, existed between the Montoneras and the worker and peasant masses. Montoneras were simply the most active, warlike and dynamic part of the masses. " The problem of war and its general laws should be studied thoroughly by the entire Party to resolutely fulfill the role that the history has shown us.

#### V. Road of the reaction

In our country the reaction develops a bureaucratic path that essentially unfolds the imperialist and feudal rule, and on these two pillars bureaucratic capitalism develops.

From the beginning, it has found itself within the firm opposition among the people, and it has presented itself as a difficult task to advance. In the 60s, the peasantry rose up and dragged the entire people to a revolutionary upsurge that has put serious strain on the reaction and questioned its power. Hence the reaction came to two conclusions: 1) deepen bureaucratic capitalism and 2) corporatize Peruvian society.

In the spirit of those events, the fascist regime arose with a preventive plan oriented to crush the People's War. One of the key measures that it gave was the agrarian law that consists of

maintenance and development of large estates based on new forms of free labor. It is the bureaucratic way in the countryside and not the "socialization" as they say.

Given the difficulties that these measures encountered due to the opposition of the peasantry, general corporate readjustment was undertaken two years ago by the fascist regime, to secure its objectives through "bring capitalism to the countryside", and through a frantic exploitation of the peasants to achieve their cherished "accelerated accumulation of capital". In the 7th. anniversary of the Land Law (June 1976), the agriculture minister announced that "all institutions, both public and private sectors, should attend this great mobilization to transform the Peruvian countryside in the fastest and most powerful path which will be a step towards developing our country. "

Actually, with these measures of bureaucratic capitalism in the countryside, the path towards the revolution will be made. Engels had made this problem clear long time ago: " Transformation of all the small rural house owners into industrial domestic workers; the destruction of the old isolation and with it the destruction of the political insignificance of the small peasants who would be dragged into the "social whirlpool"; the extension of the industrial revolution over the rural areas and thus the transformation of the most stable and conservative class of the population into a revolutionary hotbed; and, as the culmination of the whole process, the expropriation by machinery of the peasants engaged in home industry, driving them forcibly into insurrection."

## VI. Road for the people

The Peruvian people have a unique way towards liberation, this is the path of Mariátegui. This road tells us about the urgency of knowing that the national-democratic revolution will go forward only if we use "rifles, program and doctrine" as Mariátegui

literally said, what is now known as the 3 instruments of the revolution: Party, Army and the United Front.

Currently, the main trend of the development of the masses is that in which the free people increase their struggles and develop all aspects of life: ideological, political and organizational. The deepest and the most backward masses of the country live through this situation intensely, with discontent spreading in them as they prepare to unleash great revolutionary storms.

This foremost tendency necessarily lead to a rise of the masses. Let us recall the experience of the 60s: the rise of the masses firstly means the rise of the peasantry, at that time the peasants took the land and, unknown to the courts, came the violent confrontation with the reaction. Certainly we live in such a situation that, as Mao Tsetung said, "A single spark can start a prairie fire" in which all contradictions are sharpened and the most sound people appear out a colossal and self-powered mass.

Mariátegui masterfully analyzes a situation similar to ours, that of Mexico in the moments before it's revolution:

"But the people that have fought so persistently for their right for the possession of the land, could not bring themselves to this feudal regime and give up their claims. In addition to the growth of the factories it created an industrial proletariat to which the foreign immigration brought the pollen of new social ideas. A new core of unionists and socialists appeared. And, above all, it created the sour revolutionary mood in the countryside. A leader, a skirmish, anything could burn the country." (Issues of Our America, p.39). In this intense situation PCP was driven towards reconstitution and merging with the masses, mainly farmers. Let us conclude with the full confidence in these wise words of Mao Tse-tung:

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, we have everything. If we don't have men, we will have them; if we don't have guns, we will get them; and if we don't have the power, we will conquer it. If the line is incorrect, we will lose what we have already achieved."

ETERNAL GLORY TO PRESIDENT MAO  
TSE-TUNG!  
THE GREAT TEACHER OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT, THE  
OPPRESSED PEOPLES AND THE WORLD  
REVOLUTION

MESSAGE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF PCP TO CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE OF CPC - SEPTEMBER 10, 1976

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

With profound grief and deep sentiments, we express our great regret to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and through it to the working class and the people of China for this immense and irreparable loss, which is the death of President Mao Tse-tung, founder and guiding light of the PCCH, wise and unwavering leader of the Chinese revolution and the great teacher of the international proletariat, the oppressed peoples and the world revolution.

The working class and the international communist movement in its great history of struggle, has had moments of tremendous loss and deep sorrow at the disappearance of its great founders, teachers and leaders; like Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which clearly affected the course of history. Today, we are also facing one of these serious and painful trances, and just like yesterday, we must lift higher up the invincible flags of how we raise higher yesterday invincible banners of Marxism so that the Program of the working class that Marx, Lenin and Mao launched would reach more and target more efficiently its goal: the emancipation of the working class and the final construction of the classless society, the goal of all humankind.

In the great whirlwind of class struggle of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, believing in the indispensable leadership of the proletariat, established the strategy of searching for cities from which the struggle could be lead, as he built support bases and gradually unleashed a heroic People's War. Under the direction of the Communist Party of China, by means of a Protracted People's War with setbacks and victories, a united front based on a worker-peasant alliance was forged, an armed struggle was waged that, in turn, created a large People's Army and constantly strove for the construction of the Party. In 1949 the working class and the Chinese people led the New Democratic Revolution. The main laws of the revolution that Chairman Mao Tse-tung accepted remained consecrated in the same manner as the path that must be traveled by those who continue struggling against the dominion of imperialism and feudalism.

More than his extraordinary collection of works, Chairman Mao Tse-tung is a major influence through the conduction of the socialist revolution in Chinese People's Republic that he himself created. He determined the fundamental line of socialism based on the principle of class struggle, stating that classes and class struggle define socialism, and by synthesizing the global experience, he developed the Marxist theory of the continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, driving the most colossal mass mobilization in history, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, as the continuation of the revolution that protects against capitalist restoration and serves the development and construction of socialism. In this manner, Chairman Mao has led the way toward the communist future, calling the masses to fight under the great devise of "Rebellion is justified" and "proletarian philosophy is the philosophy of struggle" in order to sweep the monsters that every so often escape from the cage and

are expressed by the supporters of the bourgeois capitalist road within the Party itself. All in order to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship, the instrument indispensable in the march toward the fulfillment of the historical means of the working class.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in more than 60 years of fighting in the centre of the Chinese revolution and the international proletariat, adhered to Marxism and developed it by fusing it with the reality of his country: Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism have been stamped by his nonperishable contributions. The defense of Marxism led him to fight against Khrushchev's revisionism that was eventually unmasked before the world as a denial of Marxism, as a bourgeois monster that must be beaten in order for the revolution to advance. Through the great polemic and an international-level struggle, the campaign against the social-imperialism of Brezhnev and his revisionist clique, which represented the actual source of war, was steadily propelled and directed. In this way, Chairman Mao Tse-tung inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, raising it to its present condition - a living soul among the working class and the hope of humanity: Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought; so today, being Marxist-Leninist means adhering to Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung founded the Communist Party of China and wisely led it through more than 50 years of struggle: in its historical beginnings as the vanguard of the Chinese working class, on the difficult roads of the Northern Expedition, in the epic of the Agrarian War and the Long March, in the tireless and heroic Japanese War of Resistance, in the sweeping and victorious War of National Liberation, in the construction of socialism and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Chairman Mao Tse-tung led his party, educating it in the two-line struggle, against the rightism and leftism that intended to force it off its path; and,

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in recent years, especially against the revisionism that took on a right wind stream and a counter-revolutionary character through Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and, today, Deng Hsiao-ping. In the great class struggle of the Chinese revolution and the contemporary world, and in the struggle of the two lines in their own ranks, Chairman Mao Tse-tung has led the Communist Party of China to the point of making it the "great, glorious and correct" Party, which the working class and the world admire and respect. The greatest revolutionary of China was forged in this melting pot, the masterful hereditary of the great leaders of the international working class, the glorious militant Communist, who advanced Marx and Lenin, the extraordinary man whose life beat to an end with the undying light of Marxism with powerful creative force of the masses and the spirit of serving the people.

As Chairman Mao himself has said, the next fifty to one hundred years will see the world shaking and changing, we are, therefore, living at a crucial time for the working class, the people and all of humanity. The great revolutionary storm will light up the face of the earth, many new problems will have to be solved and between victories there will be setbacks and failures. The revolution is the main current of history, but it will have to flow past rocks and counter-currents; thus, we will be sure that the revolution will prevail. "In one word, the prospects are bright, but the road is winding."

The founder of our Party, José Carlos Mariátegui, taught us: "It is not possible to remain indifferent to the fate of a nation that occupies such an important position in time and space. China is a heavyweight in human history, so why are we not attracted by its deeds and its men?" If we were told this about Old China, what are we to say about New China? So, for our Party, for the Peruvian communists and people the historical perspective demand nowadays more than ever, in this great painful trance for

the working class and the world revolution, to adhere to Marxism, to consider the philosophy of struggle, convert grief into strength, and to pull the strings around the red line of the Communist Party of China that holds high the flag of the undefeated Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to advance with the parties faithful to Marxism, with the working class and the peoples of the world, solemnly promising to march under the red and victorious flags of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung died, but his ideology and actions live on in the working class, among the oppressed peoples and the masses of the world; and wherever the revolution leads the struggle, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought will live eternally.

Eternal glory to President Mao Tse-tung, great teacher of the international proletariat, the oppressed peoples and the world revolution!

# ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG!

COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
ORGANIZATIONS ADHERED TO MARIATEGUI  
VP. No.6, DEC.76

LIMA, SEPT. 18TH, 1976

In thousands of years of incessant struggle to pass through the kingdom of necessity to the one of liberty, humanity generated the working class and this class, with its inexhaustible and growing strength, has given Marxism-Leninism, synthesized in Marx and Engels, in Lenin and Stalin. Thus, since the appearance of Marxism the working class, the oppressed peoples and the whole humanity have a goal and a hope: to construct the new society, the communist society toward which they march "with vehemance and active faith."

In the epoch of imperialism or monopolist, parasitary and agonizing capitalism, epoch in which the working class by means of their strength rising up in arms conquer political power, and in which the increasing and furious imperialist oppression, the Chinese revolution is developed that teaches and astonishes the world. In this historical crucible the international working class was concreted in Chairman Mao Tsetung, who in 1921 founded the Communist Party of China, the organized vanguard that conducted the new democratic revolution triumphantly culminated with the foundation of the People's Republic of China, the Party that today through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution develops the Socialist Revolution and strenghtens the proletariat's dictatorship.

Thus Mao Tsetung Thought emerged. In this manner Marxism-Leninism found the path in order to guide and to incorporate the oppressed peoples to the unrestrainable torrent of the world revolution. In this way Marxism-Leninims found the path in order to develop uninterruptedly the Socialist Revolution and to march toward its future inexorable goal, the communist society.

In the grandiose frame of class struggle, in his great country and in the world, Chairman Mao Tsetung inherited defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. He defended it against the revisionism that today, unmasked as Soviet socialimperialism, is the main source of war at the present time. And he developed it in all the fields raising it to his present situation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Thus Marxism, in the flames of class struggle and the action of the great masters of the proletariat, became Marxism-Leninism and this in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Therefore, today, to be a Marxist is to adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Chairman Mao Tsetung has died! His great heart has ceased to beat, his pulse has stopped and his life, has gone. A deep sorrow, dense and heavy, falls upon the working class and the oppressed peoples of the Earth, and the red banners at half-staff toll in universal mourning. The great master of the international proletariat has passed away and his unsoundable absence is felt in the whole world; it is the great absence that Marx left us, it is the great absence that Lenin left us, but yesterday as well as today the working class and people's masses, turning their sorrow into strength and through the storm, will continue towards its luminous goal, hoisting always the unconquered banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung.

The Organizations Adhered to Mariategui, in this hour of sorrow,  
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ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

express to the Chinese people, to the Chinese working class and to the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China their most profound sorrow for the decease of Chairman Mao Tsetung, great master of the international working class, of the oppressed peoples of the world and of the world revolution, whose thought illumines the world and will always illuminate it

ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG!

# TO BE A MARXIST IS TO ADHERE TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT

BANDERA ROJA NO. 47/48, OCTOBER 1977

Chairperson Mao Tsetung, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, has systematized the development of world revolution and has established fundamental theses that develop Marxism, and that we must bear in mind in order to orient ourselves in the understanding of the present international situation. In his great work, "On New Democracy," he emphasized that with the First World War and with the October Revolution, history had entered a new era, "of the new world revolution: the proletarian socialist world revolution" and that, in consequence, "every revolution undertaken by a colony or semi-colony against imperialism, that is, against the bourgeoisie or international capitalism, will no more belong to the old category of world democratic bourgeois revolution, but to the new category."

Thus, he conceived that the powerful revolutionary movement of colonies and semi-colonies was a part of the revolution that the international proletariat leads on a world level. He emphasized, after the Second World War, that the peoples of Latin America "are not submissive slaves of the U.S. imperialists," that in the whole of Asia "a great national liberation movement" had come forth, and, calling the Asian countries to combat imperialism and the internal reactionaries, having as their goal the emancipation of the oppressed of Asia, he said, "We must take our destiny entirely into our own hands. We must extirpate from our ranks any idea which is an expression of weakness or impotence. Any point of view which overestimates the strength of the enemy and underestimates that of the people is wrong. We live in a historical

epoch in which capitalism and imperialism in the entire world hasten towards ruin, and socialism and democracy in the entire world march towards victory.”

Condensing the forthcoming struggle, he characterized the present epoch: “The next 50 to 100 years from now, more or less, will be a great epoch of radical change in the social system in the world, an epoch which will shake the Earth, an epoch with which no epoch before it will be able to compare itself. Living in an epoch like this, one must be ready to wage a great struggle whose forms will have many characteristics different from the past epochs.”

Analyzing this epoch of the proletarian revolution, Chairperson Mao Tsetung established his great thesis on the reactionaries: “All the reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.” In “Talk with Anna Louise Strong,” where the above quotation is found, analyzing the contradictions and the distribution of social forces, he also stated: “The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by a vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi- colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. Before the U.S. reactionaries have subjugated these countries, an attack on the Soviet Union is out of the question.” To these statements of 1946, the following of Chairperson Mao’s analyses on the contradictions among the imperialists themselves and between the imperialists and the oppressed nations and contending forces must be added: “Above all, the contradiction that has to do with the scramble among the imperialist countries and their dispute for the colonies stands out. What they are doing is to take as an excuse the contradictions that they have with us in order to cover up their own contradictions.” “In this conflict (the Suez Canal event) that is

occurring there, two types of contradictions and three different forces converge. These two types of contradictions are: first, the inter-imperialist contradictions, that is, the contradictions between the United States and England and between the United States and France, and second, the ones that exist between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations. Of the three forces involved, the first is the United States, which is the major imperialist power; the second is England and France, imperialist countries of a second order, and the third is the oppressed nations.”

In January of 1964, Chairperson Mao pronounced a declaration in support of the people of Panama; in it, after emphasizing that U.S. imperialism “has continued oppressing the peoples of Latin America, pillaging them and repressing in those countries the revolutionary national democratic struggle;” after denouncing that “it has converted . . . parts of Korea and Vietnam into its colonies, keeps Japan under its control and semi-military occupation. . . and intervenes and assaults other Asiatic countries;” after pointing out that in Africa, U.S. imperialism continues intensifying its neo-colonialist policy, “tries by all means to replace the old colonialists, loots and enslaves the peoples of Africa, undermines and suffocates the national liberation movements;” asking for vigilance against the Yankee’s . . . aggression and war “intends firmly to put into practice its policy of ‘peaceful evolution’ in the the socialist countries;” and that “even with their West European North American and Oceanian allies, the U.S. imperialists are applying the policy of ‘the law of the jungle,’ and constantly try to step on them;” he concludes calling: “the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp should unite; the peoples of the different countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite; all the peoples of the different continents should unite; all the peace-loving countries and all the countries submitted to the aggression, control, intervention and humiliation of the United States should unite. All of them should form the widest united front of

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opposition to the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and war, in order to safeguard world peace."

In this way, he denounces U.S. imperialism, calling us to combat it. But the revisionists usurped power in the Soviet Union, restoring capitalism and converting it into a social- imperialist country, which, as such, extended its penetration, subversion, control and domination, contending with Yankee imperialism for world domination.

Focussing on the referred to intermediate zone, Chairperson Mao declaimed: "The Soviet Union is at present under a bourgeois dictatorship, a grand bourgeois dictatorship, a German fascist type dictatorship, a Hitlerian type dictatorship." And calling for the struggle against the two superpowers, he put down the following important theses: "The United States is a paper tiger. You shouldn't believe in it. It can be pierced by one stroke. The revisionist Soviet Union is also a paper tiger." "Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism, entering into conspiracy themselves, have perpetrated so much wickedness and infamy that the revolutionary peoples of the whole world will not let them go unpunished. The people of all the countries are rising up. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun." "Peoples of all the world, let us unite and oppose the war of aggression that any imperialism or social-imperialism might unleash; let us oppose especially a war of aggression in which atomic bombs are used as weapons. If such a war explodes, the peoples of the whole world must eliminate it with a revolutionary war, and we must get ready right now!"

So was fixed the period of struggle that has opened against the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and, within this perspective, reiterating the role of the peoples of the world, he made his famous statement in May 1970: "every time

when the people of a small country dare to rise up in struggle, venture to grasp weapons and hold in their hands the destiny of their own country, they will unfailingly be able to defeat the aggression of a big country. This is a law of history.” Chairperson Mao Tsetung always gave a lot of attention to tactical principles. With regard to this, his work “On policy” is of the greatest importance; there he set down the fundamental policy: “In the relations with the different classes of the country, apply the fundamental policy of developing the progressive forces, win over the intermediate ones, and isolate the anticommunist die-hards;” to have a revolutionary dual policy against the die-hards, and in order to combat them apply: “In the struggle against the anticommunist die-hards, our policy is to make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one, and to wage struggle on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint.”

These criteria, first established for the struggle in China, are applicable to the struggle against the imperialists. In the year 1957, Chairperson Mao summed up the strategical and tactical ideas in the struggle against the enemy: “We have developed a concept over a long period for the struggle against the enemy, namely, strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. In other words, with regard to the whole we must despise the enemy, but with regard to each specific problem we must take him/her seriously. If we do not despise him/her with regard to the whole, we shall commit opportunist errors. Marx and Engels were but two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown throughout the world. But with regard to specific problems and specific enemies, if we do not take them seriously, we shall commit adventurist errors. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy forces can only be destroyed one part at a time. Factories can only be built one by

one. Peasants can only plough the land plot by plot.

The same is even true of eating a meal. Strategically, we take the eating of a meal lightly; we are sure to manage it. But when it comes to the actual eating, it must be done mouthful by mouthful. You cannot swallow an entire banquet at one gulp. This is called the piecemeal solution and is known in military writings as destroying the enemy forces one by one.”

Up to here we have the fundamental problems on the historical period in which we are living, the contradictions and the developing forces and the tactics, all substantive problems of strategy and tactics; but furthermore, Chairperson Mao Tsetung also devoted himself to sum up the experience of the socialist revolution, setting forth his great theory and practice of the continuation of the revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

He also found the adequate form of developing it through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the beginnings and development of this great revolution he set down the following theses: “A great disorder under the heavens leads to a great order under the heavens, and the same happens all over again every seven or eight years. The monsters and demons will come out by themselves to the palaestra. As their own class nature determines it, they cannot behave otherwise.” “In the past we waged struggles in the rural areas, in the factories, in the cultural circles, and we carried out the movement of socialist education. Nevertheless, all this could not solve the problem, because we had not found a form, a means of mobilizing vast masses in an open way, in all areas and from below upwards, in order to expose our bad side.” “In fact, those elements with power, followers of the capitalist-road within the Party, who support the petty tyrants of bourgeois academies, and those representatives of the bourgeoisie infiltrated in the Party who protect these petty tyrants, are in fact big petty

tyrants in the Party who do not read books or newspapers, who do not keep in touch with the masses or possess any knowledge, and who rely only on 'acting in an arbitrary form and repressing the people with their authority,' and usurp the name of the Party."

"The bourgeois representatives who have infiltrated inside the Party, the government, the army and the different cultural sectors, are a group of counterrevolutionary revisionists who will seize power and will convert the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, if they have the chance. Some of these persons, we have already seen through; but not yet others. And in some of them we still trust and we prepare them to be our successors. For example, persons of the Khrushchev type still dwell at our side."

"The main target of the present movement are those elements with power, followers of the capitalist-road within the Party." "What will you do if revisionism appears in the CC? This is very probable, this is the greatest danger. "The proletariat must exercise an all-embracing dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the different domains of culture." "The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is completely necessary and very timely to consolidate the proletariat's dictatorship, prevent the restoration of capitalism and build socialism."

"The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is only the first one, and in the future undoubtedly there will be many more. In a revolution, the problem of who will defeat whom will only be solved in a long historical period. If things are not adequately solved, there will be a possibility in any moment for a capitalist restoration." "It is just to rebel against the reactionaries." "Proletarian revolutionaries, unite to snatch power from the

handful of leaders inside the Party who are followers of the capitalist-road!" The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution hit the counterrevolutionary bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi, the Chinese Khrushchev, whose deputy is Deng Xiaoping, "another top element with power following the capitalist-road within the Party;" and it also crushed the counterrevolutionary conspirator headquarters headed by Lin Biao.

Thus, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was developed in order to consolidate the proletariat's dictatorship, to prevent the restoration of capitalism and to build socialism; and whose summation was made in the IX Congress of the CP China, which was a great landmark in the history of the CP China and the international communist movement.

The development of class struggle, in China, the struggle between capitalism and socialism, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and counterrevolutionary and capitulationist revisionism, was manifested in the great campaign of criticism against Confucius and Lin Biao, which discussed the problem of restoration and counterrevolution, the long process of consolidation of a power-holding class which implies preventing its reseizure by the reactionaries and the resultant restoration, and if power is lost, to strive for reconquering it, a problem which was raised in the beginnings of the debate against Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionism.

Later, the struggle centered on the decisive question and on the very essence of power, the problem of the proletarian dictatorship. Chairperson Mao said: "Why did Lenin talk about the need of exercising a dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is necessary to have this question clear. Lack of clarity with regard to this will lead to revisionism. All the nation must be made aware of it." "In one word, China is a socialist country. Before Liberation it did not

differ much from capitalism. Now it still practices a salary system of eight grades, distribution to each one according to his work, and exchange through money, all of which is hardly different from the old society. The difference lays in that the property system has changed.

“Our country now practices a commodities system, a salary system which is also unequal, like that of the eight grades, and things of that type. This, under the proletariat’s dictatorship, only can be restricted. Because of this, it will be very easy for persons like Lin Biao to set up a capitalist system if they climb to power. For this reason, we must study more Marxist-Leninist works.”  
“Lenin said: ‘Small size production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, every day, every hour, spontaneously and in big volumes.’”

This also occurs with a part of the working class, and a part of Party members. Both among the proletarians and the officials of public enterprises, there are those who indulge in bourgeois lifestyle. “Lenin spoke about a bourgeois state without capitalists, built in order to protect the bourgeois law. We have ourselves built a state like that one, in which things do not differ much from those of the old society, because there is still a hierarchy — an eight grade salary system, a distribution according to work and the exchange of things of equal value still prevail.”

These theses and the former ones are, evidently, the continuation and development of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Chairperson Mao Tsetung reiterates the standing of Marx’s and Lenin’s statements concerning the long revolutionary transformation of the old society; the need of the proletariat’s dictatorship and its strengthening, the unceasing class struggle within socialism and of its utmost sharpening in certain circumstances, the persistence of bourgeois right and its necessary

restriction, the constant generation of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and the possibility of the restoration of capitalism through climbing to power . . . He establishes, furthermore, the need of aiming against the capitalist-roaders within the Party, and of continuing the revolution under the proletariat's dictatorship by means of the cultural revolution.

In January 1975, Deng Xiaoping became Vice-Chairperson of the Central Committee, which he had joined in the X Congress. In September the same year, the "unfolding of criticism against 'On the Water's Margin'" was called for. Chairperson Mao called for paying attention to capitulation, which is an essential issue in revisionism; he says:

"The merit of the narrative 'On the Water's Margin' lays precisely in the description of capitulation. Serving as a teaching material in the negative sense, it helps the people to know the capitulationists." "On the Water's Margin' opposes only the corrupt officials, but not the emperor. It excludes Chao Kai of the Hundred and Eight. Sung Chiang capitulates, practices revisionism, changes the name of Chu Yi Parlour, given by Chao Kai, into that of Chung Yi Parlour, and accepts the offer of amnesty and enrolment. The struggle between Sung Chiang and Kao Chiu is a struggle waged by a fraction against another among the landlord class. Sung Chiang capitulates and then goes to combat Fang La." (Chao Kai: founder of the peasant rebel army, in the narrative; the 108: the rebel captains; Sung Chiang: a character who usurps the rebel army's leadership; Chu Yi Parlour means to get together and to rise up in rebellion and so the rebel leader gave that name to the parlour where they met; Chung Yi Parlour means to profess loyalty to the emperor, an evil trick employed by the usurper).

Let us emphasize that capitulationism implies class capitulation

before the bourgeoisie in the country, and capitulation of the nation before imperialism on an international level, and that capitulationism is revisionism. In these circumstances, the struggle is waged against the restorationist, anti-Cultural Revolution rightist wind.

In it Chairperson Mao states: “After the democratic revolution, the workers, the poor peasants and the low middle peasants have not stopped and want to make the revolution. Contrariwise, a part of the militants of the Party are reluctant to continue forward, and some have gone backwards and have placed themselves against the revolution. Why? Because they, as high officials that they have come to be, try to protect the interests of the high officials.”

“It so happens that the socialist revolution falls on their own heads, and in this way during the agricultural cooperativization there were already those in the Party who opposed it and when bourgeois right is criticized, their feeling is that of rejection. The socialist revolution is being carried ahead; however, it is not well understood where the bourgeoisie is. It is exactly in the Communist Party, the leaders following the capitalist-road in the Party. The capitalist-roaders still follow their road.”

“To revoke just verdicts goes against the will of the people.” “It is impossible to advance without struggle.” “Being 800 million people, can we do without struggle?!” “What is that about ‘take the three instructions as the key link point!’ Stability and unity do not mean renouncing the class struggle. Class struggle is the key link of the net and all the rest are mails.”

“This person does not persist in class struggle; he has never mentioned this key link. He still continues with his ‘white cat or black cat’ making no distinction between imperialism and



Marxism.” In this way, the struggle centered against Deng Xiaoping, against him who, following the Chinese Khrushchev, Liu Shaoqi, held the theory of the extinction of class struggle; against who, in 1956, in his report on the statutes’ modification in the VIII Congress of the CP China, held that classes were extinct, especially the bourgeoisie, that the socialist revolution had already fulfilled the greater part of its tasks, and they should not emphasize the class struggle, but the tasks of construction; against him who, in the same report, followed Liu Shaoqi’s theory of the masses in order to oppose Chairman Mao’s thesis on the Party; against him who upheld the Soviet Union’s XX Party Congress, in which Khrushchev attacked the proletariat’s dictatorship camouflaging himself under the so-called struggle against the “cult of personality,” considering the congress of possessing “important merits,” precisely for him “one of the most important merits” is that “struggle against divinization” which he used to combat Chairperson Mao Tsetung.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution’s campaign to counterattack the (revoking) revisionist wind centered against Deng Xiaoping. Against the tenacious defender of Peng Dehuai, the climber and conspirator military chief sanctioned in 1959 and defended by Liu Shaoqi and his reactionary headquarters; it aimed against Deng who, forming a gang with the Chinese Khrushchev in the difficult years 1959-1961, attacked the three red banners: the general line, the great leap forward and the people’s commune.

Against him who advocated the increase of lands for private use, free markets, enterprises responsible for their own profits and losses, and agricultural production shares based on each family, unleashing a revisionist wind of individualistic agricultural labor. Against him who held: “Be it black or white, if a cat hunts mice, it is a good cat.”

This the Deng Xiaoping of the 1950s and 60s, “another leading element with power, capitalist-roader within the party” as he was typified, Liu Shaoqi’s lieutenant, who performed as secretary general and whom the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution overthrew. The struggle that Chairperson Mao led in order to counterattack the reactionary revisionist wind aimed at Deng Xiaoping, who since the 50s held a counterrevolutionary programme and who, like others, as soon as he returned to leading posts continued his old road unfolding anew an opposing programme based on “take the three instructions as the key point,” aiming at “conquer the ideological stand as a means to form public opinion,” “take into account first of all, the leading bodies,” in order to take hold of organizational positions, “they rectified in all aspects.”

It was a programme oriented at revoking the GPCR, usurping the leadership in order to promote restoration, undermining the proletariat’s dictatorship, divulging the extinction of class struggle and centering in the development of the productive forces. It was a programme that fought the GPCR imputing that it “injured” the “experienced cadres” and served to “overthrow” “good cadres of the Party,” typifying it as “ultraleftist” for combating the capitalist-roaders.

This struggle to counterstrike the revoking wind led to “Deng Xiaoping’s removal from all his posts inside and outside the Party,” a resolution taken “according to the proposal of the great leader Chairperson Mao Tsetung.” Chairperson Mao Tsetung’s decease, as the death of all the proletariat’s great leaders, has generated deep commotions and wide repercussions in China and in the world; and, in the conditions in which the struggle developed in China. It propitiated the circumstances for the rightists staging a coup d’etat, usurping the power of the proletariat’s dictatorship.

It helped them undermine the conquests of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and open the doors to capitalist restoration, to capitulation and to revisionism. Class struggle in China between revolution and counterrevolution, between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and revisionism, between Chairperson Mao's proletarian line and the revisionist bourgeois counterrevolutionary and capitulationist line, headed by Deng Xiaoping, has entered into crucial, complex and difficult moments; strange and surprising methods are resorted to in the dealing with problems and the struggle; important and vast changes in the leadership and in the organizations mainly of the Party, were produced; at the same time, the criticism campaign against Deng Xiaoping's revisionist revoking wind is suspended; the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is openly questioned; capitulation is developed, especially national capitulation, and Deng's counterrevolutionary programme is hoisted as a banner.

All this is nothing but a rightist coup in the sharp two-line struggle in the period of the continuation of the revolution taking advantage of the circumstances and the repercussions of Chairman Mao Tsetung's death. The situation that arose in China is not an unimportant problem.

It is, on the contrary, a transcendent problem for revolutionaries and communists of the world and we all must give it a very special attention, because from the usurpation of power derives the general change of the line, both in the development of socialism and in the international policy. The key question of Marxism is the proletariat's dictatorship; it is its essence, and a rightist coup and its usurpation is a problem of the utmost seriousness and importance; and it is not a question in China alone; it is a question for all communists since its repercussions have to do with world revolution.

The experience of restoration and of usurpation of power in the USSR are recent lessons that we cannot forget. Mariategui has taught us: "It is not possible to be uninterested in the destiny of a nation that occupies such a principal place in time and space. China weighs too much in human history for us not to be attracted by its deeds and men." This great truth continues to be valid today more than ever for all communists and revolutionaries in the country.

But although the events in China, especially after Chairperson's Mao Tsetung's death move us to a just concern and to the duty of defending the banners of Marxism, precisely to be able to defend them let us guide ourselves by his own forecasts. "If the rightists carry forward an anti-communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure that it will not know peace either, and very probably its domination will be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by any of the revolutionaries who represent the people's interests, more than 90 percent of the population.

"Let it be in China or in other countries of the world, broadly speaking, more than ninety percent of the population will finally support Marxism-Leninism; many persons who, owing to the deceit of social-democracy, revisionism, imperialism and all the reactionaries, have not taken yet political consciousness. But in any way they will gradually wake up and will support Marxism-Leninism. The truth of Marxism-Leninism is irresistible. The masses will invariably rise up in revolution. The world revolution will inexorably triumph."

# AGAINST CONSTITUTIONAL ILLUSIONS, FOR THE STATE OF THE NEW DEMOCRACY

PCP - CENTRAL COMMITTEE - APRIL, 1978

"Marxist politics elevates the workers to the role of the leaders of the peasantry."

Lenin

While Peruvian society faces itself in an extremely acute crisis, it has entered a transcendental period. In periods like this one, important political situations are defined, and the parties set positions and initiate actions which may lay out their future for many decades. Under these conditions the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in this century is developing, and as part of it, the elections for a Constituent Assembly, as well as, in the following years, the approval of a new constitutional charter to replace that of the 1933 and general elections, according to the timetables of the regime's Tupac Amaru Plan. For this reason, it is necessary to analyze the current process in the country and be able to guide ourselves with certainty and decisiveness, since, today more than ever, we must navigate in turbulent waters toward our unavoidable goal: the Peruvian Revolution, whose road was established by Mariátegui, and after fifty years, it has been proven to be right.

## I. FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS: THE STATE, VIOLENCE AND ELECTIONS

The analysis of the current situation must be based on the fundamental problems of the working class, which through its

Party and in the light of Marxism, have been established and proven in our country.

## ON THE STATE

The Peruvian State is a landowning-bureaucratic State. It is a dictatorship of the feudal landowners and the big bourgeoisie under the command of Yankee imperialism, a dictatorship which has developed in this century in the shape of representative democracy and within it, in crucial moments, under military regimes to defend or develop the ruling order of exploitation. Starting in the decade of the 1920's, the Peruvian State was led by the comprador bourgeoisie, and after 1968, by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie: both factions of the big bourgeoisie. The Peruvian State is a type of State most commonly found in semi-feudal and semi-colonial societies, in which it exerts a joint dictatorship of two classes: feudal landowners and big bourgeoisies (comprador or bureaucratic, as the case may be), under the leadership of the latter, but within the domain of imperialism or, lately inroads of social-imperialism. It is a dictatorship which, whatever its system of government (representative democracy or corporativism) and the politics guiding it (demoliberal or fascist) exploits and oppresses the people.

## ON VIOLENCE

Violence with respect to weapons, the army, police and repressive actions like that at Cobriza in 1971 , Andahuaylas in 1974 or Lima on February of 1975, to mention some examples, or military actions like the anti guerrilla actions in 1965 to remember the most important one, in addition to the daily activities of the repressive forces, the persecutions, jailing, suspension of constitutional guarantees, state of emergencies, curfews, etc., enable the exploiting classes, amidst their dictatorship, their State,

to maintain its order, defend and develop it. Violence in our country helps and sustains the landowning-bureaucratic State unleashing it against the people; especially against the proletariat and the peasantry, who are well aware of it, as they have experienced it as part of their daily struggle.

However, violence is not only reactionary. There is also revolutionary violence, from the people, which mobilizing peasants under the leadership of the proletariat generates a people's army led by the Communist Party. It is the violence that rises in the countryside and develops a war of masses to destroy the old State of landowners and big bourgeoisies in order to build the new democracy. Violence is a universal law. It is the transformation of the old world through guns, the glorious road of President Mao Tse-tung.

Violence is written at the bottom of our history. The conquerors used it to submit these lands and subject them to colonial rule. Tupac Amaru unleashed violence to defend the rights and demands (reinvidicaciones) which mobilized hundreds of thousands of indigenous peasants. Violence of yesterday and today, is the usual means of the struggle the peasants have in their hands in their unfinished struggle for the "land to the tiller." Violence is part of our society's centuries of history, mainly of the peasantry, that continues to confront the landowning-bureaucratic State, especially against gamonalism which is the old State's base and sustenance.

But revolutionary violence in our history has reached a new dimension under the proletariat, resumed in Mariátegui and his Party. In this way, since the last fifty years, in which the PCP was founded, the old bourgeois revolution became a revolution of a new democracy. It became an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution which only the proletariat through its Party is able to

lead. Revolutionary violence manifests itself as a peasant war led by the Party, to follow the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside. This is the only road to follow and which has been conclusively proven, even by the heroic guerrilla of 1965, whose defeat did not negate Mao Tse-tung's theory of the People's War nor the road of Mariátegui. On the contrary, it demands from us its accomplishment, putting in command the correct general political line established by Mariátegui with tenacity and firmness, and following the development of the class struggle in more than fifty years, especially the great lessons of the 1960's.

## ON ELECTIONS

Marx pointed out: "Every so many years the oppressed are authorized to decide which members of the oppressor class will represent them and crush them in Parliament!" And that is still more valid when it comes to elections to approve constitutional charters. That way, if the elections are the regular order of renewing the bourgeois dictatorship of capitalist societies (including the most democratic ones), one could imagine the normal course of its political functioning for the preservation and development of capitalism. In the landowning-bureaucratic States, like those of Latin America, in which they have accomplished their role of changing governments, and in the circumstances when they have respected the norms of the demoliberal bourgeois system, elections have only been the tools at the service of the feudal landowners and big capitalists, whether it is a periodic renewal, as is being done lately in Colombia, or the end of a military government, as in Argentina for example.

The above is easily verifiable in the country. With important interruptions by the military governments during the periodic electoral processes, especially interruptions linked on the one hand to the development of the people's struggle, and on the



other, to the contradictions between feudal landowners and between the comprador bourgeoisie, and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, it is important to note that the military regimes themselves have been instrumental in implementing elections, be it to normalize their own situation, end their rule, or to guarantee them. Elections in Peru have undoubtedly served to preserve or develop the old Peruvian State, the formal republic, the dictatorship of feudal landowners and the big bourgeoisie. Therefore, elections have been (and it could not have been any other way within the context of the ruling social order) tools in the hands of the comprador bourgeoisie first, and then a tool of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This has been the most important aspect of the electoral processes of the Peruvian State in this century and it's what has determined the class character of elections in the country. These fundamental questions are summarized as follows:

The Peruvian State is landowning and bureaucratic. It is a dictatorship of feudal landowners and big bourgeois, under the control of Yankee imperialism. Against this, the people's struggle must destroy the old existing order in order to build a State of new democracy.

The Peruvian State, like every State, sustains, defends and develops itself using violence; it faces what the people need, which is revolutionary violence following the road surrounding the cities from the countryside.

Elections are means of domination by landowners and big bourgeois capitalists. They are not tools of transformation for the people nor a means to overthrow the power of those who are ruling. Therefore, the correct orientation for us is to use elections when it comes only for purposes of agitation and propaganda

## II. THE CURRENT PERIOD

This problem requires the analysis of two issues: The economic situation and crisis in the country, and the third restructuring of the Peruvian State.

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND CRISIS

After the Second World War, the development of bureaucratic capitalism was increased. This type of capitalism can be traced to the end of the last century. The expansion of bureaucratic capitalism is more considerable in the 1960's, especially after October of 1968, with the current regime which is based on the problem of the peasantry. To this end, it carried out the more extensive and profound evolution of feudal landowning property. As a result, there is a greater concentration of the property land, the preservation of servile forms of exploitation, bureaucratic management systems and direct control by the State over territorial rents. Thus, the State lays the roots for bureaucratic capitalism in the countryside.

In synthesis, the expansion of bureaucratic capitalism aims at the process of industrialization and generates, an industry more dependent on imperialism (mainly Yankee), as well as greater participation by the State, especially in those industries which are considered basic and extractive. Thus, the State becomes the motor that sustains the economic process, and plays a principal role in banking, finance, including trade.

In this manner, the expansion of bureaucratic capitalism is the continuation of the capitalist process already pointed out by Mariategui: a capitalism subject to the domination of Yankee imperialism, and linked to feudalism. It is this process and expansion (profundizacion) that have generated the current crisis Peruvian society is going through, which is aggravated by the world crisis.

The crisis, in essence, is the result of the expansion of the capitalist development in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. It is not the result of the destruction of semifeudalism but of its evolution, and it is not the result of freeing the country from imperialist domination, mainly Yankee, but the development of semi-colonialism. Therefore, after three years of economic measures aimed at ending the crisis, we now see ourselves in the midst of a deep crisis whose end is not foreseen or expected in 1980. The following data helps us visualize the economic situation:

A = very small properties (minifundio)

B = family units

C = medium size properties

D = large and very large properties (latifundio)

If we add the agrarian debt of tens of thousands of soles, 68% of which total is payable to the landowners, 24% of which is payment for credits due to the bankers, and 8% of which is bureaucratic expense; and if we bear in mind that the State has extracted 6.473 billion soles for real estate taxes from the production of agrarian cooperatives in the five-year period 1971-1975, of which 3,639 billion, more than 50% was taken in 1975, can anyone then speak of the old semi-feudal system as having been destroyed? Can anyone really claim to have broken the backbone of the "oligarchy?" Isn't it clear who benefits and who is protected by the agrarian law? But let's see other data:

On these tables, recession and inflation are seen very clearly. They also show the diminished production and rise in prices that whip the Peruvian economy, as well as the serious situation of the State budget. But let's point out, that while wages were multiplied by four from 1968 to 1976, profits for enterprises or businesses were

multiplied by seven in the same period. And if we add the evolution of wages and salaries, based on the indices of actual remuneration for metropolitan Lima (since there are no other), wages were 100 soles in 1968, by December of 1977, had been reduced to 72.23 soles, and it is foreseen that by December of 1978 they will be reduced to 52.29 soles, whereas the salaries that was 100 soles in 1968, in December of 1977 was reduced to 86.95, and it is predicted that by December of 1978 they will be reduced to 60.70 soles. These figures are enough to see the situation in which the economic production develops, who benefits from it and whom it hits, and the above does not take into consideration the bankruptcies, factory closings, layoffs, etc.; which added onto the above show the serious crisis and the ongoing process of greater concentration of capital for the benefit of the landowners, the big capitalists and imperialism.

To complete this trend, let's see the problem of the foreign debt and the real value of the sol, which shows clearly, the domain of imperialism and the dispute between the superpowers. Remember that in September of 1975 exchange was established at 45 soles to a dollar, in June of 1976 it went down to 65, then came the minidevaluations that ended in 80 soles to a dollar by September of 1977; and from October of that year came on floating, which raised the exchange to 130, in December, and now, to speculation paying 180 soles per dollar in money order certificates, although the official exchange value did not vary; a situation intimately linked to the International Monetary Fund controlled by the United States. According to official figures, in 1968, the country's foreign debt was 737 million dollars, but by 1977 it was 4.17 billion dollars, a sum that forced the use of up to 41% of exports to cancel off interest payments of the debt in 1977. The foreign debt is one of the hottest problems today and from this we can see how the superpowers contend in our country, as can also be seen by the Yankee concern that their loans are not used to pay

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the Soviet Social Imperialist creditors to our country, especially for the sale of weapons; as well as for Soviet maneuvers on the renegotiation of the debt with Peru, and using it as leverage to take positions. This is clearly seen in the campaign of the revisionist newspaper "Unidad" and others who exalt the Soviet social-imperialist "kindness" and "understanding."

These facts, on the agrarian problem, especially the industrial economic production and the rule of imperialism and the quarrel of the superpowers, are stunning proof of the expansion (profundizacion) of bureaucratic capitalism, the evolution of semi-feudalism and the development of our semi-colonial condition; of serious crisis the first one throws us in, and shows the current situation and the perspective which forces the specialized economic publication to say that, "the forecasts for this year, 1978, are even more nefarious."

In 10 years, what economic direction has the government followed? In general lines, in 1969 and 1970 they prepared conditions for their plans. Then they applied the 1971-75 economic-social plan aiming at accumulating capital. This was canceled in its last year because the difficulties had already begun, the 1975-78 plan was approved aimed of a greater accumulation of capital. It was a plan that in its first two years sought the control of the crisis but without achieving it. In 1977, the Tupac Amaru Plan was approved, which applied the modifications proposed by the President in March of 1976, a plan to extend until 1980, on which date the crisis was supposed to be over. During this period the State fulfilled a main role, as the driving force in the economic process, and developed the State's monopoly. However, in the last few years, the need to reinvigorate the private economic activity was proposed, and in the imperialist order within which our country and the State operate, it prepares conditions for future development of the monopoly production of imperialism and the

big bourgeoisie associated with it.

What is being proposed today for the country's economic process? Concretely, that the non State monopoly, or private sector, is the motor reinvigorating the economy, so that the expropriation, or "privatization," of the great means of production which the State has been managing and concentrating, especially in the last ten years, and the greater concentration of property derived from the crisis; as well as the establishing of new forms incrementing the exploitation of the labor forces, to restrict or cancel the benefits, rights and conquests of the masses, as usually happens in every economic crisis, and it is a condition to contain and overcome the crisis. This the economic period in which we now evolve, a period that in the short term benefits imperialism, the exploiting classes and their government in two important problems:

The financial problem, now centered in the foreign debt. This will demand to take other measures besides the ones already taken;

the economic problem, taken as the productive process, which demands an economic plan which has already been announced and is closely linked to the ongoing electoral process and to the "social pact for the national salvation" that is being elaborated; between these two questions, the second one is more important, since the first for the most part has already been defined, while the second is more complex and has a long term effect in perspective.

## ABOUT THE THIRD RESTRUCTURING OF THE PERUVIAN STATE

The bureaucratic bourgeoisie was developed during the Second World War and it aims at leading the State. Its presence was notorious in the governments of Bustamante and Belaunde,

especially the latter; however, only recently, in October of 68 it was when it assumed the leadership of the State, that is it assumed the reigns of government through the armed forces, displacing the comprador bourgeoisie, who since the 1920's had been enthroned as the leading class in the reactionary camp.

Under what conditions did this promotion take place? It takes place amidst the crisis of the so-called representative democracy. The Peruvian State was organized as a formal bourgeois democracy, systematically, with the Constitution of 1920, under the leadership of the comprador or "mercantile" bourgeoisie, as Mariategui called it. This helped develop bureaucratic capitalism, which is a process that consolidating its Power through the "Oncenio" de Leguia , under the mantle of Yankee imperialism. However, the 1929-1934 crisis and the development of the class struggle, mainly by the proletariat, with the founding of the Communist Party, generated a period of upheaval in our contemporary history. Also, during this period the elections of 1931 took place, which drafted the current Constitution still force (at least in words.)

The constitution of 1933 has the characteristics that Karl Marx masterfully pointed out:

while it recognizes the demo-bourgeois type rights and liberties, each article sanctioning them contains its own contradiction, that is, the same time that rights and freedoms are stipulated, they are lawfully restricted. The following samples suffice and it's precisely one of the examples given by Marx, Art. 62 reads: "All persons have the right to assemble peacefully and without weapons, without compromising the public order. The law will regulate the exercise of the right to assemble."

It shows the contradiction between the Executive Power and the Legislative Power, and while in its words, the latter attempts

to tie down the former, in the legislative facts the Executive has been imposing itself more and more, reflecting the development process of the bourgeois State, which inevitably strengthens the Executive Power as well as its principal support, the army.

Finally, it was born under the protection of the bayonets which brought to the world to it, and questioned its current validity whenever the interests of the State demanded it. As these matters are foreseen, they will be found again in the new Constitution and its debates, but on the base of the contradiction between representative democracy and corporativism.

After 1945, all these constitutional contradictions sharpened with the struggle between the comprador bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and more by the increasing development of the force of the people and of the working class. During the government of Bustamante, the contradiction Parliament-Executive sharpened, and the President himself had to propose the need for a new Constitution. The problem surfaced again during the Belaunde government and there were many disputes about a referendum and reform of the Constitution, which in 1965 took Action Popular to draft and introduced a bill about the functional Senate, a corporatist modality established by article 89 of the Constitution, but never implemented up to this day, since even the Action Popular's bill was rejected by the APRA-Odria coalition. This direction, on the base of deepening bureaucratic capitalism, and the contradiction in the midst of the big bourgeoisie between the comprador and bureaucratic factions and, above all, the development of the proletariat (its return to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and the Road of Mariategui), and the upsurge of the people's movement, mainly the great surge of the peasants movement which shook Peruvian society profoundly, and the 1965 guerrilla struggles, which provoked the crisis of representative democracy (a similar problem occurring in contemporary Latin America).



Under these circumstances the armed forces took over the leadership of the State in function, mainly the interests of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, with two tasks to fulfill: the first one, to carry forward the expansion of bureaucratic capitalism and, second, to reorganize Peruvian society. That is how the current regime began, guided by a fascist political conception, developing the corporativization of the Peruvian Society, which is a process that is taking place through the following three phases:

1. Bases and development of the corporativization, in which all past practices are questioned, labeled as the old "pre-revolutionary" order, the bases of organization are set and the so-called "ideological bases" are established. This lasted all the way to 1975.

2. General corporative readjustment, and evaluation of its successes and problems so as to consolidate positions and advance toward the Corporative State, presented as a "social democracy with full participation." That began with the replacement of Velasco by Morales Bermudez, August 1975.

3. Third restructuring of the Peruvian State, from July 1977 to the present, and the establishing of a political timetable with elections for a Constituent Assembly, approval of a constitutional charter which must "institutionalize the structural transformations carried on since October 3, 1968" and must carry out the general elections, according to the Tupac Amaru Plan, until 1980.

So here we have, in general terms, the corporativization followed in ten years. How has the contradiction between bureaucratic bourgeoisies and the proletariat developed in this decade? The bureaucratic bourgeoisie heads the counterrevolutionary camp, and it commands the feudal landowners and the comprador

bourgeoisie, and it is linked to imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, although in the last decade social-imperialism began its penetration, and established links precisely with the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The people's camp has a center: the proletariat, the only class capable of leading them, provided it can develop its vanguard and in fact lead the armed struggle. Thus, it will be able to forge the worker-peasant alliance as its great ally, to win over the petty-bourgeoisie as a sure ally and, under certain conditions and circumstances, to unite even with the national bourgeoisie.

In the first stage of corporativization, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie managed to isolate the proletariat, and even to partially tie it down, presenting itself as a progressive force and as a "revolutionary" with the support of opportunism, mainly the social-corporativist revisionism of "Unidad"

In the second stage, the general readjustment of corporativism, the influence of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie in State affairs began to decrease, its mask fell and it shed its disguises making it more difficult for opportunism to tie down the proletariat to the tail of its enemy.

The third stage of corporativization was the restructuring of the State, in which the contradiction between bureaucratic bourgeoisie and proletariat became sharper again in its antagonism. Both contending classes began to polarize its positions more, one against the other, and consequently the proletariat acquires a greater dimension, as the only leading class of the revolution of new democracy.

What is the period that we now live? Since 1977, we live in a political period which will last four or five years characterized by the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in the 20th century,

and by the development of the struggle of the popular masses in preparation for the launching of the armed struggle. This is a period that occurred in the second moment of the contemporary history of the country, that is, from the Second World War to the present; a period in which bureaucratic capitalism deepens and the corporativization develops under the leadership of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie; a moment in which, on the other hand, the conditions for the democratic revolution mature and this begins to define it by the force of arms in order to create a State of new democracy.

But, what is the immediate situation of the political period that we now live in? To imperialism, to the exploiting classes and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie leading the process, two matters arise: first, to carry on elections for the Constituent Assembly, and second, to open up the road to materialize the third restructuring of the Peruvian State. The second, is the principal one because it is more complex and has future implications, and from which the bureaucratic bourgeoisie expects to consolidate its leadership role. On the other hand, the first task has the support of most of the political parties, who see in the Constituent their revival and perspective. To the people, the ones exploited and the proletariat, what is being proposed is that they do not allow themselves to be tied to the electioneering process, which opens the door to the restructuring of the State, and to develop the growing popular protest to mobilize, to politicize and to organize the masses, especially the peasantry. This second aspect is the most important one.

### III. POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE PEOPLE'S ROAD

In order to analyze the elections and orient ourselves correctly, we need to keep in mind the fundamental issues arisen from it, and the current situation. If not, we run the risk of sliding toward the

opportunistic swamp. We reiterate, the Constituent Assembly elections are the real beginning of the third restructuring of the Peruvian State by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and the ones who will struggle most to carry the corporativization forward as much they are able to, aiming at establishing themselves as the leading class of the exploiters. The ongoing State restructuring is a consequence of the expansion of bureaucratic capitalism and the corporativization of Peruvian society and the elections are in fact its beginnings. They are a preamble to "institutionalize the structural transformations" whose consequences for the people are in sight. Well then, the Constituent Assembly elections help first and foremost the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. That is our main concern. This is the starting point in taking a position with regards to the ongoing electoral process; and in doing it that way, we, and those who follow Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, those who really follow the road of Mariategui and who are at the service of the proletariat and the people, cannot fail to take into account this basic question and must judge it from the position of the working class, in function of the Peruvian revolution. Let's analyze briefly some of these problems.

## ON THE CONVERGENCE OF CLASSES; FACTIONS AND PARTIES IN THE REACTIONARY CAMP

For years, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and more specifically the armed forces, in its name, have wanted to exercise leadership of the State and do away with the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal landowners, outside the margin ordered by the Constitution and conform themselves to their own statutes, concentrating all State powers, postponing the political organizations and even casting aside civilians for the benefit not just of the military in active service, but even the retired military. This contradiction does not mean that it has not represented and kept in mind the interests of its allies, the comprador bourgeoisie

and the landowners, but that the need to assume the leadership of State Power took the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (during the crisis of the representative democracy) to appeal to the armed forces as sustenance of power itself, which was the institution in a position of power to advance its interests.

But ten years have elapsed and today their main purpose is the restructuring of the State, which will generate the convergence of the exploiting classes, its factions and its parties. Is this anything strange? No, as Marx demonstrated. Thus, the restructuring of the State will cause a convergence of the two factions of the big bourgeoisie, the comprador and the bureaucratic factions, and especially of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie with the feudal landowners. However, this convergence does not exclude their discrepancies but, the need of restructuring the State and the situation of crisis in which this develops, enlivens those endeavors, both for the landowners and for the comprador bourgeoisie, to recover positions and to defend their interests. In that way, the need to restructure the State benefits the exploiting classes, and what takes them to a convergence, because they must restructure the State order which enables them to preserve and develop their exploitation and rule and provides them with a constitutional order allowing a normal and periodic process of renewal of the powers of the State. But at the same time, the endeavors to have the interests of their class or faction prevail, and above all their contention for the leadership of the State enlivens their divergences. The historical tendency of the exploiters under the rule of imperialism, mainly Yankee, is the development of the process of corporativization, which at this time, is the convergence in order to restructure the State. Their proposals on the "social pact" is a good example, but this convergence or collusion of interests develops amidst sharp contradictions which become more intense as the people's struggle develops.

In the context of the collusion and collision between the two factions of the big bourgeoisie, we are able to understand the positions and actions of their political parties. These parties are grouped in two: those of demo-bourgeois roots, among them the Peruvian Democratic Movement (MDP), Popular Christian Party (PPC), Accion Popular (AP), principally APRA. Those of corporatist tendencies, among them Popular Socialist Action (APS), Christian Democracy (DC), Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR) and mainly the social-corporatist revisionism of "Unidad." Those of demoliberal roots, more are linked to the comprador bourgeoisie, generally support representative democracy and differ among themselves in those wanting to strengthen the Executive, such as APRA; facing the current political timetable, some demand immediate general elections, such as PPC and AP, others support the fulfillment of the Constituent Assembly, such as APRA.

Those of a corporatist tendency, who are more linked to the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, generally support the corporative organization of society, although differing in form but not in substance. Some propose a "socialist society" such as PSR, and "Unidad" while others such as Christian Democratic Party speak about a "comminatory society." They differ, then, PSR proposes supposedly "Peruvian socialism" while "Unidad" preaches the pro-Soviet revisionist "socialism." Those of corporatist tendencies, all support, the current political timetable. Some such as DC (Christian Democrats) labeled it as "rushing" the call for a Constituent Assembly, taking time to decide whether or not to participate; similarly, facing the Constituent, if all were for the "participation" of the grass roots organizations, PSR was against it.

In conclusion, we must bear in mind the collusion and collisions

taking place in the camp of reaction among its classes, its factions and its parties. This enables us to understand the particular decisions and positions of each one and, furthermore, this will enable us to analyze and orient ourselves in the correlation of forces now emerging and which will define them during and after the June elections.

## ON THE OPPORTUNIST LINE IN ELECTIONS

Right opportunism has a long electoralist tradition in the country, which is intimately linked to Del Prado and company and revisionism which has as its voice "Unidad." In the general elections of 1936, 1939, 1945 and 1963, opportunism tied down the people and the working class to the band wagon of the big bourgeoisie, of the comprador bourgeoisie before World War II and of the bureaucratic one afterwards. The essence of this electoral line and of parliamentary cretinism is synthesized in the following proposals which sustained the 1945 elections: "the workers as a whole have the historical task of struggling for an alliance with the bourgeoisie"; "we no longer launch candidates with the aim of agitation and propaganda. Now we launch to make representatives out of them," proposals which were accompanied by these statements: "we will only resort to the present strike when the employers show such intransigence that a peaceful solution is not possible . . . But before we go on striking we must exhaust the lawful and peaceful means"; "instead of strikes as a tactic, which must be used only as a last resort --which corresponds to other concrete situations-- the working classes must propitiate compromises and peaceful solutions of the problems by way of state organisms." These are the right opportunist theses which accompanied the following with regards to the peasantry: "we must take into our hands the slogan of making conscious voters out the thousands of peasants and indigenous individuals."

And essentially these theses are the ones which once more, at a higher level and with more actualized rationalizations, guide the corporatist revisionism of "Unidad" in the greatest capitulation of its dark history. But is this happening only with "Unidad?" No. These are also seen on the magazine "Marka," that with increasing persistence is calling the people and the working class to be tied down to the tail of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. But the problems do not end here, and what is more serious is that electioneering is impacting the people's own ranks, through the position of revolutionaries who despite the "reasons" they invoke, they are supporting the third restructuring of the State, a position which has taken them, in an open renunciation of their principles, to join on one-side the revisionism of those having as their voice "Mayoria," as is the case of UDP, and on the other, of the Trotskyites in Focep

## ON THE ROAD OF THE PEOPLE

All this takes us to propose to ourselves the position of the proletariat and the people in the face of the elections, to draw the fences clearly and sharply, more so if there are organizations that do not compromise and openly reject the capitulation and, even more, if we have the obligation of serving the people and cooperate in the development of their class conscience.

Having placed the elections for the Constituent Assembly within the period of the third restructuring of the State and forging the beginning of the armed struggle, nowadays that the crisis becomes harsher on the people and the people's protests develop, and participating in elections does not support the proletariat, nor the people, nor the revolution, but only the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the exploiters and imperialism. To participate in the elections for the Constituent Assembly is to deviate the revolution from its



road, is to put it into a swamp; since it would sow constitutional illusions in the masses, to cause hopes in their laws, in the Constitution, and ultimately in the elections. It is, in synthesis, to want to take the people by the old electoral road of right opportunism, of which the hardened champion is the revisionism of "Unidad" commanded by Del Prado and Company.

Facing the Constituent Assembly elections, the only correct position is the non participation, the boycott. What is needed is to apply the teachings of the great Lenin. Lenin applied the boycott precisely against a Duma, a "representative organization," which would elaborate a Constitution to the service of the prevailing order in Tsarist Russia, and to reach this conclusion he relied on two bases: first, participation would deviate the revolution from its road and, second, an increasing revolutionary process was developing. We must analyze and apply this thesis in accordance with our concrete conditions. Objectively, in our country the political period which we develop is, on one side, the third restructuring of the State which is led by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie aiming at completing the corporativization of society. On the other, the development of the masses takes us to the task of initiating the armed struggle, which the proletariat must carry on under the leadership of its Party. That is the first question Lenin had in mind. The second one, is the ascending people's struggle ending up in armed struggle. In our country the road is not that of the insurrection in the city, but of an armed struggle in the countryside, of surrounding the cities from the countryside through a protracted People's War; among us the uprising is, essentially, the uprising of the peasants movement, and it is out of this that the armed struggle will come, the history of the country and the decade of the 1960's prove that convincingly; that is how we must understand, in our case, the problem of the ascension of the masses which Lenin had in mind.

To uphold the non participation in the Constituent Assembly elections, the call for the boycott, the generating of a movement of rejection of the elections, is condemned as a "left-wing infantile disorder." However, that is only a label that tries to cover the facts with a shower of words; because what is being debated here is not the infantilism or senility of anyone. What is being debated is the real, objective situation of the class struggle in our country; what is being debated is on which period we are now in, and what is its characteristics and its perspective. What is being debated is whether or not the mass movement in our country, mainly the peasantry, leads us or not to the armed struggle. What is in debate is if it is appropriate to sow electoral illusions, to propagate electoralism, if that is any help to the proletariat, to the people, to the democratic revolution. That is what is being debated, and we have the obligation to debate; only by defining these questions we will be able to ascertain which position is the correct one, then toil to implement it in deeds not only in words. Any other attitude and even those who want to silence with words, with labels and mountains of paper, are old and obsolete maneuvers of right opportunism, here and everywhere else. This is the position of the Road of the people, of the Road of Mariategui, confronting today the ongoing electoral process and facing the restructuring of the State. This is a road which today demands from us, more insistently than yesterday, that we struggle to mobilize, to politicize and to organize the masses of the workers, and especially the peasantry as the principal force of our revolution, and the proletariat as the leading force whose direction is synthesized in its organized vanguard, by its Communist Party, the Party of Mariategui whose reconstitution is about to be crowned. Let's guide ourselves by the words of President Mao Tse-tung: "Only when the workers and peasants, who constitute 90 percent of the population, have been mobilized, will be possible to overthrow imperialism and feudalism." Let's apply the order of Mariategui: "The organization of workers and peasants

AGAINST CONSTITUTIONAL ILLUSIONS

on a strict class consciousness character is the objective of our effort and our propaganda."

AGAINST THE CONSTITUTIONALIST ILLUSIONS, FOR THE STATE OF NEW DEMOCRACY!

LET'S RETAKE MARIATEGUI AND RECONSTITUTE HIS PARTY!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT!

## FOR THE NEW FLAG

IX PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, JUNE 7, 1979

### The Flag

Many are called but few are chosen. We are not the only ones. We are all subjected to the storm; the wind blows away the leaves, but the seeds remain. In 1927, a great storm led to the birth of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). The Party has entered a great storm; everything will be set ablaze. For a long time, we have sought to become a polar center. Now is the time. The path we are undertaking is correct, and all the problems we face will be resolved.

Today is the day of pledging to the flag, but ours is the Red Flag, a distinct one, with the hammer and sickle. Our flag is absolutely red; all those who rebel have red flags.

The Ninth Symphony is long and beautiful, it is the expression of the bourgeois victory, the song of the triumphant bourgeoisie. Its author loved liberty, he struggled for it. He wrote the Third symphony for Napoleon, but when his idol trampled upon freedom, he stated that it was no longer for him, but for liberty.

The Ninth Symphony has one characteristic, a slight rumbling sound which rises into a crescendo until bursting into a musical explosion. In the human voice, the voices of the choir, is the earth that is converted into music. Above the background of the choir, four individuals sing; the masses generate those voices that sing higher, but there is one voice that reaches even higher still. Never before was anyone able to sing it. Never before was this pitch reached, but in this century, after many efforts, what was nearly

impossible to attain was finally achieved. There is nothing that man cannot accomplish!

They were the flags of the bourgeoisie in their highest epoch, which has passed away. Now comes the new humanity, the humanity of joy, the proletariat, the only blaze that will never be extinguished! We are one of its sparks. We are a small part of this immense bonfire, it is our turn to set them on fire. The sparks are fanned by storm winds. Let everyone fulfill their journey and allow the proletariat to carry out its historical tasks. The working class will define its path itself, nothing will prevail against it, it will destroy all obstacles and a world full of light will inevitably come. Who will be able to contain us? What are we? Sparks! What can we fear? Can muffles silence the fury of the cannons? Can a spark arise against the bonfire? Can the old foam survive in the storm? Much scum will rot in the stagnant sea.

How can silence calm the thunder? The sparks cannot contain the flames, the upheavals are born in the vortex of fire and nothing can detain them. The hammer is brandished by the working classes, the anvil is the struggle; everyone will fulfill their tasks. It is foolish to try to destroy the matter.

Silence can occur to people but not for the class. The class gives birth to the Party and the Party rises and begins to walk, it is the child of the revolution. The Party can never be crushed or destroyed. The Party will inevitably triumph. This Party forged itself, Mariategui is its founder. It is done. How can history be repeated? The Reconstitution came and the deed was done, it cannot be turned back. Our eyes turn towards other dawns, other things arise, why look back? A fact is a fact, it cannot be redone. Are we going to repeal time, our acts that are sealed in matter? Our struggle should be taken towards other paths since we are already concluding our summit.

There is an old song:

"Who is that who has her sights like the sunrises, beautiful as the moon, illuminating as the sun, imposing like the armies of waving flags?"

Why look backwards when the decision has already been taken; we need to look forward to see the dawn and what arises out of the fire of the revolution. We will carry out the armed struggle and that is what we must do. We repeat: that is what we must do, and we must do it! It will be carried out because it is necessary and nothing can detain us, absolutely nothing can detain us. How can the grain detain the wheels of the mill? It would be converted into dust.

Another chapter in history should begin, our vision should be turned towards it. We must begin to climb slopes of another mountain in order to scale more brilliant summits, this is how it shall be. Far from me, away from all pessimism, let us develop optimism in its place. If we have some pessimism it is the result of the injustice of this world.

Behind everything I say is our flag. A flag that is the source of hope, a red flag unfurled to the wind. For a long time some wanted to strike our political line on two flanks but we stated that we would pass through the middle. We accomplished this with our heads held high, beating drums and our vision dreaming of a distant future. The deeds go on hammering you and your mind opens, generating the idea. We are not abandoning banners like some foolish person would think because our hands were not made for dropping the flag but for unfurling it.

For a long time our flag has fluttered over the summit. We need

to leap into the unknown but not for self-destruction. We have commenced the leap, the flag is firmly planted in the highest summit. A fog interposes but our armed hands will rise up with the masses.

The flag has already been placed on another higher summit, once again it has been unfurled, the drums begin to beat and the wind is agitated. The red flag is a beautiful cry, it calls all of us. We shall heed the message. The red flag flutters much higher and towards a new summit, there is where we must go and when we arrive we must raise the flag to an even higher peak; we can do no more. The revolution cannot be detained, that is a law, our destiny. Why our silence? They are fragile drops, particles, muffled voices in opposition and somber sparks that want to negate the bonfire. Why are the sparks going to reveal themselves against the bonfire? Because some have little faith, hope and charity while our spirits should be great. We have taken three theological virtues in order to interpret them. Paul stated: man of faith, hope, and charity. One is worth nothing, the masses are worth everything. If we desire to be part of something it should be part of the masses. What's the use of talking about individual glories? Our love, faith and hopes are collective and achievable, all three in one flag.

We had one small storm cloud and Marxism swept it away. There are eyes that don't see, deaf ears and closed hearts, that you yourselves close. What do you want to preserve? Silence? Aging scum? Here there is only one thing to uphold, the flag of the Party that has been placed on another summit. If we are part of the Left, we have to be consumed with passion because that fervor will bring about the destruction of the forces so much talked about. The bonfire is ablaze. We should burn our old idols, burn everything we adored and extol what we degraded. What else can we do? Do we want to become arrogant bubbles, telling the

cosmos "I will develop?" Imagine its roar of laughter!

They say that this part of the cosmos structured itself as Earth over 15 billion years, billions of years in order to develop Communism. How long does one man last, much less the simple twinkling of a dream? We are nothing more than a pale shadow which pretends to rise up against all this process of matter. We will be its dream at its conclusion. Arrogant bubbles, is this what we want to be? An infinitesimal part that wants to rise up against 15 billion years. What arrogance, what rot! Old, aging seas, rotten by time, feudal, bourgeois and imperialist periods, sewage in decomposition. What else is it? Ridiculous stench. Let us be materialists! Communists! Let us demonstrate it, it is necessary and no one can oppose necessity.

Marx understood the new road to traverse; Lenin assumed responsibility for starting the bonfire. Mao is Mao because he soared like no other, he had a historical vision, he foresaw the centuries, he showed us thousands of years in brief pages and he completed his mission and role. He stated: I have made the revolution by overthrowing Chiang Kai-shek and creating the Great Cultural Revolution, I have served nothing else and our advancement is small in comparison to where it should be. I wanted to reach a more definitive summit but I failed. He tells Chiang Ching: you can do it, if you fail you will be hurled off the heights, and if you fall then the guerrilla war must begin.

As Communists in formation, what path do we want to follow? Who are we? We are nothing except Communists.

It is necessary to define the problem today. We face the same problems faced by the Right Opportunist Line, but we are the Left. Here the right is subsidiary, our problem is not with them, if they want to fulfill their role, let them adopt self-criticism. The



problem is with us, the left, because it is the Party, the salt of the earth, the living tree; the others are parasites. The Left should burn the futile, it should wash itself, cleanse itself, remaining clean. It should clean its stable and shed the old crust in a frank, truthful and honest way. Each of us responds to what happens to the other, we are children of the same cause. It is easy for us because we are the Left. Let everyone demonstrate his/her condition as a Communist. We made the Party and that is what we are. The masses are ready, they are awaiting us. They want light not shadows, swords not butter, fire not ice. The Left should fulfill its role. The problem is simple, even for those with a hard spirit. The problem is to open your hearts with resolution, it is easy to do. The revolution demands it. Enough of the sewage of individualism.

In this new epoch we must wash our souls and wash them well. Think of the revolution and the Party which implies the people and the class, necessity demands it. Let us go to the root of our problems but without involving our egos. Let us go to the root of our positions in order to nail our spirits definitively to the flag of the Party.

Some see only themselves, they live in a house of mirrors; you are Communists, raise your fists, strike out and once again the blood will boil to tear down the wall. That is what must be done.

The problem is having two flags in the soul, one black and the other red. We are leftists, let us make a holocaust with the black flag, it is easy for everyone to do so. If not the rest will do it.

The Red Flag will prevail, the black flag will be uprooted. Let everyone demonstrate his or her condition as Communist. The flag flutters on a higher summit, many already recognize this, other winds are blowing in our country and everyone analyzes

their problems within their line and muddies their worn flags.  
Something helps us: our Flag is much higher. How can we not  
fulfill our role! I hope we can complete it. I hope.

# DEVELOP THE GROWING PEOPLE'S PROTEST!

PCP - CENTRAL COMMITTEE - SEPTEMBER, 1979

"Whether it is correct or not, ideological and political line decides everything. If the Party's line is correct, we have everything: if we don't have fighters, we will have them; if we don't have weapons, we will get them; and if we don't have Power, we will conquer it. If the line is incorrect, we will lose all we have obtained."

MAO TSE-TUNG

Politics, which is the class struggle for power, has entered into our country in a moment of great importance. Counterrevolution, the bureaucratic road, led by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie as a faction of the big bourgeoisie, is developing the third restructuring of the State in this century. Ever since it approved the new Constitution, it aims at celebrating general elections in May of 1980. On the other hand, the revolution, the democratic road, whose axis is the proletariat, strengthens the growing popular protest and orients itself to its development in function of initiating the armed struggle.

The central point on the current political question is the existence or nonexistence of a revolutionary situation. The definition of this problem is of vital transcendence for the people and is the object of persistently hard and fundamental debate. To us in the light of Marxism, our country is going through a developing revolutionary situation, and consequently, the strategy and tactics to follow must depart from this reality. Furthermore, all Peruvian politics at the present time, the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, cannot be treated outside the frame of

analyzing this situation.

Today in Peru, the problem of the revolutionary situation is not understood, and as a result the monumental political mistakes made on the people's side, follows. From the understanding of the existence of a developing revolutionary situation in the country, derives the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line of the proletariat, its application and perspective. These problems cannot be judged with certainty, but in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, specifically by the application of Mao Tse-tung Thought to the backward countries, that is, semi feudal and semicolonial countries, and from the analysis of the class struggle in our society in the present situation. Only in this way, is it possible to understand the class struggle today, manage its laws and develop the road of the people from the position of the proletariat.

## 1. WE LIVE IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN DEVELOPMENT

Peruvian society lives in a revolutionary situation in development that is the fundamental question and the only correct point of departure for the politics of the proletariat. We can arrive at the understanding of this reality if we base ourselves on the conception of the proletariat, from the study and application of the theses of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought on the "revolutionary situation," theses which are simple and clear and which, however, are crudely twisted from the position of right opportunism, a position expressed mainly in the people's camp by "revolutionarism." For that reason, today more than ever, if we want to serve the proletariat and the revolution, we must sustain ourselves firmly in Marxism and apply it correctly and decisively, without electoral vacillations which muddle the problem, and cause confusion, especially on the tactic the proletariat must

follow facing the third restructuring of the State and elections, particularly facing future elections. These are the errors whose principal consequence is to focus in the plan of reaction, and not in the development of the revolution.

## THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN THE COUNTRY

When he founded the Communist Party, Mariátegui established that in Peru, the revolution would have two stages: democratic and socialist; the first one is the prerequisite and condition for the second, and can only be led by the proletariat through its Party, the Communist Party. It is in the first stage of the revolution that President Mao Tse-tung defined as the new democratic revolution, that is, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, since it has to scrub away the feudalism that subsists and break off the imperialist domain. As history has proven to society, this can only be accomplished by the armed struggle, that is the People's War, following the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside. This is a fundamental truth from which all proletarian politics must be based. The road of the armed struggle starts from the countryside to the cities, is supported mainly by the peasantry, who rise up in arms, under the leadership of the Communist Party, generates the people's armed forces as the principal form of organization. It is the form in which revolutionary violence is synthesized in semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries. This is a revolutionary violence which is precisely the very essence of Marxism. So being a Marxist, applying in theory and in practice the conception of the proletariat, in countries like ours, demands to subordinate ourselves to the armed struggle and, therefore, center the activity in starting it, if it has not started, and developing it if it has already started. This matter is clear and simple and there is no way to twist it if we sustain ourselves in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, and it is also clear if we truly serve the

proletariat, the people and the revolution in deeds, and not merely in empty words.

All the above are elemental truths of the international experience and were thoroughly debated in our country in the decade of the 1960s, a time when Peruvian Communists, reaffirmed and upheld the great theses of Mariátegui and adhered themselves to the great development which Mao Tse-tung Thought meant for Marxism-Leninism, and concluded that in the country the revolution is democratic and can only be fulfilled by armed struggle and not by elections, following the road from the countryside to the city and taking as its main force the peasantry, especially the poor peasantry. This is a great experience of our people, of our class and of Communism in Peru. It is an experience which nobody who upholds Marxism can forget to take into account the current conditions of development.

We the Communists in the country, and all the revolutionaries must ask ourselves a simple question: why is it that the working class has not yet conquered Power in our country? The answer is concise: It is because up to now, an armed struggle has not been developed nor have we initiated it nor applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. There is in Peru, a long electoral experience and many times the people have been called, and the revolutionaries have been taken to participate in elections. As a result, there have not been any fundamental benefits for the class or for the people and much less, of course, conducive to the conquest of Power. The class and the people have been called to participate on the supposition that transcendental decisions and consequences were at play or stake. That way, the masses of the people put their hopes and became focused on the elections as the main task, which disoriented them and took them away from their own road. What have the class and the people gotten out of such electoral activities? Other than

a few spots in the chamber of deputies or the senate, which ultimately only benefit their supposed representatives, have only helped to sow parliamentary cretinism, fuel up opportunism and reap disillusionments. Well then, in our country, there is a very dark electoral trajectory and a bitter experience we cannot forget. We must remember that in every electoral process in the country, opportunism goes wild sowing illusions, dreaming about taking up positions in government, invoking a feigned defense of the masses, offering great democratic advances and generating uncontrolled greed and appetite. All these politicians aim at riding on the people's struggle in function of their own dark purposes.

These are concrete lessons of our country and they show that the actors can change or survive, but electoral opportunism remains, and nothing come out of it for the people, except taking them off the correct path.

We also have had many popular struggles and even insurrectional actions in the cities of Peru, not to even mention the so-called "revolutions," which have merely been military pronouncements or coups d'etat that at one point or another even involved sections of the people. However, none of these actions, some of them very heroic actions, have resulted in power for the class or for the people, but were very bloodily crushed by the Army, or their outcome has only served and helped one faction or another of the exploiting classes. This shows that the road to take power is neither the uprising nor the insurrection in the cities. That is another fundamental experience of our revolutionary struggle, which must vaccinate us against insurrectional roads ostensibly centered in the working class, as the principal force of the revolution in the country.

Similarly, in the countryside many peasants' struggles have been carried out, but none of them were developed as an armed

struggle. They have been unable to free the peasantry, to give them land, and much less have they generated a new Power, a new State for the class and for the people. Linked to the large peasants' mobilization of the mid 1960s, we have the guerrilla struggle of MIR and the ELN, but not following the conception of the proletariat on the People's War, nor being properly linked to the peasantry, they were crushed. However, these guerrilla actions left great experiences for our people.

What do all of these facts show? They simply show that in more than 50 years of the Communist Party and revolution of the new democracy up to now, the working class has not taken Power and therefore, the people of Peru have been unable to free themselves of imperialist domination or to sweep away feudalism. However, we have participated in many electoral processes. The masses have rebelled in the cities, the peasants have battled and spilled their blood heroically, and we even have had guerrillas, although not a People's War. Despite all of this, the proletariat and the people have not been able to conquer Power. Thus, up to the present time, the democratic revolution, the revolution of new democracy, the national-democratic revolution has not been developed through armed struggle according to the principles of People's War sustained in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. Therefore, we have not followed the road of encircling the cities from the countryside and, consequently, we have not created revolutionary support bases in the country nor have we built revolutionary Power sustained by the people's armed forces. This is the reason why we have not destroyed the old social order and the working class, and the people have not conquered Power.

What follows from all that? Concretely, up to now, the national-democratic revolution has not begun to be developed in its highest form and, therefore, the principal task of the revolution in Peru is to initiate the armed struggle; that is the central task of

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the democratic revolution. All must be done for this purpose and that is, consequently, the central activity toward which all communists and revolutionaries must orient themselves if they truly want to be at the service of the proletariat, the people and the revolution. In that way, the pending task of the democratic revolution in our country is to begin the armed struggle.

In general terms, many revolutionaries and some organizations in the midst of the people are in agreement with the above, but claim that while that is the strategy to follow, current conditions do not allow us to focus on initiating the armed struggle. According to them, there is no revolutionary situation, and therefore, we must center ourselves on activities like mobilizing the masses even on elections, precisely, they say, to generate a revolutionary situation. Thus, the debate on whether or not a revolutionary situation exists in the country, has become a fundamental problem of our politics, which must be judged very seriously in the light of Marxism and the analysis of our own reality. Let's address this issue taking as a basis the thesis of Lenin and Mao Tse-tung.

## LENIN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

Lenin set forth fundamental theses about the revolutionary situation. Analyzing the great strike movements of the working class and the people's struggle in the second decade of this century in the old tsarist Russia, he established that their roots, and their cause, were the existence of a revolutionary situation. To illustrate this matter he wrote the following:

"Russia lives in a revolutionary situation because of the crushing oppression of the vast majority of the population, not just the proletariat, but nine tenths of the small producers, mainly the peasants, has sharpened to the maximum, and the obvious

sharpened oppression, the hunger, the misery, the denial of their rights and the humiliation inflicted upon the people, is in blatant disagreement with the state of productive forces in Russia, with the degree of conscience and the level of the reivindication of the masses . . . "

Can we say that such conditions do not exist today in our country, and for many years? It is evident that these conditions are present in Peruvian society and, furthermore, such conditions have entered these past few years in a process of profound worsening; do we need to prove this? Do we need to prove that "nine tenths" of especially the peasantry of Peru, are subjected to a growing oppression and exploitation of the Peruvian proletariat? Do we need to prove that the hunger, the misery, the denial of their rights and the humiliation is inflicted upon the people of Peru? All that is so evident that nobody can deny it and, moreover, we don't need to look at the distant past, and all that has been worsening since 1968, since the present regime took over Power. It has been getting worse by the day up to the crisis we suffer today, since 1975. Can anyone deny the harsh reality our country suffers? Nobody. No one who is based on the most elementary objective analysis of our reality can deny it. Precisely, the existence of these conditions of oppression and exploitation are themselves the base of the revolutionary situation. For this situation to emerge clearly, we also need another condition, as Lenin himself says:

"Oppression, however great, not always results in a revolutionary situation in a country. For the revolution to explode, it is not sufficient that the ones below do not want to go on living as before. It is also necessary that those above are not able to go on managing, and ruling as they did up to that time."

That is how Lenin defined what a revolutionary situation is, and

what the objective conditions is. He synthesized them in two cases:

- that those below don't want to go on living as before and,
- those above are unable to go on managing and ruling as they did up to now.

Those are the two conditions that generate mobilization of the masses, their struggles, and the strike movement of the proletariat, among others. It is not, then, the mobilization of the masses that generates the revolutionary situation, but the opposite; the revolutionary situation, the objective condition of the revolution, is what cause the mobilization. This is their effect.

In addition, it is very important to note that Lenin considers that the revolutionary situation generates a political crisis at the very base of the State; in his own words, he states:

"Russia is in the middle of a political crisis on a national scale, and it is precisely a crisis which affects the bases of the state structure, and in no way some minor part of it. It affects the foundations of the building and not this or that accessory, this or that floor."

This is fundamental, and the revolutionary situation affects the very bases, the foundations of the State and therefore "a reformist exit of the situation" is not possible. Patches or sutures are inadequate, and the only possible solution is a revolutionary exit. Lenin himself, masterfully summarized the revolutionary situation, as follows:

"The conditions of the masses of the population in Russia, the worsening of their situation by virtue of the agrarian policy (to which the feudal landowners had to appeal as their only hope),

the international situation and the character of the general political crisis in our country, constitute the sum total of the objective conditions which make the situation in Russia revolutionary, due to the impossibility of resolving the tasks of the bourgeois revolution continuing on this road, and using the existing means (in the hands of the government and of the exploiting classes)."

All that seems to have been written for our country today! We highlight the problem of "those above"; obviously in Peru, those above cannot continue to govern and administer things as they did up to now. The proof of this is the third restructuring of the State that is being stipulated in the new Constitution. Evidently, it has to do with the basis of the state, its foundations, and affects the entire state order.

The transcribed quotation of Lenin clearly summarizes a situation very much like that in our country today, a result of the existent objective conditions and revolutionary situation in our country. However, in Peru there is a serious confusion about this problem. Some erroneously consider that the mobilization of the masses is the cause for the existence of the revolutionary situation. This idea obviously contradicts the exceedingly clear theses formulated by Lenin, and it has a purpose: to prioritize the reformist struggle (movimiento reivindicativo) of the masses in order to postpone the revolution, the seizure of Power and, ultimately, to block revolutionary violence in order to go after the electoral processes, and propagate parliamentary cretinism. Others in the country formulate that the revolutionary situation derives and develops by complementing the objective conditions with the subjective conditions, which indicates another serious error. Subjective conditions, to Lenin, imply the class and the instruments to carry forward the revolution, as he stated in the following:

"Neither the oppression of those below nor the crisis of those above, is enough to produce the revolution -the only thing these will achieve is the putrefaction of the country, if the country in question lacks a revolutionary class capable of transforming the passive state of oppression into an active state of wrath and insurrection."

Therefore, a revolutionary situation or objective conditions of the revolution, are not the same as the subjective conditions. The latter are the class and the instruments capable of converting the revolutionary situation into revolutionary violence, which in our country means an armed struggle, the united front, a Party to manage both, a proletariat capable of leading and fulfilling its role as the leading class, and a peasantry capable of rising up in arms.

#### MAO TSE-TUNG AND THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION IN THE BACKWARD COUNTRIES

President Mao Tse-tung uses the term objective situation to analyze the revolutionary situation or the objective conditions of the revolution and their development in backward countries, that is, semi-feudal and semi-colonial. He starts off from the need to penetrate to the essence of things and not stay with simple appearances. To him, the main thing is to consider the semi-feudal base and imperialist oppression of the backward countries. Under these conditions, the revolution is democratic, that is, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist, whose development demands the armed struggle from the countryside to the city through revolutionary support bases as the New State, which begins to emerge and simultaneously, the old bureaucratic landowning reactionary State is being destroyed. This is fundamental in understanding the specific conditions that the revolutionary situation has in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, and the development of these societies.

President Mao Tse-tung establishes the conditions that conform to the objective situation and also the contradictions that exist, and from which the road of the revolution derives, which in essence is the armed struggle, and the inevitable triumph of the revolution. As stated in point four of his work, "A Single Spark Can Set the Prairie on Fire," he highlights the following points and contradictions:

On the international level, he discusses the development of the contradiction between the imperialist countries. Evidently, it has increased between the two superpowers, Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. These contradictions have an impact on our country as contradictions in the midst of the exploiters, mainly the big bourgeoisie, as we have seen lately in its two factions: the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie, which far from ameliorating, will develop further.

He also illustrates the contradiction between the reactionary rulers and the great masses of taxpayers. The growing state apparatus necessarily ends up raising taxes, which fall upon the masses of the people and, besides, the state economy develops amidst constant budgetary crises. The procedure that is being followed under the current regime and the situation today proves this. In addition, the masses of people are the ones, who through indirect taxation, support the state expenditures more and more; a situation which is getting worse and will continue to worsen.

Contradiction between imperialism and national industry. In the country this contradiction is evident; the national industry is increasingly subject to imperialist domination and access to markets is more restricted every day. On the other hand, the aggression by foreign imports (e.g., commodities) handled by imperialism, restricts the development of the national industry, and the financial impositions of imperialism, sinks it into an economic recession, which is worsened by the worldwide crisis.

As Mariategui said, imperialism does not allow the development of a national industry.

Contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class. The capitalists, "trying to elude the crisis and solve their problems deepen the exploitation of the workers, who in turn oppose and resist these measures." This statement of fact by President Mao is proven to satiety every day among us. We see today the profound crisis the country has been suffering in the last few years. In synthesis, we see how brutally salaries have been cut. The workday has been increased and harsh working conditions have been imposed so as to safeguard entrepreneurial profits. Furthermore, we see the resistance of the proletariat through the persistent strike struggle, even when faced with all sorts of persecution and repression, suspension of constitutional guarantees and a state of emergency.

Further deepening of the contradiction between the landowning class and the peasantry. In the country, the State has assumed collection of land rents through the agrarian debt, imperialist investment mainly through the agrarian bank and control of the entire system of associations (cooperatives, SAIS, etc.) in agricultural production and, besides, it maintains servile forms of production, and is included in the old landowners feudal exploitation. In this way, the situation of the peasantry has worsened by the evolution of feudalism resulting from the agrarian law, and the penetration of bureaucratic capitalism into the countryside.

Merchants in national commodities and independent producers see themselves pushed more and more toward bankruptcy. Today, the economic crisis clearly shows the validity of this premise. It suffices to recall the situation of bankruptcy confronted by the small industrial producers and small merchants, as well as small miners. We must highlight the serious situation faced by the ambulatory merchants who are affected by a brutal repression, and much repression falls upon them. But the crises hit the

medium producers as well.

The reactionary government increases its troops without limits. Throughout the country the development and reinforcement of the reactionary armed and police force is evident, both in size of contingents and in weaponry. This is shown by the creation of new repressive bodies of the state and the widening of their functions, and the greater control they exert over society. Inevitably, this process will develop further.

Hunger and banditry extends throughout the country. The popular masses of Peru suffer chronic hunger, but today, the crisis is even worse. The masses, the peasantry, especially the poor peasants, has absolutely nothing to feed themselves, and hunger is paired with sickness, which mostly affects infants and youth. Criminality increases more and more and cow-thievery (abigeato) grow in the countryside protected by the authorities themselves.

The majority of the peasants' masses and the poor in the cities find themselves in a situation in which they are barely able to survive. This comparison, which President Mao made in China is also a cruel reality that prevails among us, misery entrenches itself more and more amidst the popular masses of our nation.

Because of the lack of budget funds, many students fear that they will not be able to continue their studies. This is also a reality for the country, as the educational budget as well as the health budget is cut. The education sector is faced with a profound financial crisis. As a result, many students do not study for lack schools or drop school in large numbers because they don't have the resources available to them.

Due to the backward character of production, many graduating students have no hope of finding employment in their vocation or academic field, and thousands of them have to work in anything they can.

That is how President Mao Tse-tung analyzes the revolutionary situation in the backward countries. In analyzing the



contradictions present in the objective situation, he finds the material base that sustains armed struggle, its development and victory. From the above, we can see how in our country, we have a similar objective situation and how the same contradictions develop. This is a fact that nobody can deny. These are contradictions that are developing, and in no way can they be resolved by a reactionary government. Furthermore, we all know that these contradictions are not being resolved, but continue to sharpen, so the objective situation in our country is and will be each time more propitious to the development of revolution, and to the development of a superior form, the armed struggle. Consequently, the most important matter that concerns all of us is to start the armed struggle. This is an unavoidable perspective that our country has. What other road can we follow in Peru? What other hopes can our popular masses and the proletariat have? President Mao Tse-tung stated the following as he concluded his analysis:

"By understanding all these contradictions, we will realize the desperate situation, the chaotic state faced by China today and we will see that inevitably soon. The revolution led against the imperialists, the military chiefs and the landowners, will emerge. All of China is full of dried firewood, which will soon burn in a great conflagration." Since our country follows the same laws of revolution, has a similar experience and the same perspective, can we think in any other way? No, not at all.

President Mao Tse-tung established a brilliant distinction between a developing revolutionary situation and a stationary, revolutionary situation, as can be seen in point three of chapter II of his work, "Why Red Power Can Exist in China?" He stated that in a semi feudal and semicolonial country such as ours, there is always a revolutionary situation, or objective situation as he calls it, for the development of an armed struggle, however this

occurs in two forms:

a stationary revolutionary situation and,  
a revolutionary situation in development.

By analyzing his theses we are able to say that a stationary revolutionary situation can be transformed into a developing revolutionary situation, by the action of the subjective conditions on the objective condition; that is very important to keep in mind. In addition, we must be able to differentiate between uneven development and revolutionary situation and take into account, that the latter can occur in a region, and then the revolution may spread to the entire country, or it can even begin by a general retreat of the revolution, as was shown by the autumn harvest uprising of August 1927 in China.

#### TODAY WE LIVE IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN DEVELOPMENT

The analysis of our national reality, based on the application of the theses of Lenin and Mao, which is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, draws the following conclusions:

Our country meets the two conditions about the existence of a revolutionary situation set forth by Lenin.

Our country shows the objective situation which Mao analyzed as a contradiction.

In order to understand our situation, it is fundamental that we keep in mind the difference between a stationary revolutionary situation, and a developing revolutionary situation.

Based on the analysis of the theses of Lenin and Mao, and their application to our reality, we conclude that we are living in a developing revolutionary situation. This is expressed by the growing popular protest which is developing among us, and is

being fueled by the crisis that we have been living in for years.

Thus, if we base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, and analyze the concrete reality of the Peruvian revolution, we have to conclude that we live in a developing revolutionary situation and, consequently, all strategy, tactics and political actions must be based on that fact, if not, we would be grossly mistaken. In synthesis, the class struggle, the antagonistic contention between revolution and counterrevolution, can only be seen accurately and correctly, and applied firmly and decisively, if we start from the recognition that there is a developing revolutionary situation. It is from this recognition that the proletariat, the Party, and the revolutionaries in the country will be able to judge the current political situation, and then establish the correct tactics.

## 2. THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION AND THE TWO ROADS IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

In the first part we concluded that there is a developing revolutionary situation. In the second part, our problem is to see how, in general terms, the two roads within this situation manifest themselves. On the one hand, how the bureaucratic road develops, which is the reactionary road, of the exploiters headed by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie through the armed forces that for years have been exercising Power in their name. On the other hand, the development of the democratic road, the classes that make up the people, and whose axis is the proletariat. In synthesis, in this part we will point out how those above confront those below, the two poles in the struggle which determine the developing revolutionary situation. This contradiction proves more convincingly the reality of the objective conditions of the revolution, and the development of its two components, and its perspectives.

## THE REACTIONARY PLAN: RESTRUCTURING AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

Since July 1977, the bureaucratic road continues the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in this century. It celebrated elections for the Constituent Assembly which in a year approved a new Constitution and recently convoked for a general election to be held in May 1980. What does it mean? Has the State been fortified? Has it overcome the crisis afflicting it for such a long time? Let's analyze this.

Ever since the end of World War II, the ascending bureaucratic bourgeoisie aimed at restructuring the State and, from the beginning of the present regime aimed to promulgate a new Constitution. That was the purpose of its corporative and fascist policies. It also aimed at developing organizations which could provide a corporative base to the State, including the organization of a political party. The failed Political Organization of the Peruvian Revolution (OPRP), which had already publicized its so-called "ideological bases," is an example. However, by mandate of Yankee imperialism and the profound crisis of the country since 1975, the international situation tended toward "representative democracy" in Latin America, and the plans of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie were disrupted. Thus, the new Constitution does not fully express the corporative plans expected by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie neither does it satisfies completely the needs of the so-called "representative democracy." Consequently, the Constitution born under the aegis of bayonets of the armed forces, and product of a mediocre Constituent Assembly satisfies neither Tyrians nor Trojans in the reactionary camp, much less can it be a Charter able to satisfy the people, and as soon as it goes into effect, the battles will begin to amend it. As was the case of the Constitution of 1920, the perspective of the new Constitution is one of

contention or collision between the two factions of the big bourgeoisie of Peru: the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie. The perspective is to amend it, within the historical process of the bureaucratic road, the logic of the reaction will be a new restructuring for a more thorough corporativization of the Peruvian State, in function of the leadership and exercise of Power by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, for the people and the proletariat the problem will be to sweep away this new Constitution, and of any other kind that expresses the old existing order, and to elaborate one which truly meets their class interests. This will only be achieved by forging a State of New Democracy by the victorious armed forces of the people.

This is the situation and the perspective of the third restructuring, and for this reason the following question arises: Is the Peruvian State a strong one? In "A Single Spark Can Set the Entire Prairie on Fire" President Mao wrote:

"Although the subjective forces of the Chinese revolution are weak at the present time, the whole organization (the Power, the armed forces, the parties, etc.) of the reactionary ruling classes, an organization based on the backward and fragile social and economic structure of China . . . is also weak. And even though the subjective forces of revolution in China are now weak, no doubt the revolution advances to its submit quicker than in Western Europe. That is because here the forces of the counterrevolution are relatively weak as well."

This great truth formulated in 1930, and was historically proven in China and in other backward countries, and we must keep this in mind without forgetting our specific conditions. And, why does this fragility of the State happen? If we analyze the theses of

President Mao on the State in the backward countries, we will understand why. In his work "On the New Democracy," in treating the systems of the various States, he states:

"The first kind is the State of the Old Democracy. Today, after the Second World War began, no traces of democracy remain in many capitalist countries. They have been transformed or are in the process of being transformed in States in which the bourgeoisie exerts a bloody military dictatorship. The States, in which the landowners and the bourgeoisie exercise a joint dictatorship, may be included in this group."

And later on: "Here we are speaking about the 'system of the State.' Decades of disputes, which began in the last years of the Ching dynasty, have not been able to clarify this matter. In reality, the problem simply refers to the place occupied by the various social classes within the State. The bourgeoisie always hides the place occupied by the classes, and exercises its dictatorship of one class under the label of 'national.' This cover up does not benefit the revolutionary people at all, and for this reason, this matter must be explained clearly to them."

Also, he says: "With respect to the question of the 'system of government,' it is the shape in which Power is organized, the shape in which a given social class impresses upon the organs of Power it establishes so as to fight off its enemies and protect itself. Without adequate organs of Power representing them, there is no State."

President Mao Tse-tung developed the Marxist theory on the State. He resolved the problem of the State in the backward, semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries. He started off by pointing out that it is the joint dictatorship of two classes, of bourgeois and of landowners. He differentiated the "system of State" from the

"system of government," the former expressing the kind of dictatorship, which in our case is a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and the feudal landowners. He highlighted that the "system of State" indicates the position of the various classes within the structure of the State, which in our case means the placing of the six classes in our society: a big bourgeoisie with its bureaucratic factions, the feudal landowners, the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the proletariat.

The "system of government," as Marx clearly states, is "the shape in which power is organized" to exercise the dictatorship, an organization which in our case has the form of a republic sustained by the so-called "representative democracy." This is the organizational form upon which it sought to incorporate corporative forms, but it had not succeeded fully by the new Constitution. It simply followed the process of development of the State, has sanctioned the strengthening of the Executive Power, setting down the bases for corporativization and establishing a more direct participation by the armed forces in the structure of the State and in the exercise of Power. It also, expanded the actions of the repressive forces through the so-called states of emergency to fight against the people's struggles and the revolution.

If we keep in mind these substantive theses by President Mao Tse-tung and at the same time apply what was said about revolutionary situation and fracture of the State, then we understand clearly that as a whole, and in perspective, the Peruvian State and its organizations are weak due to the economic and social backwardness sustaining them. This is a base upon which we have six classes, of which four suffer from oppression and exploitation, mainly the two fundamental classes: the proletariat and the peasantry. Therefore, we have a broad base

that is failing, a fracture of the foundations of the State upon which the big bourgeoisie and feudal landowners exercise joint dictatorship. Additionally, upon this fragile structure imperialism operates with its contentions and contradictions. Especially today, Yankee imperialism dominates us, and Soviet social-imperialism is trying to undermine such domains, which is an inter-imperialist contention which aggravates the fragility of the system of the State in general, and especially that of the system of government itself. It is developing the contradictions between the classes which exercise dictatorship and the various factions through which the imperialists pretend to maintain their imperialist supremacy or undermine each other.

Besides the fragility of the Peruvian State, in terms of state system and government, which is essential and incurable due to its condition as a semifeudal and semicolonial country (condition that will develop further), we must add the contradictions and difficulties derived from the third restructuring of the State and its ongoing implementation, including the general elections. The general elections will be conducted after 17 years and from which a civilian government must emerge to substitute the armed forces in the exercise of Power after 12 years. This fragility is stressed by the insurmountable circumstances that continue to develop amidst the worst crisis Peru has seen in this century. This is a situation in which a new Constitution must be applied, implemented and even modified in order to confront a popular movement in development. Furthermore, the increasing protests will increase the demands for better living conditions. It will generate an overflow of the masses to meet its most basic demands, and thus will advance its political process.

All of this shows us clearly the fragility of the Peruvian State and the essential fracture of its own foundations, the weakness of its basic structure, and the difficult political juncture is developing



today and in the future. In the face of this reality, the State will appeal to violence and its repressive means to maintain its obsolete system, and preserve the interests of the exploiters and imperialists.

## THE DEMOCRATIC ROAD: DEVELOPING THE INCREASING PEOPLE'S PROTEST

What is the situation in which those below find themselves? They are suffering a deep crisis, sunk in an increasing pauperization and misery. The following table shows the situation of this crisis:

SOURCE: Revista Actualidad Economica No. 17.

+ Projected for the entire year based on January-March 1979

++ March of 1979 with respect to March of 1978

+++ In thousands of workers.

EAP refers to those who are able and willing to work. Employed are those who receive income equal or higher than the minimum vital salary and have steady work 36 or more hours per week. Sub-employed are those not perceiving that income nor working that many hours. Unemployed are those who have no work and actively seek work. The hidden unemployed are those who do not work, although they are able to work but do not actively seek work.

This is the economic situation the country is living in; the reduction of production, which reflects the economic recession, can be observed in the reduction of the GNP per capita, of consumption, of investments, of imports, the rising prices or inflation, the reduction in salaries and wages, and the large and still growing unemployment. But the problem is that the economic results of the first trimester of 1979, show equal tendencies and that, despite supposed financial advantages in

international relations claimed by the regime's propaganda, the problem of inflation continues, and the productive process is in a recession and that, despite recent measures like the National Housing Fund, the crisis has no foreseeable end in sight, and will continue to hit the masses. The following table is very expressive of this economic decline:

Let's highlight that while compensation to workers went up from 1960 to 1968, it went down from 1968 to 1977. We also must point out that there is a constant reduction in the percentage corresponding to farmers, which goes parallel to the increase in the return to capital, which diminished from 1960 to 1971, but went up heavily from 1968 to 1977. However, it is more indicative to compare the index of real compensation to workers in 1973-1977: while wages in 1973 were 100.0, by December of 1979 they would be 49.4. In the same period salaries went from 100.0 to 71.7; while the legal minimum went from 100.0 to 60.5. These figures show the evident deterioration in the compensation of workers. However, these data are calculated based on a rate of inflation which in reality is smaller than the real inflation rate. Therefore, the buying power of the masses of workers would still be less, and the misery and hunger would be more.

Parallel to the above, the serious problem of unemployment develops: in 1976 absolute unemployment was 5.2% of the EAP and sub employment was 43.9%; by 1977 6.0% were unemployed and 46.0% sub employed; but by 1978 unemployment reached 7.27 and sub employment was 47.0%, so 54.0% of the EAP lived in the most abject poverty. Nevertheless, during this year unemployment rose again. Add to this the ever growing inflation, the constant rises in prices which flagellates the population; inflation reached 24.0% in 1975, 44.7% in 1976, 32.4% in 1977, 73.7% in 1978 and this year it is estimated it will surpass 75.0%.

That is the critical situation endured by the masses of the people in our poor nation. In this way, we see how hunger and misery, which Lenin spoke about, makes the situation of "those below" ever more unbearable, who do not want to and cannot go on living the way they do now.

The countryside deserves special attention in these figures. Ten years after the Agrarian Law, the redistribution of land has reached 21.1% of the cultivated land and 7.7% of the cattle and, according to some calculations, "it would only affect about 347 of the total" of agricultural workers and "it can be said that one million of minifundia owners with less than three hectares (7.5 acres) have been totally left out in the reassignment of lands." But the problem doesn't end there. Today, one thousand enterprises are managed by the State (that previously was ten thousand farms or estates). More than 50% of them are in crisis, with no profits at all, cannot even pay the minimum salaries and lack the most basic management organization. Besides, the countryside has transferred "17 billion of soles for payment of the agrarian debt, almost 10 billion in direct taxes and several billion more as 'profit' in enterprises such as EPSA, EPCHAT, ENCI, PNATA, ENACO," state monopolies for the commercialization of agricultural and ranching products. All of these support, that the peasantry is oppressed and exploited by the surviving feudal strings, not to forget the 400 years old of "gamonalism." Once again, we see what Lenin said about the exploitation and oppression of the small producers, mainly the peasantry, which is a fundamental part of "those below," who neither want to, nor can go on living as before. All of this is a very important part of the developing revolutionary situation in which we live in.

What is implied in what we have exposed? What is implied by the crisis endured by "those below," joined to their centuries old and still rising exploitation? Does the above show the situation of

"those below" who no longer want nor can go on living as they had done for centuries? Doesn't this situation show us the existence of the basic condition for a revolutionary situation? And how are the masses replying? Isn't there a growing popular protest which expresses itself in an ascending strike movement, which, while it culminated in 1975, again today, after an intense repression, renews its upward development, as shown by the increase in the number of strikes in 1978 (364 with 1,389,400 strikers) and the 225 strikes in the first semester of this year? And as far as the peasants movement, isn't it true that it continues to fight indefatigably since the 1960s, and repression cannot contain it, despite mass slaughters like the last one in the Department of Cajamarca? And as far as the people's movement in general, isn't it true that it is showing a growing development, as we have seen from 1976 to this day, with real uprisings in many towns and cities in the country, even in some sectors that appeared to be sleepy? All of this is just the development of a growing popular protest that is a consequence of the existence of a revolutionary situation in the country. That is the conclusion derived from the most elementary analysis of the situation of our reality, of the situation of "those below," of the masses of the people, of the peasantry, and of the proletariat of our country.

In that way, if we analyze, in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, the objective situation, the objective conditions of the country, the situation of "those above" who no longer are able to rule or administer things the way they used to, and the situation of "those below" who no longer can, nor want to continue living in the same way they used to live up to now, and the growing popular protest, we conclude the following: In our country there is a revolutionary situation in development and this is the starting point in determining all politics, especially strategy and tactic serving the proletariat, the people and the revolution. And a situation like this, can never be the basis to center the

political activity of the people on electoral processes since these, in the circumstances in which we live in, only disorient the masses away from the revolutionary road. Confronting those who pretend to attach the class and the people to the tail-end of the reactionary plan of the third State restructuring and of general elections claiming a supposedly democratic process, let's oppose this with what Lenin said about bourgeois democracy and elections:

"Marx highlighted magnificently this essential feature of capitalist democracy by saying, . . . `that every so many years the oppressed are authorized to choose which members of the oppressor class would represent them, and crush them in the parliament!"

What must be the center of political activity of the working class and the people right now? The answer is simple and concrete: to develop the growing popular protest which has become the principal contradiction between the popular masses and the government (by government we mean the organized expression of Power of the Peruvian State), pointing to an overflow of the people, that is, to the development of the struggle of the masses to go beyond what is allowed by the reactionary State order, surpassing the legal order of the existing system; all in function of initiating the armed struggle and thus elevate the democratic-national revolution to the superior form of the struggle: the People's War that following the road of encircling the cities from the countryside, will create revolutionary support bases, progressively destroying the old reactionary landowning-bureaucratic State so as to create a Republic of New Democracy.

This is not an easy task but Marx taught us: "Obviously making history would be too comfortable if we wouldn't start the struggle unless our probabilities make victory absolutely certain." Let's keep in mind those words by the founder of Marxism and starting

from the existence of a revolutionary situation in development, let's center ourselves on developing the subjective conditions of our revolution, and on the instruments to carry it forward: Party, United Front and armed struggle, mainly on the first, since it is "the heroic fighter" who commands the other two, with the criterion that the united front is to serve the armed struggle and this one is the crucible in which we forge and develop the united front and the Party itself. In that way, then, the crux of the matter is to develop the political activity of the masses, especially of the poor peasantry in the function of initiating the armed struggle. There is no other road nor any other perspective. President Mao Tse-tung wrote on this matter:

"In China, the main form of struggle is war, and the principal form of organization is the army. All the other forms, such as organizations and struggles of the masses of people, are also very important and absolutely indispensable, and in no way should they be cast aside. However, but the objective of all of them is to serve the war. Before the war starts, the objective of all organizations and struggles is to prepare the war."

These wise words, without forgetting our specific conditions, are completely valid for us: The problem in Peru is to initiate the armed struggle. It will be the start of the superior form of struggle and the definitive struggle to fulfill the national-democratic revolution. The beginning of the armed struggle is the guiding light of the political action of the communists and revolutionaries today. Our immediate task, then, today, is to develop the increasing popular protest in function of initiating the armed struggle.

LET'S DEVELOP THE INCREASING PEOPLE'S PROTEST!

# CONCERNING THREE CHAPTERS OF OUR HISTORY

FROM THE GENERAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 3, 1979

We have been saying for a few days that we wanted to talk on certain issues. There are moments when men resort to talking in symbols, metaphors or in less intellectual forms. But we would prefer that our group of Communists speak for us in a direct and broad manner.

We want to briefly talk about how the history of today will be seen decades from now. We place ourselves in a plan of revolutionary imagination and look backwards from the future, this is useful and also serves to fortify the spirit. We have clear minds, resolute wills and inextinguishable passions, a revolutionary imagination will increase them even more. Let us think about it and allow our imagination to speak to us from the future. Let us place ourselves decades ahead in the future, in the second part of the coming century.

We are in the final part of the XX Century, very soon we will see the years going by and they will pass even faster as we advance towards the transformation of our society in the third millennium of humanity. The end of the 1990's means the end of one millennium and the beginning of another in which Communism will be definitively stamped on history and humanity will take a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of liberty.

We should think of the second half of the next Century. History will be written by us and those who will follow are us, the future Communists, because we are an inexhaustible force. When children begin to read and men begin to remember, they will have

a history to read and it will recount:

## I. How Darkness Prevailed.

In this society, there was a time in which darkness prevailed. It does not imply that everything was dark, but it means that darkness prevailed. In our country, in our America, there is an old and long tradition and a slow history which should be known. We need to search for the profound roots of who we are, not because we are nationalists, but because we have historical particularities and nobody can make revolution if they do not have historical roots. We are an old society.

Some twenty thousand years ago, man arrived in these lands in a very primitive state; ten thousand years passed. In about four to six thousand years they began to develop agriculture and basic shelter to protect themselves from extreme weather conditions and they also started sewing covers to protect their bodies. Two thousand years later we already had very productive agriculture and became a great agrarian system. The community develops and the Ayllu starts to be forged: a specific agrarian communal expression of our people. Thereafter, a surplus was generated along with the creation of class differences, property and the State.

Approximately 700 hundred years ago the State began to develop and expand, and as the State grew, exploitation came into existence generating oppression. Thus, the people were divided between the oppressors and the oppressed. Also, these lands were divided into small regions, big confederations and kingdoms: Huari is an example. Time passed and the Incan empire was formed. Then came Inca Pachacutec who brought more imperial order and reorganized the State, making it stronger. This shows that in ancient Peru there were nations that exploited others. The



existence of classes was evident, there were the exploited and exploiters. However, such a petrified kingdom did not last long. Strange men came and destroyed the existing agrarian order. But it is not true that the people of the Americas fell on their knees. People resisted and defended the system of exploitation that they had created, but it was a rotten system based on exploitation, and it collapsed when confronted with a superior order.

Thus, in our country the system collapsed and a long and vicious process of feudal exploitation began. Our people were taken to the mines, their blood was transformed into gold and silver for Europe. We view the development of European capitalism as the product of the flesh and blood of our ancestors.

Centuries passed and a system of mestizaje develops. There were rebellions, especially the mobilization and uprisings of the peasants in the XVIII Century, which rocked the system to its foundations. The worldwide actions of capitalism prosper along with the spirit of emancipation of the masses; and since classes are not eliminated and the problems of land and sovereignty are unresolved, these two old problems continue to persist.

The XIX Century involved the transformation of the feudal order to a semi-feudal order, and from a colonial order to a semi-colonial one. We changed masters from one group of Europeans to another, from Spanish hands into English ones. The new exploiters were enthroned and they were more cruel and sinister than the previous ones, but the people always rose up to fight without truce in an arduous class struggle although with periods of greater usurges in which the system was shaken up.

In the latter part of the last Century a new imperialist order surged, the United States of America. It arrived early in these lands, and in the 1920's its domination was consolidated. Hence,

at that stage of our history, darkness prevailed in our lands. At the same time, a new class emerged, the proletariat, and a new chapter begins.

## II. How the Light Emerged and the Steel Was Forged.

The working class emerged, a new class was born. It was the working class and the international proletariat that was also expressed as the proletariat in our country. That is who we are. The proletariat begins to illuminate the darkness, it is the class that is represented here. This light was transformed into steel.

From 1885 to 1919 there were nearly 30 years of intense class struggle in which the Peruvian proletariat begins to develop and their presence showed a definitive change in our country. The class struggle, international actions, and the struggles of the proletariat and peasants allowed the forging of Marxism and José Carlos Mariátegui, who fought like few others in these lands of the Americas. Our people are not frivolous, as some ignorant people say, we have produced many great people. Mariátegui is one of the few men in these lands who applied Marxism-Leninism to the special conditions and our people begin to find a new untraveled road. A new and more pure light emerges, a shining light. That light we carry in our hearts and souls. That light was founded with the land and that soil became steel. From light, soil, and steel springs the founding of the Party in 1928. The steel was forged, that is what we are. That is the problem of how the light emerged and the steel forged.

In 1928 we were founded and we have never fallen into the criterion of forming another Party. We have come to an agreement that here the class and mass struggle gave birth to a José Carlos Mariátegui who founded the Party, he gave us light and steel and led us on our own way. Since then there has been

light and steel in our country. No matter what they say we can never go back.

It is impossible to turn back while there are still classes. That light will not go out while there are still classes; the steel will not melt while there are still classes. But we had a possibility which came apart when the life of our founder was cut short. Although it was negated, distorted and concealed, the unaccomplished task of Mariategui remained as our Program and Plan, the class embodied it, it continued beating in the class, the combative people and the Communists. We cannot deny that the actions of the class and Communists who fought tirelessly has allowed us to reach this stage.

Time passed. The Second World War came, the most extensive one in history, which marked us and created a more profound bureaucratic capitalist system and a more intense class struggle. The working class kept advancing but never in peace, always in the midst of torments and storms; it was forged with more light, more steel, more strength and invincibility.

Our people were illuminated by a more intense light, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. We were at first dazzled by the eruption of this unending light, light and nothing else; but little by little our retinas began to comprehend this light, we saw our country, Mariategui and our reality and we found our perspective: the Reconstitution of the Party. Thus, the chapter on how the light emerged and the steel was forged begins to end.

### III. How the Walls Collapsed and the Dawn Unfolded.

Today begins a new chapter: how the walls collapse and a new dawn unfolds. It will be said that our Party, forged with the strongest light and purest steel had a decisive moment. This

moment generates the Plan of National Construction, and the Party which was a piece of the flag unfurled to the wind, spreads out in order to illuminate our country. The Communists from all parts of the country were called and a national system was set in motion. Communists rose up and the land reverberated. With the rumbling of the land, the Communists advanced. For this purpose, a landmark conference was held, political bases were established and a course to follow was set.

A flag was planted, a very high flag for a new epoch and with a new objective: Initiate the Armed Struggle. Men struggled hard and the few Communists that existed were gathered from various points and in the end they committed themselves by making a decision: to forge with deeds the First Company of the First Division of the People's Army. In this manner, they began to clear out the darkness in a definitive form. The walls shook and were breached and with clenched fists, the dawn broke out. The key was the First National Conference, a milestone marking the beginning of a new chapter. The spirits were joyful and our eyes glistened with light. One chapter will say: we carried a heavy burden, we gave our quota, and in difficult moments we buried our dead, we dried our tears, but continued fighting. This is how it happened, and the People's Republic was proclaimed, a national holiday. Once again the work was recovered bringing joy among us. The countryside became more productive and freedom began to palpitate in our people, with the red banner guiding us forever. Our America will shine. It is already a free world which has extended itself to other parts of the Earth. Today old empires sink. They are dirty waters and poisoned ashes which are being swept away. Work is redeemed and the fields flourish in the Red Republic.

They will ask, what are we going to do today? Today we will advance, conspiring so that the shadows will not return and the

working class never loses power. This is what history will say. We head towards the inevitable arrival of Communism in order to reach full and absolute light. The blood of our fallen comrades cries out: "light! light! We will reach Communism!" That will be written someday, it will be history.

Today we have made a historical decision. We have expressed with our clenched fist held high to give our lives. Rising to our feet with our fists in the air we have offered our lives. In this moment the crumbling of the walls and the breaking of the new dawn begins.

As you have all pledged, I too pledge: before the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought, before the effigy of our founder, before the line of our Party and the unconquered banners of our Party: I too am committed to fight and struggle to topple the walls of the old order, I too am a combatant of the First Company of the First Division of the People's Army. I only have one aspiration, like all of you: to serve my people, base myself in the masses who are our support and to struggle for proletarian internationalism. In the International Communist Movement we have only one flag: Marx unfurled it, then Lenin and Mao raised it higher; it is the light that will never be extinguished. We have stood up, and I will fulfill what I must. What matters to me is to complete my journey well. We Communists expect nothing, only to serve Communism. My decision is the same as yours. I too will be a simple combatant of the First Company, I will do what must be done, I will do what is right, expecting nothing except to serve the cause of Communism. This is also my pledge: my decision is yours your decision is mine, because we are united. The toppling of the walls and the unfolding of a new dawn begins.

"History has shown us that a just military and political line does

not emerge nor develop in a spontaneous and gentle form, but in the struggle against the opportunism of the 'Left' on the one hand, and against the opportunism of the 'Right' on the other. Without combating and transforming these pernicious deviations that undermine the revolution and the revolutionary war, it will be impossible to elaborate a just line and achieve victory in the revolutionary war."

MAO TSE-TUNG.

# WE BEGIN TO TOPPLE THE WALLS AND UNFOLD A NEW DAWN

FROM THE II PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
MARCH 28, 1980

## I. The Masses Clamor to Organize the Rebellion.

Since ancient times, the masses have been subjected to exploitation and oppression. They have always rebelled, it is a long and inexhaustible history. The class struggle is constant. It cannot be suppressed. For ages, since they began struggling, the masses have clamored to organize the rebellion, to be armed, to rise up, to be led. It has always been this way and will continue to be. Even afterwards, in the new world, there will be struggle but in different forms.

Misery exists together with fabulous riches. Even the utopians knew that both are linked: enormous wealth tied to condemnable and flagrant poverty. It is like this because exploitation exists. Exploitation is tied to oppression and this too exists, killing the masses, consuming them with hunger, shackling and garrotting them. But the masses are not sheep. They are people grouped into classes who organize themselves, develop their parties and the latter its leaders.

The leadership should listen to the most minor murmur of the masses, listen to their movement, try to scan the future from a distance and stand firmly on the ground in order to record the faintest tremor of the masses. A leader that does not do this is not a leader.

We are Communists, Marx taught us that as revolutionaries we

have the professional obligation to organize misery in order to topple the old order. Our obligation is to carry it out scientifically in accordance with the laws of class struggle and with awareness of the goal towards which the class and people march. That is our obligation, we have come here in order to organize the clamor of the masses, to organize and arm them. In this way the disorganized power of the masses expresses its strength, its invincible power, and the masses become the creators of new orders, thereby undermining and boisterously toppling the strongest walls.

We can not call ourselves Communists if we do not act in such a manner. There can be no leaders who are deaf to the clamor of the masses, blind to their strength, harsh or indifferent. This is unacceptable. Nevertheless, what have we seen? Blind, harsh, indifferent and deaf leaders; are they losing their status as Communists? The souls of Communists should tremble like the souls of the masses tremble, should become happy with what brings them joy, be hurt by what hurts them, become impassioned by what impassions them, uplifted by what uplifts the masses. If not, the militant's character becomes a mere formality, an insignia, a rubber stamp, a kind of etiquette.

There can be no Communists, much less leaders, that dare to lose confidence in the masses; that is to lose confidence in the only force of history. The "reasons" could be very elaborate ones but they would be hollow, an unacceptable emptiness. The Party cannot continue to allow those militants, and the leaders who deny the role of the masses. We cannot permit that. While the bourgeoisie sees the waves of strikes and the reawakening of the peasants, the Communists deny what their eyes see, and what their hands make. It makes no sense and cannot be permitted for the Communist to deny the masses.



More and more we must be advisors, we should see things in perspective, have sensitive ears to hear what the masses have to say, a penetrating insight, a sharp and piercing talent to discover the transformation of the masses. Without this, we cannot accomplish our mission. Should we follow the road of the old opportunism? Do we have the callous hearts of reaction? From those comrades who act that way what can we expect tomorrow? They are dark and sinister opportunists who traffick with the masses. Never again shall we allow such a thing to occur, much less with our leaders.

There is a powerful reality in this country of ours, it is the masses. They have a magnificent history that is often ignored; but each time the masses speak up the land trembles, and each time the peasant masses rise-up the foundations of the old system rocks, Reactionaries worry in a thousand ways when they rebel but only with blood and fire have they placated the masses. Reaction is helped by its cunning opportunists who misdirect and obstruct the struggle; but they can only appease the masses, never contain them.

Engels taught us that there are two forces in the world, the armed force of reaction and the disorganized masses. If we organize the powerful force of the masses, their potential develops into actions, what was a possibility becomes a reality. What is a law and a necessity becomes forceful deeds which sweep away all that is believed to be firm. Nothing is permanent. Everything is a house of cards, if it is not sustained by the masses. And when the masses speak up everything shudders, the order begins to tremble, the high summits stoop and the stars change their course, because the masses are capable of anything.

If this conviction begins to falter within us, the Communist spirit commences to fall apart. We must be vigilant and what we have

lived through in this Plenary Session should be a warning to us: it must never happen again. If a Party has leaders who are deaf to the masses, its days are numbered! If it occurs, our duty is to crush and destroy such a bureaucratic machine since it is not a Party any longer, but a monster that must be dismantled. What did Chairman Mao tell us on this matter? He said, we atheists have only one divinity, the masses; we invoke those Gods in order for them to hear us so when that happens exploitation will be eliminated. We must forge our militants with this view today more than ever, and even more so tomorrow.

The masses clamor to organize the rebellion. Therefore, the Party, its leaders, cadres and militants have an urgent obligation and destiny: to organize the disorganized force of the masses and this will only be accomplished with arms in hands. The masses must be armed gradually, part by part, until the arming of the entire people and when this comes about there will be no more exploitation on Earth.

## II. Let the Actions Speak.

The II Plenary Session of the Central Committee has already a timbre of glory, a timbre that characterized it with the decision to develop the militarization of the Party through actions.

The Communists have paid dearly through their violent struggle to establish a new flag: initiate the armed struggle. We are all witnesses to the tough ideological struggle to conclude the development of our line: Initiate the Armed Struggle (ILA).

We have taken firm and decisive steps in as much as we are sure of what we want and where we go. Let us remember Lenin: we will triumph because we know what we want.

It is good to pause for a few minutes and ask ourselves. How have we arrived at this great determination to develop the militarization of the Party through actions? It has been in the midst of an intense struggle, perhaps it has not been as strident as others, but it is deeper, more turbulent and it has a very wide perspective.

Two positions have been in clear contention. Those of us who since the VI Plenum have inculcated the idea of converting words into actions, today convert the verb into armed actions. That is a decisive materialization and transcendental development. What we have agreed upon is to develop military actions, which ring in our minds, palpitate in our hearts, clamor in our heads and agitates our wills when we speak about action.

Some of us have struggled for agreement on passing over to the language of military actions and others have obstinately opposed this with sophisticated maneuvers and even slyness. But this decision has been imposed on us and determined because our country demands determination, because our people demand actions. Our people clamor and we respond to that cry, to their demand, we feel what they feel and want what they want, they want their hands to speak the precise and convincing language of armed deeds. Yes! Developing actions are always the deeds of the masses, of the people: when the trench is dug it is the action that speaks, when the anvil is forged it is the action that speaks, when men investigate they derive laws, it is the action that speaks and when armed hands are raised it is the people who fight. First comes the deed and then the idea, and that idea will carry you to higher levels of action each time. We are sure and just reflections of our reality. We have preached extensively, called to arms for the armed struggle. Our voices have not fallen in the desert, the seed fell in a good furrow and has begun to sprout. The voices we launch are very powerful and with growing echoes that will

thunder throughout our land. Those who we called upon to stand up, to rise up in arms, to sow with their wills, respond: we are here ready, lead us, organize us, let us act together! And each day we will continue to progress and do more. Either we fulfill our promises or we will become the laughing stock and unfaithful traitors. And surely we are not these.

If we have planted, preached and organized and all this bears fruit, then our obligation is to lead, because the march has begun. Let the armed actions confirm our words. May our blood be joined with the blood of those who must shed it, we don't have the right to let that blood shiver alone, let its frigidity mix with the warmth of our own, or else we are not what we are.

In an almost insensible form we became Communists. It is like a long trail, like walking. Moving with one foot demands you step with the other, and if you get tired, it is not to straggle but to take a smooth and calm rest, and then continue climbing. Tomorrow matter will take us in with its belligerent peace, there we can rest definitively.

That is why we have been formed as Communists, for this reason Marx, Lenin and Mao came forward to teach the rest, to teach them to fulfill their responsibilities, in order to assemble others, organize them, and raise them up; for this reason the class generated us.

What have we seen here? Some comrades and leaders have opposed the Party's most decisive step of its history "to initiate the armed struggle." On what grounds? Because of the supposed "lack of conditions?" And in their trembling voices who speaks? It was the black gullet of oppression and exploitation, the black gullets filled with bile and blood. Don't forget, that reaction needs to shed torrents of blood in order to pacify and subdue the

people, it is their dream of fire and steel, but that sinister dream is the most obvious proof that it is in decomposition.

And when comrades and leaders want to steal our souls and minds, should we permit it? No. Their "arguments" went up in smoke, their threadbare "considerations" and their paper "steadfastness" are rotting in the sun.

Never again in our Party should we have to listen to those sinister voices among Communists and even less so among leaders. And all those daring to stand up, crush and destroy them like they deserve. Today this is much more urgent, this is less permissible now because it is undermining and destroying the hopes of the masses, the labor of five years, and precisely when the masses begin to express themselves concretely in reality. In these times these pacifists are shameful.

Many lessons are obtained for all of us from these meetings, for some there should be deafening warnings and forceful calls to our attention. Never again. We have a clear and definite orientation: let actions speak. To Develop the Militarization of the Party through actions. To convert this into reality is an urgent task. It is a call to order, the class, history and the people demand it. We cannot work in any other way. It is a necessity. What we have accomplished in the past has brought us here. The road is defined and the actions are established: let us carry them out. We have no other right. This is the order of the day: let actions speak.

### III. We Begin the Toppling of the Walls.

We have already agreed to the Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions. What shall we do next? We should commence to topple the walls. Now is the time, at once.

There are those who have opposed, resisted, and even someone who fled in cowardice, deserting for a second time, and who has been defended. Will it be useful for our Party to defend cowardice and betrayal? Think of those who have committed such acts. Remember "Prometheus", the Oceanids and Hermes: we ask for everything except cowardice and betrayal. Like 2,500 years ago, Communists in the XX Century in a Communist Party that strives for the launching of armed struggle, debating its development through armed actions, we heard leaders who praised, supported, nourished, and protected betrayal. Will this political behavior be of any use to us? No. Let us root out the poisonous weeds. It is pure poison, a cancer which corrodes and we must not permit this. It is a sinister and decaying pus that we must never allow within our ranks, much less now. Let us remove these sinister, harmful vipers. We can permit neither cowardice nor betrayal; they are asps. It is impossible to tolerate this. It manifests itself within us and in our leaders. This is unacceptable, condemnable and marked for fire. We must begin to root out that poison. We must forge ourselves in another temperament and with another spirit. Let us root out and burn the leeches, otherwise the poison will be general. If we don't destroy it, the vigor of the Party's healthy body will dissipate.

It is urgent and pressing to finish with this. We must not leave a trace, a purge should serve this purpose, clarified with facts. Those who have exhibited that behavior should be the first ones to leave. It will be a sign of our advancement. In order to topple the walls, we should sweep away the debris and eliminate poisons. In order to begin the toppling of the walls, we need to fortify ourselves and this fortification is to sweep away the rot of rightism in general. Let us take this challenge very seriously so that we can accomplish our tasks with the highest vigilance. We must preserve the Left, and those with difficulties will advance. That will be the sign of our actions, our commitment.

We will go to our bases. We will transmit to them our message to raise actions. Having unleashed the struggle against a beheaded Right is a great and magnificent step forward. We along with those with problems will exemplify our determination and assurance as part of the Left and be ever vigilant. It is essential to do this in order to advance, and fortify ourselves and become powerful.

There is no need to call those with problems powerless. Power will come from actions. Action is the toppling of the walls. Let us carry out military actions. We will be tempered by them. From the novices we are we will become experienced combatants.

Thus, by applying the development of the militarization of the Party through actions, the walls will be profoundly undermined and their toppling will begin. The keys to this are the armed groups, the armed groups without arms. May your unarmed hands snatch away the arms of those who own them with creativity, then utilize them shrewdly and with clear ideas.

Let us expand the groups, let us act in boycotts, harvests, land seizures, sabotage, terrorism and principally with guerilla actions. This is our desire and destiny. We have all pledged: let the violence flourish as elaborated in the initiation of the armed struggle (ILA), we will carry it forward with armed groups, beginning with unarmed groups, and from those ardent seeds will sprout forth ardent sunflowers. We have a sun that will illuminate us, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, we have a fertile land that will fortify us: the increase of the class struggle of the masses.

What do we lack? The sprouting and flourishing of armed groups without arms! From those humble seeds and blossoms,

monuments of the class capable of toppling the walls will grow. That's the way the dawn will appear in our country.

The key to our success: the groups; of vital importance: our decision; the base: the masses.

May the armed groups without arms flourish! That is the order of the day.

#### IV. Unfurl Optimism and Overflow with Enthusiasm.

We are Communists of a distinct temperament and special material, we are Communists ready for everything and we know what needs to be fought. We have already fought it and will fight it again tomorrow.

What will be confronted tomorrow will be the child of the present, it will be harder but by then we will be tempered by the past and as we forge ourselves today. We will temper our souls in the revolution, this is the only flame capable of forging us.

We need a great deal of optimism and there is a reason for it. We are the makers of tomorrow, we are guides, the garrison of the invincible triumph of the class. This is why we are optimists.

We are enthusiastic by nature. We are nurtured by the ideology of our class: Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. We live the life of the class. We participate in its heroic deeds. The blood of our people flow and burns within us.

We are like a powerful and palpitating blood. Let us take the unbendable iron and steel, the class, and mix it together with the unwithering light of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. Enthusiasm means to participate in the force of the Gods,



therefore, we are full of enthusiasm. We participate in the divinities of the real world: The masses, the class, Marxism and the revolution. That is why we have inexhaustible enthusiasm. That is why we have strength, optimism, and a vigorous spirit overflowing with enthusiasm.

And what have we seen here? Militants and leaders without optimism. Dead spirits and deciduous wills with fleeting passions. This is unacceptable. We know well their roots: Their support is not Marxism, the class, nor the masses, rather it is the corrosive individualism, the reactionary rot that makes them fearful, the sewage mold of the old order, the expression of the dying world, the lethal swamp gasses of reaction. This is why their spirits are broken, their hearts tremble, their thoughts forsake them, their nerves are destroyed, and their actions disturbed.

This has to be uprooted, it can not nest among us. It is unacceptable, inadmissible, let us burn it and blast it. This cannot be allowed in the Party, much less prevail. What have we seen in this moment? Leaders with these positions and attitudes. It is despicable. Never again should this happen. And precisely today, when we need to unfurl optimism and enthusiasm, now? That is unacceptable. It is corrosion, pure gangrene, and it should never have taken place, today it is much more unacceptable.

If the comrades don't uproot these weaknesses what type of cadres are they going to form? What kind of militants are they going to form? Apply the following: a company always reflects its leadership. To lead a company without optimism results in a company without optimism. A pusillanimous leadership makes a pusillanimous company. It will be defeated and broken before it engages in battle.

We need to unfurl optimism and overflow enthusiasm. Our

powerful ideology, incisive line and Communist will must be manifested above all in the leaders.

The order of the day is: Unfurl optimism and overflow enthusiasm! May it be shared with others, with our cadres and bases not present in this meeting. May this enthusiasm manifest itself in action and motivate us in order to eliminate the crust that impedes our advance and serve to others as an example to uproot these weaknesses. May the optimism shine, and manifest in us a powerful enthusiasm. It is practical and necessary in as much as we carry it out.

No one can deny that this is a struggle between positions. We have recorded right here and the summary will be the expression of what we have seen. But in the first place, what was important in our Party? What is important now? What will be important tomorrow? It is the Left. Who cries about its defeat? The Right. They should understand that its cry is useless. They must burn their old idols, burn the old and decrepit, and place their spirits up to the these times.

The spirit of the times is owned by the Left. It is consistent with the needs of our country, our people clamor for revolution. We cannot fail. If our blood and lives are claimed, our response is: we carry our lives in our hands to give them up, we put them at the service of the greatest and most just cause.

Our death for the good cause should be the seal of our revolutionary action. The constant and firm actions for our cause will be the hallmark of our lives as Communist combatants. This is what we have understood the best. That is why the positive weighs so much more in us.

We have advanced, but some think that their weaknesses have

been overcome. That is a loss of vigilance, there could be a thousand "reasons", but it is only sewage. Elevate your vigilance and sweep away the errors with determination, destroy the old and decrepit through armed actions which will be the real and effective seal.

Perhaps some people think that we should only speak about the positive, but there exists light and shadow, a contradiction. We should summarize and learn lessons. This meeting is a great lesson. We will not forget it. We have an obligation to preserve the Left so that the Party can meet its objective. With the actions we are undertaking and with this excellent meeting, we begin to topple the walls and unfurl a new dawn.

We can summarize this in four voices, in order:

1. The masses clamor to organize the rebellion.
2. Let the actions speak.
3. We begin the toppling of the walls.
4. Unfurl optimism and display enthusiasm.

This Central Committee is strong and will become more stronger if we all carry out our responsibilities, mainly the "Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions."

Let the comrades speak and express their optimism and enthusiasm. It will be a sign of their determination. Do not let my words become a pretext to some comrades for losing optimism and a retreating of enthusiasm. I believe we have reached the moment of overcoming the old defects of 50 years.

Another world is opening up for us. We have begun to define it ourselves, this meeting is one of definition. Let every thought, word, action, feeling, and will of ours affirms this. It is feasible, indispensable and necessary. We can and must do it. And we will, because we know what we want.

This meeting is very good, it has united and bonded us even more. We have unanimously agreed to uphold the military line and its realization: "Develop the Militarization of the Party through actions." From now on, let everything express our taught willingness to carry out what we have agreed upon.

"In the history of the world there have been no wars that began and ended with a continuous victorious offensive. If there were, they were an exception. That is true even in common wars. But when the fate of a class is at stake, when the alternative is capitalism or socialism, is there a basis or logic to suppose that a nation which confronts this problem for the first time can immediately discover the correct method, free of errors? What reasons are there to suppose this? None! Experience teach us the contrary. None of the problems we faced could be resolved at once, but only after repeated attempts. To suffer a defeat, commence anew, redoing everything. To discover the method for the approximate solution--a definitive solution or at least a satisfactory one--that is how we have been working and should continue to do so. Given the challenges that are presented to us, if there were no unanimity in our ranks, it would be a sad indicator of a weak and very dangerous spirit that had penetrated the Party. On the contrary, if we do not fear speaking the truth, no matter how hard and bitter it is, we will learn. And it is entirely certain that we will learn to overcome each and every difficulty."

LENIN

# WE ARE THE INITIATORS

FROM THE FIRST MILITARY SCHOOL, APRIL 19, 1980

We are the initiators and we should keep this fact deeply in our spirits. This meeting is historic.

Comrades, we will pass into history as the initiators. For some time, the Party has been writing this history on indestructible pages.

We are the initiators. This first Party Military School is both a seal and a breach, it concludes and begins. It concludes the time of peace and opens the time of war. Comrades, our tasks with unarmed hands have concluded, and today our armed words begin: Let us uplift the masses and peasants under the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. One period has ended and the preparations for the new one have concluded. From here, the past deeds are sealed and we open the future. The key of the future is determined by actions, the objective is power. This we shall do, history demands it, the class urges it, the people have foreseen and want it. We must accomplish it and it will be accomplished. We are the initiators.

We should discuss some problems. Just as you, I will also speak with an open heart, sincere words and a rational sentiment. This also has a strict logic.

I. We Are Entering the Strategic Offensive of the World Revolution.

Centuries of devastating exploitation have passed. The masses have been exploited, subjugated, forced to yield and implacably

oppressed. But through all this time, the exploited masses have always resisted, because they have no other sentiment than the class struggle. However, throughout history, the masses were abandoned and had no direction. Their words, protests, actions and rebellions were crushed and defeated. But the masses never lost hope. The class always has hope. The masses are the light of the world that forge themselves ahead. They transform and create instruments with their own hands. They are the social fabric, the inexhaustible beat of history. Thus, they have been generating ideas, science of the most advanced kind.

But the laws of history that came about as a result of the development of the class struggle have generated one last class: The international proletariat. The class has surged up struggling in the midst of a sinister system, capitalism, which appeared sweating blood and muck from all its pores. A system in whose center the combative proletariat developed unions, strikes, resistance and revolutions. All of this became embodied in Marxism, and the class, endowing itself with a Party, evolved into a mature class with its own interests. The masses of the world finally have their liberator. In the old times, the masses awaited for a liberator. They used to put their faith in the hands of supposed saviors, until the powerful and invincible proletariat appeared, which is capable of creating a true new order. The class organized itself politically, and another history begins to unfold to become a reality.

In one hundred years of struggle, setbacks, and victories, the proletariat has learned how to fight and seize power with arms. The workers took it once in an embryonic form but were crushed with blood and fire. Nevertheless, we remember the Paris Commune, where those who were reviled are today heroes. And their example lives on, while their tormentors are forgotten. The workers with Lenin seized power in Russia and created a powerful

State. The class continued fighting and with Mao Tse-tung paved a new road and resolved unsolved problems. The class began to fight under the flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Around the Second World War, the revolution entered a strategic equilibrium, leaving behind the reactionary holy alliances and their previously untouchable tormentors and enemies. With the powerful international workers' movement, the cresting waves of the national liberation movements, the development of Communist Parties, and the elevation of Marxism to the high summit of Mao Tse-tung Thought, a new situation has been created: We are entering the strategic offensive of world revolution. In the next 50 to 100 years, the domination of imperialism and all exploiters will be swept away. History cannot go backwards. In the hands of the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Parties and through the mighty force of poor peasants, the peoples war will be sustained and grow each day until overthrowing the old order. The world is entering into a new situation, the strategic offensive of world revolution. This is of transcendental importance.

As Chairman Mao said: "The storm draws near and the wind roars in the tower." Thus, the vortex draws near, the vortex begins, and the invincible flame of the revolution grows, converting itself into lead and steel. And from the din of battle along its inextinguishable fires will come forth the light. From the darkness a light will appear and a new world will be born. The old order of reaction crackles, its old boat leaks and sinks in desperation. But comrades, nobody can expect reaction to retire gently. Marx warned us: Even while drowning, the reactionaries were capable of inflicting asphyxiating chokeholds and desperate blows in order to see us sink. That is impossible. The reaction has the hyena's dreams of blood. Convulsive dreams shake their

somber nights. Their hearts scheme sinister hecatombs. They arm themselves to the teeth but they cannot prevail. Their destiny is weighed and measured. The time has come for the settling of accounts.

The imperialist superpowers, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and other powers seek to invade, penetrate, suffocate, destroy and drown everything with terror. But as Chairman Mao said, by attacking, assaulting, and launching offensives they overextend themselves and enter the powerful core of the people. The people rise up, arm themselves and rebel, putting nooses on the necks of imperialism and reaction. The people take them by the throat, threaten their lives and will strangle them out of necessity. The reactionary meat will be trimmed of fat, they will be torn to tatters and rags, the scraps sunk into mire, and the remainders burned. The ashes will be thrown to the winds of the world so that only the sinister reminder of what must never return will remain.

Comrades, that is the world today. It has befallen on us to live in an extraordinary epoch. Thus it is written, mankind never had such a heroic destiny. To the people of today, to those people who breathe, struggle, and fight, has befallen the task of sweeping reaction from the face of the earth, the most illuminating and magnificent mission given to any generation. We find ourselves in this situation: The world revolution enters a strategic offensive. Nothing will prevail against it. The innumerable iron legions arise, and more and more will arise, inexhaustibly multiply, encircle and annihilate reaction. Reaction, which unleashes its bloody claws tearing the flesh off the people, continues to sow discord, embroil, and seeks to sate itself with the blood of the people. But the people's blood ascends like furious wings and the stricken flesh converts itself into a powerful vengeful lash. Their muscles and actions are converted into steel battering rams in order to destroy the oppressor who will be irremediably crushed.



Comrades, reaction will not prevail in any form. The hour has sounded, the revolution will triumph. The struggle will be hard, arduous, cruel and difficult. Victory is ours. The masses will prevail, the peasants will arise, the working class will lead, the Communist Party will command and the Red Flags will be raised forever. Reaction has entered its final chapter. We will develop in that world.

## II. Our People Begin to Seize Power Through Armed Struggle

In this magnificent epic of world history, our people along with the Latin American working classes and masses have a role to play. This role is being fulfilled. Our people begin to seize power through armed struggle. It is hundreds of years of struggle in which the peasant movements have shaken the foundation of exploitation, but they have not been able to uproot it as yet. In this country the Communist Party was forged as pure steel. It brought light to the people by upholding Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. Comrades, in this country we are embarking upon a third epoch. The third epoch is a battle between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution, which are prepared for violence. Counter-revolution with its old and bloody violence, peace at the hands of bayonets, their damned wars that annihilate people in the prisons, schools, factories, in the countryside, and even assassinating children with hunger and misery in their maternal wombs.

Today, that sinister violence meets its match. The revolutionary violence prepares to take up the battle in arms. Our people with a rich history are finally embarking to the final chapter, the completion of the democratic period of the revolution. The masses tremble, the flood tide rises, and the storm approaches. Reaction in this country as well as in the world, also dreams of soaking the

revolution with blood and fire, of drowning it in blood. These are old, dark, and violent dreams.

They are not facing the same situation as yesterday. Time has passed and bureaucratic capitalism has matured the revolution. The agrarian laws promulgated by the regimes have been failures one after another, and the peasants have understood the lesson: nothing will be given to them, nothing will derive from a law. The land must be conquered by their own armed hands.

The working class is more aggressive, mature. It has a higher level of consciousness, it is numerically larger, politically more powerful, and much stronger than in the past. The popular masses have grown in our country. The petty bourgeoisie is being proletarianized. It has no other destiny than to serve the revolution and put itself at the disposal of the proletariat. Its only course of action is to serve the revolution according to the dictates of the working class and to forcefully fight behind the road paved by the Party. This is good to remember, because from this experience we should particularly win over the intellectuals. As Mariategui has already shown us, the masses must be mobilized and only in this manner will we will fulfill our role and serve the great battle that history has arranged for us.

Comrades, we have concluded that we are embarking into the third epoch of contemporary Peruvian society. But just as yesterday, when we expounded upon the two moments of contemporary Peruvian history as part of the process of the development of bureaucratic capitalism in this country, some condemned us and rejected our thesis and ideals with insolence and contemptible accusations of infantilism. We are putting forth today, with a clear and precise vision, that our country enters a third epoch. This thesis will also be subjected to misunderstanding. But it is no longer possible to condemn us

with childish labels of infantilism, because this time, history has shown us to be right in many things, and they will also learn lessons [translator: this refers to the two line struggle within the Party]. Nevertheless, it is not easy for our accusers to easily accept and comprehend it. It requires convincing deeds, concrete actions that pound into their hard heads and shatter their speculation to pieces, so that they also may carry the reality of this country in their spirits.

The understanding of the third epoch is key to the advance of our people. What does the third epoch imply? It implies the revolution, the people with arms in hand begin to seize power, that reaction with 400 years of exploitation, added to the exploitation of other epochs, (comrades, we should think clearly, 400 years of foreign oppression, a vile slave system that continues to exist today, a state which although weak, still has force), implies that reaction will try to contain us and oppose the advance of the revolution. It is well known by materialists that what exists refuses to die; reaction exists and therefore refuses to die. It is an unburied corpse but it protests, negates, resists, and attacks with fury and desperation, opposing its placement into a casket for its burial.

Thus, we must understand that the revolutionary struggle will be hard, violent and cruelly contested by reaction. They will send their sinister army armed to the teeth to fight us, assaulting the working class, the peasants and popular masses, spreading their sinister claws. They will try to encircle, isolate, crush and wipe us out. But we are the future, the strength, and history.

Comrades, revolution and counterrevolution are also contending forces in our country. They are two parts of a unity of opposites in constant struggle. The reactionaries are armed and concentrated, defending the metropolis and capitals. We are

rooted in the countryside, in small villages, with the masses, especially with the poor peasants, with the force of the people, among their disorganized force in order to organize it into a powerful army. But this will not be easy. The dark, sinister armies of reaction will fight against us, mount powerful aggressions and great offensives. We will respond in kind, splitting them, making them fall apart, and converting their offensives into a multitude of our small offensives. Therefore, those who encircle will be encircled, the would-be annihilators will be annihilated, the would-be victors will be defeated and the beast will finally be corralled. As we have been taught, the clamor of our armed voices will make them tremble with terror. They will be crushed by their own fears and be converted into scattered black ashes.

That is what will happen. This is the way it is, Comrades. Nevertheless, the fight will be hard, long, difficult and cruel. We need to steel our spirits, be strong, vigorous, fearless and confident in our victory. May the confidence of victory dwell in our hearts in as much as we serve the people and class. The problem is to initiate the armed struggle with decisiveness and firmness. We must deploy it and populate the land with our flags and with sonorous actions that history will record. Comrades, our people are embarking on the seizure of power with arms. We are launching the most magnificent march that our country has ever seen before. Nothing like this will ever be seen again. It will be truly remarkable. This is what we will do! The people, the class, and the proletariat demands it. We can not and must not fail.

### III. The Party Develops Itself Through Armed Struggle.

It has been more than 80 years of working class struggle and 52 years of the Party's existence. It took about 10 years for a group of men and women, led by Mariategui, about 10 years to found the Party. His name is imprinted forever in our ranks, the peoples of

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the world and the international working class. Time has passed, many of us have fought, and will continue to struggle until exploitation is abolished. That is our destiny. We are a growing torrent confronting fire, rocks and mud. But our power is greater. We convert everything into our fire. The black fire will be transformed into red fire and the red is light. That is where we are, that is the Reconstitution of the Party. Comrades, we are reconstituted.

The Party is a Party of a new type. The purpose of this Party of a new type is to seize power for the working class and the people of this country. The Party can not be developed more but through the use of arms, through armed struggle. That is the hard lesson we have learned in 50 years, a great lesson that we should never forget: We have no power because we have no guns. Like Chairman Mao has written, whoever has more guns has more power. Whoever wants to seize power must forge an army, and whoever wants to keep power must have a powerful army. This is what we will accomplish. The Party has embarked to develop itself through armed struggle, our historical course. We cannot go backwards.

Comrades, we can now state that the development of the Party has prevailed. Its possible destruction, as it had to be, has been averted. This is the conclusion we can derive from the 2nd Plenary Session of the Central Committee and the First Military School. We have completed a task that we only now have begun to appreciate. We asked ourselves, how will we develop the Party? A plain and simple response is: Through armed struggle. In critical times the situation enters into contentious struggles, and according to the law of contradiction, specific circumstances can lead into development or destruction, of course transitory, but it does not cease to become a destruction if that could lead us to sink in the mud or march through a muddy place.

The Party has triumphed as it had to. Its destruction cannot take place. The Party embarks firmly, decisively, voluntarily and energetically in its development. Comrades, this is what is derived from these meetings. However, what contradiction is being debated? The launching of armed struggle presents a contradiction: The old versus the new. The development of the Party through armed struggle is the new, and the old is our accomplishments up to now, including the good ones. Even the best of our achievements have aged, and no matter how much we add to this tradition, we also add to that great garbage which parties, classes and organizations generate throughout decades. We must be very clear on this point. There is only one new thing, to develop the Party through armed struggle. Today, this is our contradiction. Just like in the international arena where the contradiction is between the strategic offensive and the strategic defensive of reaction, in our country the contradiction is between the armed people and armed reaction. This contradiction, through the People's War, will inevitable lead to the triumph of the class and sweep away 400 years of oppression. Comrades, in the Party there is also a contradiction. It calls for serious reflection and no one should doubt it.

Today, the Communists should be clear on the contradiction of the old versus the new. I reiterate, the new is the armed struggle: the unfading flames of People's War, the steel which must be made purer, the sharp sword and piercing spears in order to wound the entrails of reaction. This is new. Everything else is old, it is the past, and from that past we must guard ourselves, because the past always tries to reestablish itself in a thousand forms in the future.

Comrades, let us not forget that in order to guarantee the consolidation of 100, we need to advance as 200. Today,

advancing with 200 means to initiate the armed struggle, to begin the action is the guarantee of thoroughly sowing the new with lead, crumbling the old walls. Comrades, this is the new. Everything else is old. We should be absolutely clear and understand it. The Party has embarked on its development through arms. This is our fundamental situation. Having stated this point, we have three conditions:

First, we embark on the strategic offensive of world revolution. That is our situation. The revolutionary tide is on our side.

Second, the people set out to seize power with arms. The future will be decided through the advancement of People's War.

Third, the Party begins to develop through the armed struggle. Thus, the Party will become the powerful Party which the revolution needs, and since it is needed it must be forged.

Comrades, the world process, the process of the nation and the Party are interrelated. Therefore, the future is assured, it is palpitating in the armed actions that we will commence to undertake. It is a delicate task that needs to be nurtured with the clamor of our arms, developed with guerrilla warfare, fortified with People's War, cared for and nourished like the seed of an army, giving birth to armed columns, allowing it to flourish into a guerrilla army that we must build into a powerful army.

Comrades, these three conditions determine that the Party leads the armed struggle of the masses. In our hearts, minds and wills, the power of the people is alive, and we carry it with us. In the beginning we have no rearguard or we will have one that is small, weak, fragile and uncertain. Comrades, we must never forget the people's power, the State of the working class, the State of workers and peasants. This State marches with us, we carry it on

the muzzles of our rifles, nestled in our minds, throbbing in our hands, and it will always be burning in our hearts. It is the first thing on our minds. We should never forget it. Comrades, the armed struggle will be born fragile and weak because it is new, but its destiny will be to develop through change, from the variation of fragility like a tender plant. The roots we plant at the beginning will be the future of a vigorous State. Comrades, all this begins to flourish with the modest and simple actions that tomorrow we will carry out.

There are three interrelated things: world history, the history of our country, and the history of our Party. These are three convergences, three realities, three combinations and only one final conclusion, only one unmovable truth, only one future. We will respond to the flourishing revolution in our country.

#### IV. We Begin to Develop the Militarization of the Party Through Actions and Apply the Plan of Initiation.

This is a derivation from the three issues discussed above. It is a logical, necessary, irrefutable and irreversible conclusion. On the three previous issues, the Party in the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee has concluded as follows: The "Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions." It ratified that through armed actions, the Party will be transformed into a powerful and recognized vanguard of the Peruvian working class, and the legitimate center of the Peruvian revolution. The Second Plenary Session has also ratified a "plan of initiating the armed struggle" that solves a problem unresolved until today, of how to begin the armed struggle. Comrades, this is not to instill ourselves with pride but to understand our immense responsibility. No trace of vanity should ever be in us. Modesty and simplicity should accompany us, and the more we fulfill our tasks, the more modest and simple we become, because we are the



faithful servants of the people and class. We should learn to conduct ourselves in that manner. Many things will change and even more profoundly among us. We have comrades by way of the actions of universal history, by Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, by the labor of our people that begin to define their history through arms, by the labor of fifty years of Party struggle and of innumerable Communists, and as a derivation from what our own founder initiated. We have resolved the problem of initiating the armed struggle. We have resolved the first fundamental military problem, how to initiate the armed struggle. We know what needs to be done and how to arm ourselves. Most importantly, we know how to raise up the peasantry so that through arduous struggles we can unleash guerrilla actions from that powerful land. We know how to confront and destroy their encirclements.

Comrades, the problem of initiating the armed struggle in Peru is resolved. No one should have doubts about it. We have nothing to doubt. The problem is resolved. Take it for what it is, a derivation from Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, a result of our people embarking on the seizure of power with arms. A derivation from fifty years of the Party. Thus, we will have a historical sense, a comprehension and knowledge of where we stand now, where we are going and the safe port we will arrive.

V. We Arm Ourselves in Theory and Practice to Launch the People's War.

We are arming ourselves in theory and practice with the Military Line and with the general political mobilization. We are forming detachments and developing actions to initiate the armed struggle. This should be indelibly recorded.

This First Military School is historic. We asked ourselves, what is

this school? If the Second Session of the Central Committee is the "Chime of Glory", what is this school? We will repeat it once more, it is "the Seal and Breach", because it closes and opens. It concludes our unarmed life and begins our People's War. Comrades, that is this school. Here we have applied the agreements of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee. We have successfully completed and resolved problems, that the Central Committee shall ratify very soon, at the same time it arranges for the Party's readjustment and the commencing of actions.

Thus, the Party, through its central organizations, its leaders and cadres, arms itself with the military line in theory and practice. Comrades, the last meeting is a demonstration of the distribution of forces: proof of the encirclement and annihilation of pessimism and opposition. It has burned and annihilated what among us and inside of us could have opposed. We have raised up optimism and are filled with enthusiasm. The victories to come have been unfurled. We must understand it in this way. We have seen the fighters march, we have seen advanced fighters with their leaders at the foreground, opening breaches; we have seen the ranks march in order to maintain and support the actions. We have seen at last the definitive action, a passionate and ardent faith to reach the summit. What we have done today is a demonstration of how to act militarily. That is why we say we are arming ourselves theoretically and practically. In this manner, arming the cadres and leaders for basic effectiveness, we have obviously entered the general political mobilization. Remember what Chairman Mao said: the key is to mobilize the cadres. That has been accomplished. The mobilization has begun, and what we have achieved here will be reverberated tomorrow in more powerful waves, because the masses yearn to hear the Party say that we should begin to take action and they want to know how to do this. Comrades, let us inform the bases of the good news.

We must apply the plan of initiation and we should start it tomorrow. It is what the beating hearts of the militants and the masses that work jointly with us desire to hear and dream of realizing.

Comrades, the general political mobilization of the Party is on the march. Forming armed detachments and developing military actions we initiate the armed struggle. This begins from here, and that is why this meeting is both a seal and a breach.

## VI. We Are the Initiators.

We are the initiators. We began by stating we are the initiators. And we end by stating we are the initiators. Initiators of what? Of the People's War and the armed struggle that is in our hands, shining in our minds, beating in our hearts and irrepressibly agitating in our wills. This is what we are "a handful of men and women, Communists, paying homage to the leadership of the Party, the proletariat and the people. On this 19th of April, history will state, standing upright they expressed their declaration of revolutionary faith, with their hearts burning with an inextinguishable passion, with firm and resolute wills, and with clear and bold minds, assuming their historical obligation of being the Initiators. What they decided on April 19th took shape in autumn with boycotts and the harvest, followed through with actions against the reactionary power, aiming at local authority, continued with land seizures and with the peasant masses in rebellion the guerrillas were raised up. The guerrillas generated the powerful army we have become today, and the State based on it. Our country is free..." That is what they will say, comrades. This is materialized in our party decision, apparently simple but of great historical importance.

Comrades, do these three final issues also presents us with

contradictions? Yes, they do. Here, in the Party, the focus is on our agreement concerning the "Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions" and in applying our Plan of Initiation is the essence of the new, a new part of the world which cannot be detained because our armed hands have surged with more to follow tomorrow. The new is focused in our country, the armed solution, and the Party's development through arms intensifies through the armed struggle. Thus, on the question of developing and applying the plan of initiation, the new is the focus and the old is confronted. The old will pledge itself to the opposite, but it is already defeated, it is a great defeat for the Right. Their destruction is already assured, the development has triumphed, let us shape it through thunder, write it with lead, so that it remains written forever on pages of steel upon the ridge of the mountains; so that it can never be erased nor written in a contrary form. That is the contradiction.

At the end, everything reduces to a fifth problem. The contradiction enters to address the problems of arms, war, armed struggle and how to initiate it. If up to now we have acted as an unarmed people, the problem now is that we begin to act with armed hands. From times of peace to times of war. And the times of war have other requirements and other urgent demands.

Comrades, the contradictions will accumulate but we will handle them. We have learned to handle history, the laws and contradictions. It is in our hands to resolve them, shaping them with armed deeds. Nothing will stop us. We will pass through times of irreversible war, the contradiction will unfold, it will take us to a successful conclusion.

We are the initiators. What contradiction is presented to us? We and the other Communists of our bases, present or not, who reverberate within us, await with anxiety what is decided here. All

of us have a problem, a contradiction: the great rupture. Comrades, the time has come. It is time for a great rupture. We will break all ties with what is old and rotten in order to completely and thoroughly destroy it, for if we have an interest in that decrepit world, we would not be able to destroy it. Men speaking individually can be weak. Each of us should think hard. As an individual, each person can be fragile and weak. But the revolution is all-powerful, and the armed revolution even more so, because it is sustained by the masses, who are the force of the land and led by the Party, which is the light of the universe.

Comrades, we begin the great rupture. We have stated many times that we embark upon that rupture and that many ties shall be broken since it links us to the old and rotten order, and if we don't do it, we could never demolish it. Comrades, the time has come, there is nothing more to discuss, the debate has been exhausted. It is time to act, it is the moment of rupture and it will not be done with slow and tardy meditation, nor in the halls nor in silent rooms. It will be done with the roar of armed actions. This is the form for carrying it out, a correct and adequate form, the only form. It is through actions, as we have studied, that the conscious capacity of people intensifies, the will is tenser, our passions more powerful and our energy enraged. Comrades, through actions we will find the energy, force, and sufficient capacity for the great rupture. We have embarked upon this. The trumpets begin to sound, the murmur of the masses grows and it will continue growing, it will deafen us, it will bring us to a powerful vortex, with one note: We will become the protagonists of history, conscious, organized and armed. Thus, the great rupture will be open and we will become the makers of a definitive dawn. This is what we have embarked upon, comrades.

I want to conclude. This School, this First Party Military School, is the seal and the breach, it seals the deeds done up to today and

opens a breach for tomorrow. What we have accomplished until now is very positive and has borne fruit. There is a saying that people are judged by their deeds. The deed is done, it is before us. There is nothing more to prove. What has been done until now is good. The breach, what we must do, will be even greater and definitively the only great thing we have to accomplish. It will come forth from arms, from the barrels of the guns. It will come forth from the direct action of the Party upon the masses. It will come forth from the People's War.

Comrades, this school is historic. We cannot understand its dimension, we cannot weigh it as it deserves unless we turn our gaze decades into the future. This is the School of the Initiators. It is the name given to it by the Central Committee. In a word it is IAS 80 (ILA 80), which means: Initiate the Armed Struggle in 1980. It is a commitment and challenge. We are deployed. We will surpass it. I am not only saying that we will accomplish it, but we will surpass it, because it is a mandate and a historic necessity imposed upon us by our people, nobody can speak to the contrary.

Comrades, the role of the School of Initiators, ILA 80 is: Initiate the armed struggle in 1980. Decades later, in the future, it will be interpreted like this: ILA 80, the armed struggle was initiated in 1980. ILA was done here. That word is beautiful, it has a double meaning and if we look at it even more, it has a further meaning. It is the synthesis of what we have done up to now. It shapes all the past. Comrades, what has guided us? To initiate the armed struggle, was not this stated in the Ninth Plenum? Comrades, it is the past summarized, opening into the present, it is the future that must be irrevocably accomplished. ILA 80 is also the implementation of our past agreement on initiating the armed struggle. In the present it means initiating the armed struggle today, this year, and in the future. The armed struggle was

initiated in 1980.

Comrades, all that we have done during these complex days, in difficult moments, but in the final analysis, satisfactory days, fruitful, healthy, good and vital days, is all realized in the "School of Initiators: ILA 80."

The Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee congratulates those present and everyone else because with their actions they helped in the materialization of this reality. Congratulations to the Party, because with its actions, it has made this reality concrete. Congratulations to the masses and our people, because their actions through centuries have been realized here. Congratulations to the working class of the world, the international proletariat and the peoples of the world, because their actions have borne fruit here. We render homage, as always, to the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, because their grandeur which will always live has been realized here. They, now live within us. The spirit of the revolution dwells in the Party, our people, and our class. Finally it has arrived! All our struggles have been validated. Comrades, finally it has been realized: Initiate the armed struggle today. Everything that we have accomplished, including errors that have served as experience, are validated here. This is the essence of this School.

The Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee feels and expresses through this speaker an immense delight, because we have completed a simple and magnificent task: That the initiation of the armed struggle, ILA 80, dwells here and puts the final touches on the past, specifies the present and opens the future. Comrades, we have accomplished this. Thus the future opens with promise and hope. We remember the words of a wise old man: "What life promises you, fulfill it yourself to life."

Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, the international proletariat, the people of the world, the working class, the people of this country, the Party with its bases, cadres, and leaders, all this magnificent action through the centuries has been realized here. The promise blossoms and the future unfolds. ILA 80.

Our duty is to fulfill it. What has been given to us as a future, we must fulfill it with our own lives, for the people, workers, and Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Comrades, the efforts invested are a satisfaction, a delight in the accomplished tasks, pleased by what has been done, and seek no compensation.

The future is in the barrels of the guns! The armed revolution has begun!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought!

Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

Initiate the Armed Struggle!



# TOWARDS GUERRILLA WARFARE!

EXPANDED CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AUGUST 24, 1980

The first part of this meeting gives us essential conclusions:

I. The Plan of Initiation, its application and the conclusion of the first actions, are brilliant and all-round success of transcendental importance, with great repercussions that have kindled the ever living flames of the People's War in our country.

II. Summarizing the experiences of the General Balance of the first actions has led to further develop the Party's military line, and advanced its consolidation, crushing the Rightism which proposed militarist positions tending to evolve into a bourgeois militarist line.

III. The Party fortified in the forging of its first actions is on a war footing ready to march toward the launching of guerrilla warfare.

The first stands out as a brilliant and clear success obtained by the Party, which has a great historical repercussion.

The second indicates that in the balance of the first actions, the military line of the Party has developed and advanced. It has consolidated by combating militarist positions that tend to evolve as a bourgeois military line. In this manner, we have obtained a major development and consolidation. The military line, like all lines, only develops and consolidates itself in struggle.

The third establishes and highlights that the Party is prepared to march towards the beginning of guerrilla warfare.

We have finished the first phase, which is essential and the basis of this meeting of the Expanded Central Committee. Upon these solid bases, we can outline the national and international context and lay out the plan to begin the guerrilla war. We should be very conscious of the brilliant and great success of the application of the Plan of Initiation of the armed struggle. This plan is of historic transcendence and has shaken the country, placing the Party in the center of the class struggle and political contention.

The constant struggle of Communist militants as the expression of proletarian class struggle and the masses of our country has been historically molded and defined in the countryside. We have embarked upon a superior form of struggle, armed struggle, to destroy the old order and construct a new society.

From now on, the People's War dwells in us and inhabits the nation. Its ever-burning flames kindle and inflame our people. Its flames will be invincible, trembling and demolishing the rotten dominant society, flames from whose hearts will be born the most potent bonfire of the future.

It has befallen to us the historical mission of launching the armed struggle in our country and to develop it and sustain it as part of the struggles of Latin America, the international proletariat, the peoples of the world and world revolution, which we serve by adhering faithfully to the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The struggle will be long but fruitful, bloody but brilliant, and hard but vigorous and omnipotent. It has been said that the world will be transformed with arms, and that is what we are doing now. From the barrels of guns everything will come. We are already living it and we will see it more as the People's War develops.

To the Communists members of this Party, in this country, who have broken the stonewall of more than fifty years, their spirits must be no less than vibrant today with the realization of this great balance which proves and tests the achievements, counting, measuring and weighing the future. We are very conscious of and responsible for our actions. We have nothing to be vain about except to fulfill our duty. We have nothing to brag about, since glory is for the class, the people and the Party. Nevertheless, we need to be optimists, assured that the pebbles of the new order begin to fall into place. The future begins to be written. We will write the new history with flowers of stone in bronze forever more. We will tame the hills, we will write a new history with the points of swords, the light of fire, tearing down iniquity and giving birth to the future.

For every Communist Party that assumes its role as the armed vanguard of the proletariat, there comes a time to tear away the centuries of oppression. It lets out its war cries and assaults the heavens, the shadows and the night. It begins to tear down the old and rotten reactionary walls, it begins to rattle and crackle like dry leaves before new and tender flames, before young but crackling bonfires. The People's War begins to sweep away the old order in order to inevitably destroy it. From the old, the new shall be born. And finally, like the pure and glorious phoenix bird, Communism will arise for all time.

We should unfurl optimism and overflow with enthusiasm, furthermore thinking that we serve to carry out a task that will last forevermore. We humans are mere fragments of time and heart beats, but our deeds will remain for centuries stamped on generation after generation. Men march inevitably towards their end, but humanity, the working class and their creations will never end. We will people the Earth with light and happiness.

COLLECTED WORKS OF PCP - VOLUME 1 (1968-1987)

With us, with our armed struggle, the authentic and only true liberty begins to be born. We are trumpets of the future, the inextinguishable fire that crackles in the stormy present.

Long Live The Irresistible March Towards Guerrilla Warfare!

# TO OUR HEROIC FIGHTING PEOPLE!

PCP - CENTRAL COMMITTEE - 1 JANUARY, 1981

Peruvian people! You are suffering four hundred years of hard and cruel exploitation, under ignominious foreign domination, violent oppression of the native exploiters and bloody repression by the reactionary State.

Peruvian people! Today, after twelve years of false revolution and real reenforcement of your chains under a fascist military regime, in the middle of the big crisis that you have endured, today it is a new government that rules through outdated reactionary monstrosity of, so called, "representative democracy", false democracy of false rights and liberties, of false care for the basic needs of the people, and false democracy of the real oppression and exploitation in the service of the exploiting classes and its imperialist master; new reactionary government which is drowning you day by day in the hunger, unemployment, ignorance, illness, growing misery and increasing repression.

Peruvian people! Your history is not only the one of exploitation and bloody oppression that was imposed and keep imposing with the language of reactionary violence and the words of demagoguery of the false promises. Your history, is the one of rebellion and struggle; it's the history of the proletariat as a leading class, of the peasants, especially of the poor one which struggles and fights for the land he lives off, of the popular masses which live off the sweat of their foreheads, of your best sons which offer up their life, of the peoples which wake up more and more to fight for your liberty, for your emancipation. In summary, our people, your history is the heroic one and unfading struggle of the popular masses; it's the struggle for the bread for your children,

for the education, which clears the minds and makes them more conscious, for your conquered rights and liberties for the price of your blood, for the marching revolution, thriving for definitive emancipation, for the destruction of the old and rotten system of dominance, and definitely for the creation and forging of the new world for your sons, by your armed hands.

Peruvian people! And today, your best sons, blood of your blood, steel of your steel, forged in your thousand battles and hardened in your tireless action, following your shining and heroic example, today, our peruvian people, your best and devoted sons have risen in the wind the red flaming flag of the rebellion, they have risen in the armed actions opening the way which everyone has to follow: the way of democratic revolution which shall demolish the imperialist domination, feudal oppression, capitalist bueraucratic exploitation and the outdated State whose support is the bureaucracy.

Peruvian people! Today your sons hoist the great red flag of the rebellion which started to express with the facts your highest revolutionary dreams. Today your sons have started the effort, hard and brilliant path of enclosing the cities from the village, glorious way of the people's war. That way, today, your sons that came out of your powerful entrails, offer up to you their armed actions and their lives while saluting your heroic struggle and magnificent future in this new year.

Peruvian people! The armed struggle has begun! Laborers, peasants, workers, women, youth, children of the people, popular masses, let us march together into combat and with weapons in our hands we will build the future, the great future of our people!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO ZEDONG  
THOUGHT!

TO OUR HEROIC FIGHTING PEOPLE

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

DEVELOP THE ARMED STRUGGLE!

# LONG LIVE THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF OUR PEOPLE! DOWN WITH THE REACTIONARY HOAX!

PCP - PERU, 8 SEPTEMBER 1981

The Communist Party of Peru, started in May 80, in defense of the sacred interests of our people, and our heroic armed struggle. This transcendental revolutionary act with guerrilla actions: propaganda and agitation, mobilization, crops and invasions, sabotage, assault and confrontation, mainly in the field, opens the doors of the armed rebellion, the revolt of the masses of poor peasantry, especially, the conquest of power for the proletariat and peoples through a protracted people's war from the countryside to the city masses. This is the real and only way to our liberation.

In more than a year of battles and victories, whose milestones are Chuschi, San Martin de Porres, Airabamba, Aisarca, Luricocha and others who stand out among more than the two thousand armed actions that have rocked every corner of our country fueled by the burning combativeness of our indomitable people. Today, in its inevitable development, our struggle begins with a new and big wave that hits the old reactionary ruling system deeper, which by being in turn transitory is headed by the demagogue Belaunde and his gang of smugglers, looters, starvers and traitors.

The recent and forceful blows in Quinua, the USA embassy and its residence, the Southern, the central and local People's Action and others are part of a series of armed actions against US imperialism, the main foreign exploiter of our people and the servile Belaunde government and his rampant repression and false democracy.



But, trying to cover the sun with a finger, for weathering the political crisis that they have generated, united to the heroic struggles of our people, and in defense of its imperialist master (now it sends as a new "ambassador", a sanguinary "specialist" in counter-insurgency war), and the black collaboration of electioneering opportunists, focused on "El Diario", the reactionary and corrupt Belaunde government has mounted the crude and senile canard that "would be drug traffickers," the perpetrators of such actions, at the same time are spreading fallacious and ridiculous denials. So they attempt to cover up the great reality: the failures in its repressive plan and the booming development of the armed struggle.

Workers, peasants, women, youth, masses of our country, a new truth lies before us: the armed revolution is on! We greet the future hitting the reactionary power more and more strongly, with arms in hand and heart seething with hope as embodied in the unquenchable flames of our people's war.

DOWN WITH THE REACTIONARY HOAX!

LONG LIVE ARMED STRUGGLE !

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!

## LET US DEVELOP GUERRILLA WARFARE!

PCP - CENTRAL COMMITTEE - MARCH, 1982

"He, who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts, dares to overthrow the emperor. "

### I. The Armed Struggle Blazes Victoriously

The Communist Party of Peru, the organized vanguard of the proletariat founded by Mari tegui, reconstituted through more than fifteen years of hard struggle as a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party of a new type, and assuming its historic role and duty of fighting for the conquest of power for the proletariat and the people, in May of 1980 has set burning the invincible and ever-growing flames of the armed struggle, of guerrilla warfare in our country. This struggle, which is rooted every day more deeply in the class struggle in our land, soon will become a raging hurricane of armed battle to demolish the old, rotten prevailing order, and to bring to life a really free, sovereign country that provides for the well-being of the millions of exploited and oppressed.

In twenty-one months the Party has vigorously initiated and developed the only means for our people's and nation's emancipation: the armed struggle, the guerrilla war which blazes victoriously in the two thousand nine hundred armed actions that have swept the land in all but four departments that stirs the jungle, the coast, and the highlands most of all, that shakes the city and especially the countryside, whose struggle is served by the former. Thus, highlands and mountains, which made the countryside are the powerful and natural support for any possible revolutionary war in our country. Therefore, this is a peasant war that is being led by the Party of the proletariat. It is converting

the countryside into an armed bastion of the revolution, concentrated in base areas -in bases of the New State of workers and peasants, isolating the reactionaries and their imperialist masters in the cities, where the proletariat and the masses, by burning the soles of the enemy's bloody paws mainly through armed actions that serve the struggle in the countryside, the center of the storm, prepare conditions for the final assault on the cities and the total, complete and thorough defeat of the reactionary order and the reactionary army that maintains it. This road, the only road to revolution, is now open; this is the road on which more and more of the proletariat and the masses, our people, are moving toward their own armed emancipation, by their own hands, since: "The people, and the people alone, is the motive force in the making of world history."

Two thousand nine hundred actions! These actions that began with the boycott of the general elections of 1980, carried in Chuschi and many other places, striking with agitation and armed propaganda through the seizure of radio stations, leaflets, and posters, and direct actions that sow panic between the reactionaries and arouse the enthusiasm of the people with our rallying cries of "Armed struggle," "Government of workers and peasants," and "Down with the reactionary government " This showed a new world to win through the hammers and sickles that light the hills, and through the unfading red flags proudly waving on top of hills and heights proclaim "It's right to rebel!"

These actions are armed mobilizations that arouse the peasants, teach the people, and alarm the reactionaries such as those in Miraflores and San Isidro. Sabotage weakens and undermines the social and economic system of the ruling exploiters, as in demolishing electrical towers and producing blackouts in wide areas in the center and north of the country, including in the capital itself. Fires have hit ENCI in Huacho, San Martin de

Porres, Fiat, Toyota, Hindu-Hogar in Lima , and in the cane plantations of the north. Repeated actions have been taken against banks throughout the country, and against reactionary companies like Bata, Hartinger, Centromin, etc., or against renowned elitist colleges, which are concentrated and humiliating expressions of a fierce reactionary, pro-imperialist foreign education.

Overwhelming actions that rock the semifeudal foundations of the state, unleashing armed vindicating actions against big land owners lords of the new and old type, like in Airabamba, Aisarca, Urpihuata, Palermo, Toxama, and Pincos, among others, truly rejoicing of the peasants witnessing a vibrant reemergence of their hopes and combativity which has never languished. To this list could be added the very important takeovers of cities like Acosvinchos, Vinchos, Cayara, Pomatambo, and Occroro, which intensely and profoundly stir the countryside and promoting the participation of the masses in the armed struggle.

Solid actions have hit directly the interests of Yankee imperialism, the principal imperialist power on our soil, such as the attack against Southern in the south of the country, the series of actions against U.S. companies or those connected with them in the capital, and, especially, the resounding blows against the U.S. embassy and the symbolic blasting of Kennedy's statue in Miraflores, as well as the blows at the Chinese embassy, the sinister cave of the revisionist Deng Xiaoping and his lackeys, who is a notorious chum and accomplice of A Yankee imperialism, and vile traitor to the international communist movement and principally to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

In addition, powerful and important actions have been carried out against the state, its repressive apparatus and especially against the police forces. Many actions have been conducted against the courts, government offices, tax offices, voters' registration offices,

city halls and ministries, and a great number of the offices of Acción Popular in all over the country, including their central headquarters in Lima, and even the National Parliament and local offices of the police (GC), and the Republican Guard (GR), and PIP throughout the country, as well as the punishment against known agents of repression like those in Arequipa and Huaraz among others, and against certain arrogant landlords and petty landowners known to be enemies of the people and murderers of Maoist combatants. Above all, the very important and audacious assaults on police stations and outposts like those of Ocobamba, Luricocha, La Ramada, Quinoa, Tápuc, Yauli, Tambo, Quicapata, Totos, Yanahorco, Acchi, and in Puno and Tacna, whose effectiveness was highly expressed in the recent assault on San José de Secce; in the disarming of police in Lima and especially Ayacucho; and in the important raid on the naval air base at Callao which they have unsuccessfully tried to cover up.

All these actions have hit powerfully at the reactionary armed forces, their personnel contingents who, as mere cannon fodder, are being used for interests other than their own; actions that have allowed us to capture arms from the enemy, the main source of our weapons and, what is most important, it has delivered powerful blows to the morale of the reactionary state apparatus and its support base.

Also there has been a brilliant and successful application of the policy of jail breakouts, whose greatest expression was the March 2 [1982] assault on the Public Jail of Ayacucho. This was a heroic action that marks an historic milestone in our armed struggle and in the annals of the Peruvian revolution: freeing our comrades and fighters from the dungeons of the reactionary Peruvian state. With the courage, strength and blood of the people's soldiers, our guerrilla war has been strengthened and has taken a great leap in its development. But in the same way we celebrate this undeniable

victory, we protest, denounce, and condemn the despicable murder and massacre of three of our brave comrades by the police who, rabid in their defeat and hatred has carried out a vile, cowardly murder in the Regional Hospital of that city (Ayacucho) and attempted to execute two other sons of the people (who were saved by other patients and employees who snatched them from the claws of the regime's henchmen.) The five were recovering in the hospital under police custody. The people will not allow this detestable murder to go unpunished! We are fighters and we know that the armed struggle demands its measure of blood and, as the people and the proletariat have taught us and as the revolution demands, we offer our lives, our practice proves it. But in our revolutionary war, we apply and we will continue to apply a policy toward prisoners which corresponds to the laws of war, and as we do practice it we demand the other side do the same. But the tortures, the rapes, the crimes against the sons and daughters of the people, and especially against our combatants, will be punished as the justice of the people demand, and we, their soldiers will carry them out no matter how long it takes from the time of the crime to the fair and just punishment we will impose. Peruvian reaction and its government, led by Belaunde and his gang, using its police forces have mounted a new campaign against us. Basing ourselves on our just and revolutionary war, we will only say that like the previous ones, will fail. And finally, we can say that the demagogue Belaunde has already directly received our replay: On the 10th of march we rocked his "Government Palace" with a dynamite blast so that he might continue to hear the voice of the armed people.

The twenty-nine hundred actions clearly proved our combativeness and bellicosity of our emerging revolutionary armed forces, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, led absolutely by the Party. The armed actions take place in the countryside and in the cities, mainly in the former, is an armed

struggle that assumes diverse forms of action but whose axis is the guerrilla war, which is complemented by other forms of the struggle. These are the armed actions whose support and fuel are the class struggle of our people and thrive solely on the inexhaustible energy of the people themselves, especially the workers and peasants.

The successful armed actions, offer a bright future and have so far achieved four great victories: First, the tempering of the Party, of leaders cadres, militants, and fighters together in the struggle, they become forged and steeled in the only definitive revolutionary crucible: the armed struggle. Although this is already a great victory, we must add another achievement of obvious and clear significance: the formation and construction of an armed force led by the Party which surges into flames of the guerrilla warfare that will never be extinguished, and is the principal instrument for completing the political tasks of the Peruvian revolution and which, under proletarian leadership, has established an armed force that is developing as an arm of the New State of workers and peasants. A third victory is to be found in the increasing quantity and growing quality achieved by our armed actions, actions that have been taken mass character both in their number and the ability of the sons and daughters of the people to carry them out, as well as the increasing quality shown by the higher level that has been achieved. Finally, a fourth victory, which is the most important and principal: the emergency and development of guerrilla zones within whose boundaries, the vigorous and growing advanced of the guerrilla warfare, we will build our future support bases, those advance revolutionary bastions that are the legacies of the military thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, base areas that are the very essence of the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside base areas that are the very essence surrounding the cities from the countryside, the very essence of the People's War.

Because all of this, we say to our class, the proletariat, and to the people of our country, especially to our indomitable peasantry, **THE ARMED STRUGGLE BLAZES VICTORIOUSLY**. Through its initial flames signaling the great blaze to come, the masses themselves will take their own destiny in their triumphant, creative, and sure hands, the makers of history and every revolution.

## II. Counterrevolutionary Action Fuels our Struggle

What has been the reactionary response? What has been the reaction of the democratic government, as it calls itself, that self-proclaimed upholder of the constitutional order and defender of the sacred human rights? It has responded in the way that its reactionary class character and logic demand. Since the beginning, it has unleashed persecution, repression, torture, imprisonment and murder against the revolutionary combatants and people. The government of Belaunde, a phony democracy, a hypocritical and demagogic government has used its forces of repression, mainly its police, to drown in blood our nascent armed revolution.

They are trampling on the most basic, universally recognized rights embodied in its constitution of 1979, the reactionary government of Belaunde and its so-called forces of order have brutally broken and stolen from whatever homes they'd wanted; they have persecuted, arrested, and jailed whomever they want to; they have burned, robbed, raped, and murdered with impunity to sons and daughters of the people in accord with their lowest instincts; they have gorged their dark, reactionary zeal on savage beatings of the masses, mainly the peasants, in a stupid attempt to intimidate them and driven away from the armed struggle; they have generalized the use of torture, trying to crush their will and extract false confessions, despicably and perversely humiliating people so as to bend the revolutionary morale and annihilate the



combatants; they have used rapes as an infamous, vile, and abusive means to force submission and to tarnish the pure, resolute, and firm spirit of the daughters of the people; they have denied all rights and guarantees to prisoners, forcing them to endure continuous persecutions even behind bars in filthy dungeons, and they have extended their harassment and repression to include the prisoner's families. Thus, the persecution and repression of the armed struggle and the people expose them as a treacherous farce, their claims to respect even the most basic human rights, which in reality is a sinister plan to crush the people through counterrevolutionary violence. But all this has failed to achieve their dark hopes, because the sons and daughters of the people, the class and the Party, hold their heads high, victorious and firm in their trenches of combat wherever they are.

The despicable Belaunde government has also appealed to the legislature promulgating Law Decree (D.L.) No. 46, a terrorist law to be used as a club against the armed struggle and the people. This cavernous decree violates the most elementary principles of the bourgeoisie's own criminal law, and establishes widespread and indiscriminate repression. And if they have not yet instituted the death penalty that they so eagerly and cunningly seek it is because the present constitution prohibits it and they have not yet found the conditions to amend it. The whole reaction, especially its mercenaries (ganapanes) and media hacks, all in the name of "order" and "social peace," call for the "drastic application of the law." Thus, the so-called autonomous judicial system has carried out its sinister intrigues; of manipulating the oppressive laws, hanging judges, kangaroo trials, and prisons; utilizing contrived evidence, accelerated procedures, twisting laws and selling the principles that they claim to safeguard. They have begun to swing their rotten club on the sons and daughters of the masses, imposing monstrous punishments that even some reactionaries have criticized for being vile and counterproductive. A blind and

dumb reactionary justice has been put in motion, as it must, in defense of the dying, exploitative, and repressive order. But in so doing, it cannot but reveal it's profoundly counterrevolutionary essence, and exposes even more the dark nature of the legal system and the sacrosanct judicial power. But even this old legal butchery cannot bend the sons and daughters of the people who proudly defy it in the revolution.

But in addition to the persecution and repression, torture and jail, legal club and judicial machinery, and the actions of their police blood hounds of the security and intelligence units, some of whose henchmen the people have and will keep clearly in mind, the government has mounted independent police operations and joint actions with the police forces of the GC, GR, and PIP and their corresponding anti-subversive Sinchi and Dircote units in particular. They have mounted two large operations to date: the first in January 1981 and the second, of a larger magnitude and importance, in October of the same year, where they declared a state of emergency in five provinces in the department of Ayacucho in order to give themselves more firing power and broader impunity, counting upon the support and advice of the armed forces.

What has been the result of the well-publicized October operation? It was a categorical failure. It ended quietly without fanfare or glory and without even the merest public report summing up the results of the vast police mobilization which obviously entailed enormous expenses. That the "final and definitive operation," as it was called. It looked like a delivery in the desert, with more noise than substance as proven by the facts. They failed in its obscure goal of wiping out the armed struggle, to smash the armed organizations and annihilate the Party in that region. On the contrary, the facts show that on December 10, during the state of emergency and their "definitive operation," the

guerrilla carried out an assault against the police outpost of Totos, and other actions immediately followed in the region of Ayacucho culminating in the resounding action at San Jos, de Secce.

What did the anti-subversive operation show? Plainly and simply that the masses reject and resist aggression; that reactionary brutality, arrogance, and violence did not dishearten them, but rather it so aroused their just class anger that they even confront with their bare hands the armed aggressors protected by the structure of the state. It shows that the people support and protects the armed struggle, the guerrilla warfare that they sustain and defend with their lives, and that their understanding, hearts, and will, go out to the guerrilla war because it advances and serves their liberation. The police operations and all the repressive actions only confirm that the war is gaining in strength and developing, and that if we pay with our sweat, suffering, and blood, this is no more than our quota for having risen in arms in a just and necessary rebellion for the class and the people. It is proven that we are learning warfare through waging warfare, and that we have advanced and will advance further as we follow the leadership of the Party more closely and better, whose just and correct ideological and political line is expressed and molded in irrefutable deeds like those that mark the past twenty-one months of vigorous revolutionary armed struggle.

And what is the essence of the government's political and military position with regard to the guerrillas? It is to combat them as "terrorists." But in this, Peruvian reactionaries, their state, and the government of Belaunde are only following the model set down by their Yankee imperialist masters how to counter the armed struggle. It is known to all that Reagan, the President of the United States, his Secretary of State Haig, and their followers put the brand of "terrorism" on revolutionary wars now being waged in the world. With this scheme they try to discredit armed action,

trafficking and playing on the masses' correct rejection of the old individualist, anarchist, and aimless terrorism long condemned by the classics of Marxism, lumping together the defense of property and so-called "social peace" along with what they claim is the defense of life, dreaming to win the masses to their side or at least neutralizing them.

Therefore, to label the armed struggle as "terrorism" is nothing but the demagogic and reactionary position of Yankee imperialism, raised up in order to oppose the armed revolution, seeking to cover it in a cloak of slander while they mount the bloodiest repression and genocide. Further, they use this rotten maneuver in their contention for world hegemony with Russian social-imperialism, trying to link revolutionary action, through so-called "terrorism," to the social imperialist superpower. In this way they seek also to discredit genuine revolutions, which can in no way be compared with the sinister center of contemporary revisionism which has converted Lenin's and Stalin's homeland into the hegemonic superpower of today.

As expected, the Peruvian reaction, the government of Belaunde, and their media mercenaries can do nothing else but apply at all cost the orders and directives of their master, imperialism. But they are not the only ones who condemn our armed struggle as "terrorism." Also jumping on this bandwagon, are the opportunists manipulated by the hardened revisionist Jorge Del Prado and his clique, who obediently follow the baton of the Russian imperialist boss and imperial bludgeon Brezhnev. And it is only natural that these enemies of the revolution act this way since they cannot remain with their arms crossed while their position over the masses, as old-time sellouts in the service of the collusion and contention between social-imperialism and Yankee imperialism, is being undermined. In this same chorus we find "Patria Roja," which calls furiously to the self-proclaimed "left" to

unleash a holy war against the supposed "terrorism," and in their role in an ominous division of labor calls for waging an ideological and political struggle against "terrorism," leaving the task of physical repression to the government. Yesterday's enemies of Deng Xiaoping, and today his admirers, they must attack us for fighting Yankee imperialism, the partner of their new revisionist boss, and even more so, for applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which they yesterday invoked, and today rejects. Nevertheless, others have united with this chomp of clowns, still dazzled by the so-called "democratic opening" and "parliamentary road," who've yet to realize that the world has smashed their dreams into the smithereens, and who continue to be deluded by parliamentary cretinism and daydreaming on the forthcoming 1985 elections.

But in the end, while some these and others there added up may seem to be a lot, in reality they are nothing but representatives of a thin film floating on the fathomless sea of the masses of our country. And we must keep in mind that for Marxism, there is only one tactic with regard to the masses, to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the broad masses, who ascend from the depths, and the filthy, decaying scum that floats unsteadily on the waves as a fragile base for bureaucratic trade unionism and counterfeit workers' parties, truly "bourgeois workers' parties." This tactic impels us to educate the masses, theoretically and practically in revolutionary violence and in the consequent resolute and firm struggle against opportunism.

To those and all who claim to be Marxists and revolutionary fighters, whether they lead, go along with, or embrace the imperialist perversion of labeling the armed struggle that emerges from the very heart of the class struggle of our people as "terrorism," we reprint these paragraphs from the great Lenin:

"And so matters are moving ahead! Despite the incredible and utterly indescribable difficulties, a headway is being made in the matter of getting armed. Individual terrorism, bred of intellectualist impotence, is gradually becoming a thing of the past . . . military operations together with the people is now commencing. It is by engaging in such operations that the pioneers of an armed struggle become fused with the masses not merely in word but in deeds, assume leadership of the combat squads and contingents of the proletariat, train in the crucible of civil war dozens of people's leaders who, tomorrow, on the day of the workers' uprising, will be able to help with their experience and their heroic courage thousands and tens of thousands of workers. . .

"Long live the pioneers of the people's revolutionary army! "It is no longer a plot against some detested individual, no act of vengeance or desperation, no mere 'intimidation,' no, it was a well-thought-out and prepared commencement of operations by acontingents of the revolutionary army, planned with due regard for the correlation of forces . . . "

"Fortunately, the time has passed when revolution was 'made' by individual revolutionary terrorists, because the people were not revolutionary. The bomb has ceased to be the weapon of the solitary 'bomb throwers,' and is becoming an essential weapon of the people." . . .

"We went from experience to experience. We sought to create a willful army marching blindly, groping our way, searching for the path to fulfill the task in that situation. And the task was clear. At present we are still very far off from having freed ourselves from these difficulties. At first we acted in a completely abstract way, like revolutionaries who make speeches but who completely ignore ways to overcome problems. Naturally, many people

accuse us, and all the socialists and social democrats continue to accuse us even today, of having started something without knowing how to carry it through to the end. But these are no more than ridiculous accusations of the living dead. How could it be possible to launch into making the greatest of revolutions knowing beforehand how to carry it to the end? No, our decisions could only arise out of the experience of the masses."

In conclusion, while the initiated armed struggle develops as fiery guerrilla warfare with brilliant prospects, the counterrevolution, following its reactionary logic, fights and attacks us. And there are those who, serving distant revisionist masters, join the chorus, while others follow in this same vein or approach this path. And even as the people support and encourage us, further strengthening our forces, there are those who want to smother our revolutionary advances under the ragged cloak of "terrorism," since we are the advancing armed revolution. There are those who call us "Sendero Tenebroso," the gloomy path, while trying to perpetuate the shadows that begin to recede from the brilliant light of our actions guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

There are those who call us "unpatriotic" while continuing to sell the country to imperialism. There are those who call us "infantile" without any proof whatsoever and without even seeing that even if such was the case, the genuine struggle of the class and the people teaches and matures while opportunist senility rots and is a disease that contaminates without regard to age. There are those who brand us as "provocateurs" without ever noticing in their blindness that they are persistently provoking the righteous anger of the people for their frustrated and unrepentant promotion of mass capitulation. And finally, there are those who call us "adventurists" without noticing in their political stupidity that they are just the same old political swindlers and petty professional social climbers. Nevertheless, they are totally and

completely right about one thing: we have no love for parliamentary cretinism and we do not worship electoral opportunism. We are simply and plainly Marxist-Leninist-Maoists.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "It is a good thing to be attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the enemy. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black without a single virtue. It demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, but achieved a great deal in our work."

For all that has been said, we reaffirm that COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTION IS THE FUEL OF OUR STRUGGLE!

III. The Crisis of the Reactionary Order Deepens and the People Call for Armed Revolution

What is the current situation of the reactionary forces? The former military government, which lasted twelve years, came to power with two goals to achieve:

1. to strengthen bureaucratic capitalism, and
2. to reorganize Peruvian society.

To complete the first task, it took as the driven force the state-controlled economy. In order to fulfill the second task, the government was guided by a fascist political outlook and promoted the reorganization of society along corporate lines. In its first phase it made advances in obtaining its objectives, but the economic crisis generated by itself, and especially the persistent struggle of the masses, forced the military government to reexamine its objectives and limit itself to a general readjustment of its plan to subsequently proceed with the corporate



reorganization in order to institutionalize those changes that they had set out from the beginning, and, moreover, to proceed to a future transfer of state power. Nevertheless, the deepening of the economic crisis and the intensification of the class struggle cut short their goals, and the new constitution, thus representing the third reorganization of the Peruvian state in this century did not achieve the molding of a corporate Peruvian society. It only allowed for the strengthening of executive power at the expense of the parliament, and a greater participation of the armed forces in the running of the state. As a corollary to the military measures, two elections were held, the elections for the constituent assembly and the general elections of 1980. In both, voter turnouts declined, part of a trend common throughout Latin America, showing a loss of faith in elections and government.

Under these conditions' Belaunde took over the government, and today, more than one and a half years since his term began, the economic crisis continues, the publicized resurgence of the economy is nowhere in sight, a persistent, growing inflation continues to pound any economic advance, and the budget deficits, the very basis of the government's measures, increase uncontrollably, gravely threatening an increasingly battered Peruvian economy. Imperialist domination sinks its nails deeper in our country, taking over more and more of our natural resources, especially oil, extending its grip into the peasant's areas, and broadening its control over the country's commerce and finance. The so-called "agrarian reform" has been concluded.

The electoral opportunists join the chorus of those claiming that the land problem is ended and resolved. They try to fool the peasants with the botched "farming and cattle-raising programs" at the same time as they advocate the development of the "associative property" to cover up the return of the big landowners to promote bureaucrat capitalism in agriculture under

the control of the big banks and with the direct participation of Yankee I imperialism. The proletariat and workers are burdened with growing unemployment and declining wages while working conditions deteriorate and prior gains are negated or threatened every day, such as the right to strike. The petty bourgeoisie suffers increasing pauperization, the intellectuals in particular are thwarted and the people in general face hunger while the new reactionary government tries to subjugate them even more. The national bourgeoisie and medium-sized capitalists see growing restrictions on their businesses, suffering also the consequences of the government's intensified undermining of national industry. Meanwhile, in the very bosom of the big bourgeoisie, a sharp struggle between the bureaucratic and comprador factions, and even within these factions is taking place over who will reap the most profits or benefits.

In sum, then, guided by an orientation that sees developing big monopoly, mainly Yankee capital, as the motor of economic development, the present government aims at further developing the subjugating semifeudal structure, that still rules the country, for the direct benefit of the old and new type landowners and the old type rich peasants. The current government undermines the basic industrial structure of the country in order to direct even more the economic trend toward extraction and production, particularly mining and petroleum. And now, it transfers and seeks to auction off the state enterprises, those which the former government had concentrated in the hands of the state at the cost of a staggering public debt placed on the backs of the people. Thus, preparing a succulent offering to the insatiable appetite of big capitalists, particularly imperialist capital. The current reactionary government, whose head, prime mover, and most responsible representative is Bela£nde, is as servile as any before it in its eagerness to build up bureaucratic capital (big monopoly capital, vassals to the feudal landowners and subjugated to

imperialism) principally to the benefit of big monopoly capital, especially big banking and finance capital under the asphyxiating and ever widening expansion of U.S. imperialism. But even if this is the outline and scheme of the government, the same complex conflict of interests among the exploiters, the persistent and deepening crisis, and even more, the class struggle which sharpens day by days does not allow the government to overcome its present difficulties, a crucial matter in order to organize and work out a coherent plan based on the clear and defined program that the ruling order loudly demands.

On the political plane, the government continues to face the complex and entangled turning point of the class struggle which generates the introduction of a new constitution, the consolidation of a bureaucracy totally devoted to it, and a regrouping of reactionary political forces placed in hibernation during the previous twelve years, and, principally, generated the need to rein in the masses who have been drowning in years of stifling crisis that propels them one more time into action to defend their own vital interests, these are the masses deceived by the long harsh years of a demagogic government pretending to be "revolutionary" and aided (as always!) by the same opportunists, have seen their most basic needs denied and their aspirations mocked. All this has created a complicated political situation for the reactionary rulers. Nevertheless, the reality is crystal clear.

In a year and a half the decrepitude of the democratic/ bourgeois order has become evident to the people, who see the contrast in a hypocritical invocation of human rights and liberties alongside their brutal negation of what they preach. The obsolete parliamentary institutions are coming apart like an empty barrel rolling downhill, sinking in the pompous and sterile rhetoric of the anointed "fathers of the country," while basic legislative functions give in to the arrogant invasion of jurisdiction by the

Executive. And an arthritic and anemic so-called judicial power carries out its functions, compelled only by the mountains of pending proceedings, crooked dealings and servile subjugation to whatever arrogant authority is in charge, and in constant violation of its own reactionary laws, directed, as always, against the people and which, especially today, feeds on revolutionary fighters. And then there is also the so-called autonomous electoral power that routinely rigs elections, covering up its crudest manipulations. Added to this are the sharp contention and split between the reactionary parties that are repeatedly revealed in public scandals and which find expression in all kinds of lawless proceedings. Thus the reactionary political system clearly reveals the frailty and rottenness that it attempts to hide behind the mask of democracy and its phony concern for the masses (who are needed only for occasional voting and for demagogic drum beating). In this way, as Marxism teaches, the armed forces and the police, mainly the former, are ever more the true backbone of the reactionary state and their true bastion, hence their growing importance and growing interference in the running of the state. Nevertheless, we can never forget that an armed force, in essence, strategically is only as strong as the social order it defends, no matter how heavily armed it may be tactical.

The ruling, exploitative, oppressive order is also in an ideological crisis despite its hypocritical hand wringing over the so-called "moral crisis of the people," which is nothing but the destruction of old principles shattered by the blows of acute economic crisis and the political feebleness of the reaction. And, this is precisely what is principal, the crisis of bourgeois-democratic principles and the social order that, superseded by historical development, by the class struggle, by the vigorous rise of the proletariat and the popular masses, and the great radical transforming process that has put the stamp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism the world over, is left more exposed in the light of day not only in the historical

sense, but also in the sense that every day its political decrepitude grows more pronounced. Every day witnesses a decline in the influence of bourgeois-democratic principles which, if in centuries past were revolutionary, have for decades been reactionary. That their hold on people is waning can be seen from the results of the last election. Belaunde took office with 46 percent of the votes and felt exalted to the heavens, the holder of absolute power, the unchallenged voice above the class struggle and contentions. Nevertheless, a year and a half have been enough to smash his electoral sand castle, dissolving it like sewage foam, with his fictitious "great authority" cast between the pounding waves and swirling vortexes, marches to its total ruin.

Finally, we should speak, even quickly and briefly, on the question of Ecuador. Ecuador's questioning of the Rio Protocol of 1942 goes back many years. This situation has become aggravated in recent years as proven by the border incident of the Cordillera del Condor of January 1981. But the present Peruvian government and Belaunde who heads and leads it (even more, being the person who directly conducts international politics and who consequently is principally responsible) has been dealing with this delicate and important problem in a totally erroneous and irresponsible way; instead of looking for a means to clarify the border question, they adopt an alarmingly superficial and frivolous attitude: if the Ecuadoran question is not treated justly and correctly, it has the potential to become a serious problem of grave and vast consequences. This problem, obviously, has never been addressed directly by anyone but the people themselves, who with their own blood and efforts have given us the territory which makes up our country. Here too, the reactionary politics and measures of the government of Belaunde are evident, since everyone can see that the many conflicts in our Latin American countries and the many wars our people have been involved all derive from the union of interests of the imperialists, in

contention with those of its agents and internal partners who govern our republics. And this is a greater worry today when the Latin American scene reveals various potential conflicts unfolding in the stirred-up climate of contention between the superpowers in their pursuit for world domination. In sum, we see the sharpening crisis of the reactionary order, which approaches the year 1982 with dark perspectives.

And what is the present situation of the people? A peasantry with a centuries-old fundamental goal, "Land to the tiller, " whom despite its undaunted struggle, has yet to achieve its goal. This is a peasantry whom they have tried to deceive with three supposed agrarian reform laws in the past twenty years. And yet, after the bombastic demagoguery and their full implementation, the peasants were left with the same old unsatisfied thirst for land.

A proletariat, whose long, vigorous struggle has yielded only miserable wages and other concessions from its exploiters, only to lose them in each economic crisis society endures. This is a proletariat whose struggle rotates on a vicious iron circle and who once again today is involved in the unending battle over wages, working hours, and working conditions.

A petty bourgeoisie, making up a broad stratum characteristic of a backward country, that sees its dreams ruined by the relentless impoverishment to which the ruling order subjects it. There is a middle bourgeoisie, a national bourgeoisie that is weak and lacks capital, that totters between revolution and counterrevolution, while each new crisis crushes it nearly to the point of suffocation.

These are the four classes that historically make up the people of our land. Of them, it is the peasantry which is the principal driven force, as much as it is the proletariat that rises and develops as the class leading our revolution. United, they make up

the worker-peasant alliance, the only possible solid base for any possible revolutionary front. The petty bourgeoisie unites with them, and together, the three, under the leadership of the proletariat, are the backbone of the revolutionary front, which is nothing if it is not a front for the armed struggle and the class framework for the New State. This solid union, this solid front, is held together so long as the proletariat firmly retains its hegemony, bases itself on the worker-peasant alliance, forged and developed in the heat of the armed struggle, of guerrilla warfare. It is this front of classes that the national bourgeoisie will sometimes join (and sometimes leave) depending on the raging winds of the class struggle.

And the Peruvian people, this immense majority, these masses that are the true makers of history, these powerful productive forces, are constrained by the persistent decrepitude of the exploitative social relations that impose unemployment and underemployment on 56.3 percent of the "economically active population" (according to the government's own statistics), and in the countryside, two of every three peasants are underemployed. Thus the decrepit system of exploitation destroys and holds back the powerful creative forces of the people, the only forces capable of the thorough revolutionary transformation for which our country has fought for too long. Furthermore, the reactionaries defend this evil destructive system with blood and fire to the benefit of the big landlords, of the old and the new type, of a big comprador or bureaucratic bourgeoisie and their masters, Yankee imperialism that for each dollar it invests extracts five.

This rotten, bloody system is held together by the oppression imposed by the reactionary landlord-bureaucratic state, through its state apparatus, its bureaucracy, its armed forces, its judiciary, its jails, and its ancient and repression of murderous proportions, principally through the armed forces, which are the real backbone

of the ruling-class dictatorship that dominates and increases its profits extracted from the sweat, toil, and blood of our people.

If you are talking about exploitation and oppression, you are talking about the state; if you are talking about the state, you are talking about classes, if you are talking about classes you are talking about class struggle; if you are talking about class struggle, you are talking about people's struggle; and, as facts have shown in history, if you are talking about people's struggle you are talking about rebellion, an armed struggle, guerrilla warfare, as the situation in the America's show today. Our people, like all the peoples of the world, have their own proud history of struggles etched with their blood and heroism. The most earthshaking, turbulent, and splendid battles have been those waged relentlessly by the peasantry, especially the poor peasants, through the centuries. It is sufficient to remember here that our republican emancipation was won as a result of the great armed peasants' actions of the 18th century, and our own 20th century has been marked by big peasant struggles in the 1920's and 1960's. These and the powerful struggle of 1963 are sources of extraordinary experiences, to which it is necessary to add the armed struggle led by MIR back in 1965, a struggle which left us invaluable lessons which every revolutionary must know about. Nevertheless, it is with the appearance of Marxism and the Communist Party that the peasant struggle acquired its full revolutionary expression. With the leadership of the proletariat, through its Party, the peasantry has met with and is following the real road to the overthrow of the present exploiting order, that is, People's War, the highest expression of proletarian military thought established by Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Thus our people, as all people in the world, have been nurtured and have advanced in the course of revolutionary violence. It is here, in its diverse forms and levels of struggles that our people



have won demands, rights and liberties. None of these conquests have fell from the skies, nor was it given; "despite what traitors might say." In the final analysis all was conquered and defended with revolutionary violence in fierce fight against reactionary violence.

That is how the 8-hour day was won, how territory was won and held, and how rights were won and tyrants overthrown. Revolutionary violence is the essence of our historical process and, if the freedom of the republic was won with arms on the battlefield, it is easy to understand that the development and triumph of the Peruvian revolution, of our democratic revolution, of the emancipation of the people and the class, will be won only through the most splendid revolutionary war of our people, rising in arms en masse through People's War.

And today, our heroic people, inheritors of such a rich history and following this glorious road, wage battles against the new reactionary government, wage battle in the countryside against the big and small landlords, the social base of reactionary state power in agriculture; wage battle in the factories and mines against their exploiters and oppressors, wage battle in the countless barrios, striking out against hunger and misery; wage battle in the universities and colleges for their need to learn and become educated; wage battles in the small and medium sized cities against a suffocating centralism; wage battle in education, science, and culture for the undeniable right to nourish the spirit and enjoy peace of mind; wage battle in the streets for the right to earn a living; wage battle to maintain rights and liberties already won, for freedom of thought, the freedoms of speech, of organization, of assembly, for the right to strike, and numerous other victories wrenched through their struggle and toil which, despite being stamped into law and in the National Constitution, are trampled on, questioned, and denied twenty-four hours a day

by the arrogant and abusive actions of those in power, and by whatever highly placed social climbers, which is in a position of authority (as is the natural order of things among those who run the state). If our people are more conscious than yesterday, more politicized than yesterday, and more organized, firm, and decisive than yesterday, it is because of the enormous presence of the proletariat guided by unconquerable Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that arms their minds and fists.

Our heroic fighting people enter into battle even when this means facing against the clubs, bombs, bullets, and fierce battalions of reaction. They do it in certainty because that struggle tempers, mobilizes, organizes, politicizes, and arms and prepares them for the great battles to come. And if our people are learning anything, today more than before, it is that the class struggle necessarily leads to the struggle for power, and that this can only be won through violent revolution which for us means revolutionary war, armed struggle, the guerrilla warfare of People's War. Only in this way can power be conquered by the class and people. And only in this way can the New State arise and the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, so as to carry out the great and complete transformation of society so that, finally, the brilliant, resolute light of communism will shine in our own land. This spirit already dwells among the people. This is clearly shown in the countryside and in the cities where the people begin to once again use violence to repel reactionary violence in defense of their rights. And, more important and demonstrative still is the greater support the people give the armed struggle, the guerrilla war, led by the Party. Though they may not yet understand it in its total depth and scope (that requires its continued development), with the wisdom of collective action the people are fully capable of seeing that these flames of today begin to presage the armed bonfires to come, and in this the real hope for inexorable emancipation is bellowed and welded.

This is, according to the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism way of seeing things, the situation of the reactionaries and of the people. In this contradictory situation we see the two concrete aspects and specifics of today's revolutionary situation. So we can see clearly the revolutionary situation manifesting itself and how Lenin understood it: today those on top can no longer continue ruling as they did yesterday, and those on the bottom are no longer willing to live as they have until now. In the reactionary camp, we can see the lack of a precise and defined acceptable program capable of welding the reactionary forces and the erratic jumble of moves and counter moves that betray the lack of a fixed course, the understandable result of the lack of a unified program and much less an accepted one. Among the people we can see the firm and decisive move toward armed revolution, their will for revolutionary transformation, although as a limitation they sometimes may express themselves in a simple desire to overthrow the decrepit ruling system. But still, if this was all there was to it, this is the basic and enough reason to meet the correct course of action, because it is the armed struggle itself, through its accomplishments, that open even wider the road of armed struggle and, likewise, shows in deeds the correctness of this road in the minds of people, and thus the masses become more and more part of this great road of People's War.

Such are the concrete issues of the developing revolutionary situation. We have reached this point due to two factors:

1. The polarization of the class struggle, and
2. The armed struggle that evolves as guerrilla warfare sprung from the very heart of the class struggle in the country.

The polarization of the class struggle and its further development as armed struggle has intensified the preexisting revolutionary situation. Thus, today, and in perspective, we can see that as the

developing revolutionary situation heats up, it will further deepen the class struggle and both will strongly impel the further advance of the armed struggle. This is, in synthesis, the current situation of both the people and the reaction. The latter propose, through the government of Belaunde, a "social pact" or "concertation" (reconciliation or class collaboration) which is nothing more than a rehash of the position of the previous government, but the people's position in perspective is: support the armed struggle.

Thus, today the class struggle is polarized and will continue to be polarized even more in the future: "concertation" vs. support for the armed struggle. Reconciliation is the black flag of the reaction; support for the armed struggle is the red flag of the people. Reconciliation is the flag of reaction bent on binding the people's hands and feet, and, in more limited terms, to weld together the contending factions in the reactionary camp. To achieve this, the reactionary regime will resort to whatever means, including repression, with the objective of maintaining their dominance. In the last resort they increase the use of armed force, since that is the card reaction keep up its sleeve for the opportune moment. Support for the armed struggle is the red flag of the people and must be their necessary perspective since, for the people, reconciliation is capitulation. The road for our people begins to manifest itself with greater clarity and determination: supporting and building the armed struggle is the only historic road that corresponds to the path of the people, there is no other. Supporting the armed struggle today means simply to develop guerrilla warfare.

For all that has been said we conclude: THE CRISIS OF THE REACTIONARY ORDER DEEPENS AND THE PEOPLE CALL FOR ARMED REVOLUTION.

#### IV. Develop Guerrilla Warfare

Chairman Mao Tse-tung states: "The central task and highest form of revolution is the conquest of power by means of armed struggle, that is, the settlement of the issue through war. This revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle is a universal truth applicable in China as in all countries."

Further he says: "Before the outbreak of war, all organizations and struggles have as their goal preparing for it . . . After the outbreak of war, all organizations and struggles must be coordinated directly or indirectly with the war effort."

The Communist Party of Peru, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party of a new type, loyal to its principles and program, conscious of its historic mission as the organized vanguard of the Peruvian proletariat, has assumed its responsibility to launch the armed struggle to fight for the conquest of power for the working class and the people, and today is developing guerrilla warfare, learning from advances and setbacks, fanning more widely the living flames of armed conflict and rooting them more deeply among the poor peasants, principally, and will lead in building revolutionary base areas that will finally give concrete form to the triumphant road of People's War. Prior to the launching of the People's War, the Party had to be reconstituted, following the expulsion of Del Prado and Co., the standard bearers of revisionism in the Party's ranks. In the IV National Conference of January 1964, we entered the long and complex process of reconstitution, it agreed later by means of the VI Conference of January 1969 in which the Party threw off the weight of revisionism and became a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party of a new type. With the completion of this arduous and glorious task, the 9th Plenary Session of the Central Committee in 1979 approved the launching of the armed struggle. Once this historic mandate was completed, in May 1980, the armed struggle was initiated

with the proclamation of the two basic slogans: "Armed Struggle!" and "Workers' and Peasants' Government!" Thus, our actions were initiated, unfolding as guerrilla warfare, and now, in accord with the Central Committee of January 1981, we are further developing the guerrilla warfare. The armed struggle initiated and led resolutely by the Party is the continuation of the class struggle of the Peruvian people; it is the armed continuation of its political struggle and is profoundly linked to and indissolubly united with the masses, mainly the poor peasants. The masses are our only base and support, the source of our strength and vigor. We are firm practitioners of the great principle of relying on our own strength, as we are firm followers of proletarian internationalism, unfurling that immortal call of Marx and Engels, "Proletarians of All Countries Unite! ," And as communists we always raise highest the three great banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Marx, Lenin, and Mao, which demands us to be irreconcilable enemies of revisionism and all forms of opportunism.

In waging the revolution in our country we are serving the world proletarian revolution, which will not rest until communism shines over the face of the earth. The revolutionary reality of our country shows that in fact the armed struggle burns victoriously, that the counterrevolutionary actions fuel our struggle, that the reactionary order sinks in crisis, and the people call for armed revolution. Thus our heroic people are faced with the pressing historic necessity to support the armed struggle, which today means developing guerrilla warfare. The Communist Party of Peru, the Party founded by Mariá tegui, the Party reconstituted as a Party of a new Marxist-Leninist-Maoist type, has begun the armed struggle in our country and had, through twenty-one months of the enrichment of combative life, developed it as guerrilla warfare. The Communist Party of Peru, which has risen to the heavens the red flags of rebellion to serve the working class and the people in their emancipation, calls on the Peruvian

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proletariat, and especially the poor peasantry and broad masses throughout the country, to take our historic destiny in our hands and overthrow the existing rotten, reactionary ruling order and build the new revolutionary social order that the people demand and cry out for.

Peruvian people! Workers, peasants, women, youth, and intellectuals, support the armed struggle! Support the development of the guerrilla warfare!

Peruvian people! Your vigorous voice, like furious thunder, has begun to express itself in the vibrant and purifying language of revolutionary violence, in an armed struggle. Through guerrilla actions, through guerrilla warfare, you are creating milestones in your new history, your definitive history. We have embarked on a great road, a long and arduous one, but victory will be decisive, since "except for state power, all is but illusion!"

DEVELOP GUERRILLA WARFARE!  
LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!  
GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!

# MAOISM. ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM

PLENUM SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE - NOVEMBER, 1982  
EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT "MAOISM. ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM"

Our objective is to initiate a campaign about Maoism, an abbreviated form to say Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, or that Maoism is the principal of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the present.

The next year, we celebrate ninety years of Chairman Mao Tsetung's birthday, because he was born on December 26th of 1893. It is evident that today there is a sharp struggle between Marxism and revisionism. Furthermore, also in those who defend Chairman Mao there isn't enough clarity and complete adhesion to Maoism as the third stage of Marxism, due to this we say that it is struggle concerning Maoism.

We must hoist the slogan: LONG LIVE MAOISM! in order to initiate this great campaign which, obviously, is of a strategical character. It is a campaign of vast dimensions and a complex problem: it is a difficult task, but it is an obligation that we have as communists, as about the complexities of this campaign, but the importance that it has weighs much more, and historically it is necessity because world revolution needs Maoism in order to unfold a higher peaks, in order that the strategical offensive of world revolution be infolded, tasks in which we communists of the world are engaged. We do not pretend to say that Maoism reaches only till there. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism possesses programmatic points, laws, principles which go until communism, and as we march toward this great goal it is being specified



starting from what is established since Marx. Because the ideology of the proletariat is a powerful science that develops itself through big leaps, generators of higher stages each time: with Marx, Marxism, with Lenin, Leninism and with Chairman Mao, Maoism, as the first, second and third successive stages, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and, mainly, today's Maoism.

Therefore the objective is to develop a campaign that possesses strategical characters and serves the world revolution. Due to the circumstances the contribution that we can make is important, we do not say that it is decisive, but it is important within the context in which we unfold ourselves. Let's not pretend to tell History what to do, she is the one that through class struggle establishes the laws and defines the situations. It is possible that our own Party or others can give a decisive contribution.

In this moment it is more necessary than ever for us to talk of Maoism, and obviously we cannot do it without referring to the struggle at the world level against revisionism; therefore it is vital and urgent to analyze Maoism again, aiming to define more and better its contents and meaning, guided by the judgement that to hoist, defend and apply Maoism is the essence of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism in the present.

We must think how to develop multiple campaigns in order to obtain solid results and of long perspective. And in this way to unfold the instruction of militants, combatants and masses, and to strive to divulge Marxism starting from the transcendence of the people's war that he himself guided. The problem is to put in motion the ideological dynamics. We look forward to contribute to the defense of what is peremptory to defend: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It will have repercussion because everywhere there are masses, revolutionaries and communists, and to them we are interested to reach, mainly to the communists because they are

more open-minded; we have to strive to make them understand, being sure that Marxism does not spring up spontaneously, but with effort and struggle, this is a law of Marxism. Marxism has not taken one step forward in life nor has obtained anything but with sturrge, conquering with effort, and Maoism is not and will not be an exception. The struggle in behalf of Maoism as the third stage of Marxism, is and will be hard, long, complex and difficult, it will never impose spontaneously. This is our history, we do not have another way: struggle, effort, unyielding tenacity and undeclinable persistence, and time so that practice may prove and sanction the truth.

It is the beginning of a campaign that the Party must get on organizing step by step. We open up an arduous but necessary campaign, it is important for the international proletariat which is our class. The idea is: the beginning of a campaign, ans struggle of communists in behalf of the proletariat. Consider it as audacious step that we must take; all audacious step is the beginning of a new task, and the new has a problem: a terrain not sufficiently known; let's take firm steps, being sure that all beginning is nothing but that, the beginning, that many issues will be developed, because there are things which we do not have enough knowledge of; and therefore, be more farsighted, more firm, more demanding of ourselves. Let's apply: Wage the battle and you will know how it unfolds. We communists are audacious and we are so because we are consequent materialists, and we are not afraid of making mistakes, nor are we afraid of confronting anybody because truth is on our side. This is our convction and we cannot have no other; we are men of conviction, "convinced and confessed" in the greatest transforming scientific ideology proved in thousands of glorious battles. There has not been nor there is any ideology on Earth that has had the practical test like Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; nor never have so many millions of people been and will to dragged along by so powerful

revolutionary storm.

For the fulfillment of this task, let's start from the understanding of Maoism following this scheme that we present as follows:

LONG LIVE MAOISM!

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The people's war has made up understand more and better the development of Marxism-Leninism made by Chairman Mao Tsetung, how we are before a third stage of the ideology of the international proletariat, and therefore it has transformed into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, being Maoism the principal. And if in the IV Plenum Session of our Central Committee we agreed upon the slogan of: Towards Maoism!, in this session we have assumed the task of: Impose Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism as the command and general guide of all our partidary activity, and to serve and strive also, so that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, be the command and guide of the world revolution, all in behalf of the undeclinable and glorious goal of all humanity: Communism.

# DON'T VOTE! INSTEAD, EXPAND THE GUERRILLA WARFARE TO CONQUER POWER FOR THE PEOPLE!

PCP - CENTRAL COMMITTEE - FEBRUARY, 1985

"Strengthen the People's Committees, develop the base areas and forge forward the New Democratic People's Republic."  
Communist Party of Peru (PCP).

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

Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

## 1. THE GENERAL CRISIS OF PERUVIAN SOCIETY

Contemporary Peruvian society is in general crisis. This society, whose trajectory began toward the end of the XIX century, is gravely ill and is incurable. It can only be transformed through the armed struggle, which the Communist Party of Peru is doing it today, leading the Peruvian people. There is no other solution.

The fact is that Peru today is a semifeudal and semicolonial society in which a bureaucratic capitalism is developing, a delayed capitalism linked to the big landowners. interests and which, consequently, in no way seeks the destruction of semifeudal conditions but at most seeks its evolution. What is more important, it is a type of capitalism completely subjugated to imperialism, in our case principally Yankee imperialism, and

therefore, does not develop the great potential of the productive forces of our country. Furthermore, it wastes, shackles, or destroys the productive forces and in no way develops a national economy. On the contrary, it is completely at the service of imperialism's increasing exploitation and is totally against the national interests of the majority of the population, and the basic and urgent needs of our people.

Thus, the modern Peruvian economy was born deformed and ill at its roots. It was born intrinsically tied to the archaic semifeudal system which, despite the regimes' bragged-about "agrarian reforms," continues to exist and characterizes the country from its most basic foundations to its most elaborate ideas. This situation maintains, in essence, the great land problem, the driven force of the peasants' class struggle, especially the poor peasants that made up the immense majority. Moreover, the Peruvian economy was born subjugated by imperialism, the last phase of capitalism, masterfully characterized as monopolistic, parasitic, and moribund.

Although this imperialism allows our political independence, as long as it serves imperialist interests, controls the entire Peruvian economic process: our natural resources, export products, industry, banking and finance, etc. In sum, it sucks the blood of our people, devours the energy of our national development, and today, especially, it squeezes us through the huge interests of the foreign debt, just as it does other oppressed nations.

Therefore, the modern economy, the bureaucratic capitalism, is tied to the unburied cadaver semi feudalism, and it is subjugated by the moribund imperialism, which increasingly lives off from the blood of the oppressed, reaped from an exploitation guarantee by its own weapons and those of its lackeys, while the domination of the world is dispute in a never-ending crisis and contention

waged primarily by the two superpowers, the United States and the social-imperialist Soviet Union. In conclusion, we are in the midst of the general crisis of Peruvian society. This crisis, including the crisis of bureaucratic capitalism which has entered into its final stage, has fully matured the conditions for the development and triumph of the revolution, then the general crisis that plagues the old society encompasses the revolution in its entirety and in all its manifestations.

This is our reality, this is the foundation on which Peruvian society rests and the material roots of our problems and the misfortunes of our people. This is the social system that the ruling classes and their Yankee imperialist masters are faithful to and defend with blood and fire, through their bureaucratic-landlord state based on their reactionary armed forces, continuously exercising the class dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and landlords, whether it is through de facto military governments like the many we had, for example Velasco and Morales Bermudez, to mention just the most recent ones, or through governments born out of elections and called constitutional like Belaunde's government today.

Thus, the governments in Peru, civilian or military, are ruling cliques, elected or not, which exercise dictatorship over the people, the proletariat, the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and even over the national or middle bourgeoisie itself, for the benefit of the big bourgeoisie (especially big bankers today), of the big landowners (particularly in their expression as gamonalism to exercise power in the countryside), in the service of the ruling classes, and of Yanqui imperialism and totally against the interests of the people and of the nation. And that needs no greater historical recount or demonstration, since the proof is right in front of our eyes: the Belaunde government itself and his clique; a government product of elections, coming out of the ballot boxes,

from "sacrosanct electoral system." This is precisely the government which has sold the country more than any other before to imperialism and sunk Peruvian society in its most crisis in modern history; it has submerged the people in the most implacable hunger and has persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and murdered the people, even perpetrating mass slaughter and genocide because the people, led by the Communist Party, have dared to rise up in arms proclaiming, "It is Right to Rebel," irrevocable right of every people drowned in exploitation and oppression, the right of every people and class that refuse to be enslaved.

That is the reality of the country, of Peruvian society and the performance of the present government. It will remain the same with any other government in the future as long as we do not overthrow the prevailing order by force of revolutionary arms through People's War. The history of the world and our own history has proven this, furthermore, we have it before our own eyes: the murderous regime of Belaunde and his gang that starve our people will go down in history as the government of hunger and genocide.

II. TO VOTE IS TO ENDORSE THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AND ELECT ANOTHER GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL BRING ABOUT MORE HUNGER AND GENOCIDE.

Under what condition(s) are the current general elections being held? Economically, all agree that the country is suffering the greatest crisis in at least the last one hundred years. In addition, the perspective on the future is bleak. In the year 2,000 the economy would barely be meeting its 1976 levels. That is, a quarter of a century would have been wasted because of the much publicized economic development. But the problem doesn't end up there, since World War 2 the country has regularly gone



through a crisis in the second half of each decade and each new crisis is worse than the previous one, and the next one is already on its way. The reactionary economists themselves paint a bleak picture for the coming years. Furthermore, reliance on highly glorified foreign capital is hindered by the present foreign debt and the impossibility of paying even the interests on it. At the same time, internal savings are reduced, industrial production is on recession, agriculture is in crisis, the prices of our export products will continue to decline, the foreign markets are shrinking, etc. In synthesis, it is a black perspective with no real solution in sight whatsoever, much less one that would satisfy the growing elementary needs of the masses, which are denied more each day, offering only more unemployment, lower wages and salaries, the curtail of workers' rights, and more cuts of past gains and benefits. Thus, there is a black economic perspective for the obsolete Peruvian society and more oppression and exploitation for the people.

Politically, the Constitution of 1979, just like with the rest of its type, denies each right it recognizes in its contents. It did not satisfy even the factions of the reactionary camp, much less the people, for that reason modifying it is, and will continue to be, an arena of contention. The present Constitution gives direct participation to its armed forces and police in every aspect of social life, strengthening their domain, at the same time it empowers the faculties of the Executive and organizes the most repressive police system in our history. Despite all its filthy demagoguery, the current Constitution is the harshest and more violent and bloody shock that a Constitution has ever had with our conditions. This is shown by the contrast between the so-called "right to life" and the sinister genocide being carried out with cruelty and impunity by the armed forces in the region of Ayacucho, directed by Belaunde himself.

And, how do the sanctified demo bourgeois institutions work? A parliament abdicated its legislative function, turning them over to the Executive. The judicial power (the courts) is incapable of judging the thousand of accused, much less applying their own laws, they even consent to and cover the plan of annihilation of the prisoners of war in the concentration camps known as "El Fronton" and the secrets ones like those in Totos, "Los Cabitos," the stadium in the city of Huanta, etc., in complicity with the Public Ministry. The Executive has become the real legislative power, with the most basic laws of the country in the hands of rancid bureaucrats, and technocrats trained and advised by imperialism; with super ministers who, like the old autocrats, do and undo as they please, with broad and repressive powers used daily, from the clubs to the bombs and bullets against the people, the state of emergency decree used even to confront a worker's strike, let's not forget the frequently applied curfews or stage of siege.

Finally, he reactionary armed forces and police have shown all their hatred and brutality that are characteristic of their actions, they have shown clearly that it "authorizes" any abuse, even murder committed with impunity against any son and daughter of the people. And those Armed Forces which continue to call themselves "tutelar institutions," as if the people of Peru were made up exclusively of persons under age, those Armed Forces so specialized in defeats before foreign enemies, as they are experience in crushing by bloodshed and fire our unarmed population, today manifest more clearly the reactionary interests which they defend, and all the class hatred shown in their intervention against the victorious armed struggle. Their leadership, the Joint Command, the National Defense Council, headed by Belaunde himself, in its futile and desperate attempt to separate the masses from Armed revolution, has not found any solution other than the monstrous and infamous genocide which

the fraudulent Peruvian democracy and that bogus democrat and cunning demagogue Belaunde has exposed before our people and the entire world their sinister anti guerrilla actions.

Thus, on top of a bleak perspective, obsolete and reactionary institutions are erected and only survive by the force of inertia and the arms that sustain them, always spilling more blood and bathing themselves in the incendiary blood of the unarmed, vilely oppressed people, who are already saying, Enough! , And each day they believe less in the old State and hopes for less from the government. In conclusion, the lack of credibility, the disorder, the chaos, besides the rampant corruption and the most shameless cynicism, corrode the bureaucratic-landowning State, for whose government all of them compete so frivolously and cheerfully, with verbal skirmishes and perhaps one confrontation or two, a few demagogues who poorly conceal their interests and greed. They are Alva Orlandini, Bedoya Reyes, Morales Bermudez and Alan Garcia, candidates of Popular Action, Democratic Convergence, Democratic Front of National Unity, and Apra, respectively. All are well-known defenders of the existing order. Among them is also the devious and opportunistic Barrantes Lingan, false Mariateguist and loyal defender and supporter of the ruling system, as representative of the so-called United Left, an organization mounted by its leaders as the most unfettered expression of the old way of electoral opportunism and parliamentary cretinism in the country.

But the oppressive legacy does not end there. The class struggle of our people has gone to develop into an armed struggle against the old social order, the old State and its reactionary armed forces and police. The revolutionary war is now entering its fifth year. Two of those against the old armed forced themselves. This historical fact has radically changed the conditions, it has shown how through an armed struggle the obsolete system crumbles and the

New Power is built for the people, for the oppressed. This new and irreversible process will continue to develop more and more as the principal problem of the Peruvian State, because it is its negation, its destruction. It is against this process that the old state will have to confront more and more in defense of the exploiting classes and of their imperialist master. The people, the masses, will increasingly join the peasant war going on in the countryside, since as Lenin stated, hunger itself impulses them:

"In the West, tens of millions of people are suffering the torments of hunger. That is, precisely, what makes the social revolution inevitable, since the social revolution does not emerge out of the programmes but from the fact that tens of millions of people say: 'rather than live and starve, we prefer to die fighting for the revolution.'"

Therefore, we must ask, what are the implications of elections? Do the people need to go to the ballot boxes? It is to the advantage of the people to vote? Seeing our own Peruvian experience, what revolutionary transformation have the people achieved through elections or in parliamentary activities? Every conquest won by the people has been wrested away in the course of the people's struggles. As a result of these struggles, laws were enacted. From the beginning the state started cutting back and initiating a process to reduce the effects of these laws or do away with them entirely, as is shown in the history of labor legislation in the country. The victory of political rights has followed a similar course. All of this clearly has been won outside the frame of the conquest of Power, since for a revolutionary, power is only conquered by means of revolutionary violence. In Peru is simply the armed struggle from the countryside to the city.

Furthermore, let ask ourselves, what benefits have the people really won by the participation in the Constituent Assembly and

in the general elections of 80? In the first case, simply to serve the third restructuring of the reactionary Peruvian State in this century, with the results already saw. In the second case, the resurgence of the government of Belaunde that is one of the biggest sellouts of our history and which has drowned our people in widespread hunger and bloodiest genocide.

Moreover, looking in perspective, what can the people hope for, the masses, expect from participating in the general elections of 1985? Well, simply and plainly: To Vote is to avail the social system and to elect another government that will bring more hunger and more genocide! It will help landlord-bureaucratic State to replace, according to its own laws and conditions, their authorities who shall exert the class dictatorship against the people and in favor of maintaining the semi-feudal and semi-colonial society in whose womb bureaucratic capitalism is developing, for the benefit of the ruling classes and their principal master, Yanqui imperialism. To vote is to help install a government who will bring still more hunger, since this is determined by the needs and the class character of the old State of which it is a part. To vote is to help establish a government which will still be more genocidal than the current one, since this too is determined by the needs of the old state, to defend its decrepit society in the face of the revolution, that way it will also push the Old State to defend their obsolete society facing the people's struggle and mainly before the push of the armed struggle which with guns is destroying the old to create the new: the forms of the New Power, of the New Society, sustained by the people rising up in arms.

The people cannot help their exploiters and oppressors, they cannot help them to resolve their problems, they cannot avail their social system, even less to help elect another government bringing still more hunger and more genocide. Since that is not

their road nor it helps their own interests, the only thing that can be presented today is, NOT TO VOTE! ; and the only truly popular answer before the elections by the reactionary State that brings hunger and genocide.

### III. EXPAND THE GUERRILLA WAR TO CONQUER POWER FOR THE PEOPLE!

The Communist Party of Peru, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party reconstituted combating revisionism, including within its own ranks, a party of the new type to conquer Power for the proletariat and the people, assumed its role of applying revolutionary violence by initiating the armed struggle on 17 May 1980. Thus, the class struggle of the proletariat and the people of Peru have taken a leap in its long journey. The political struggle continues as revolutionary war, taking armed struggle as the principal form and the revolutionary armed forces as its main form of organization.

In this manner our party left behind a historical baggage, more than 50 years old, and has overcome a dark and rotten electoralism imposed on the masses. With dynamite and bullets it began to write the genuine people's liberation, armed and united from the beginning with the people, mainly the peasants, who have always supported the most heroic actions of the Peruvian revolution, and do so today more than ever as the armed struggle has fulfilled the centuries old hope in an unextinguishable bonfire.

As Chairman Mao said: "When its existence is threatened, the exploiting class always resorts to violence. As soon as it foresees revolution, it strives to annihilate it through violence . . . It uses violence also to repress the revolutionary people from the moment in which they launch themselves to the conquest of Power" Or as

the second quote at the beginning says: "All reactionaries attempt to eliminate the revolution through mass slaughters . . . "

The old Peruvian State has acted and will continue to do so in the future in accordance with these laws. First they mobilized their police forces: Guardia Civil (GC), Guardia Republicana (GR), Policia de Investigaciones (PIP) and its elite counterinsurgency forces: *sinchis*, the self-proclaimed "Llapan Atic,", *Dircote*, etc.; they applied their notorious persecutions, tortures, imprisonments and murders with the brutality and cruelty that are their nature. Then they started their patrols, home searches, and raids in the city and countryside, mainly in the countryside, following the reactionary law of: "Burn all, loot all, kill all." These armed forces at the height of their actions, at most were able to launch three operatives (January and October of 81, and in March of 82), which were highly advertised and inflated by the press, and which despite being led and supported directly by the Armed Forces ended up in total failure, suffering sound defeats at the hands of the revolution, a fact that even the reactionary press had to admit. Thus, the police forces were used as cannon fodder and guinea pigs caught in their own contradictions in the reactionary camp.

Despite the clamor which demanded their participation in the anti-guerrilla warfare, the armed forces of the Peruvian State did not enter the war directly until the end of 1982, due to the opposition of Belaunde, who was fearful that the military would use their participation to stage a coup d'etat against him or take over the government bit by bit. The Armed Forces entered the war all three together: Army, Navy and Air Force, although the first two ones as the principal force, so to be jointly responsible since no one wants to be blamed alone by their counterrevolutionary actions. But from the beginning the self-proclaimed "tutelar institutions of the fatherland" acted using *mesnadas*, to camouflage themselves, among them, even dressing

like peasants and civil guards, to commit atrocities and mass slaughters in the vain attempt to separate us from the masses. They carried out numerous bloody massacres like those in Huambo, Iquicha, Sacsamarca, etc., among them the massacre of the journalists.

These actions of the armed forces were all approved by the Council of National Defense with the express authorization and congratulation of Belaunde himself. Yet, those attempts failed because of the stunning blows at the hands of the revolutionary forces, and due to the necessity to conduct the municipal elections of November of 83, the Armed Forces carried out generalized massacres. Thus, in less than two months more than 800 people were assassinated in the neighborhoods of Ayacucho, and then begin the disappearances. These were vile, ignominious, and unpunished crimes committed with impunity.

July of 1984 brought important state measures, although they were not public, which is yet another violation of their own judicial system. The Joint Command of the armed forces conferred upon itself the right to intervene in any part and every part of the country 'to fight the guerrillas,' and on their own discretion and request, to create political-military commands and establish emergency zones. Thus the country remains at the control and expense of the Joint Command and the Executive extends carte blanche to the Armed Forces so they can use it as they see fit. This is the so-called Peruvian democracy today. It is under this authority that they carry out new plans, premeditated raking operations and, under death threats, forcefully concentrate part of the masses under pressure to simulate a supposed struggle among peasants, when in fact it is simply and clearly a copy of the "strategic hamlets" used in Vietnam, or the "peasant organizations," formed in Guatemala under Yankee guidance and supervision. The war has been broadened and intensified,



especially in the countryside, where the Armed Forces have to confront a genuine peasant war led by the PCP, and despite the sinister genocides they carry on their sinister plan to separate the guerrillas from the masses ending in a total failure.

Therefore, they cannot proclaim victory and recently their own Minister of War himself spoke of the necessity of taking time and having patience to fight the guerrillas, of the need for stronger measures and of the support of all Peruvians. This was a clear confession of the difficulties they have in confronting an armed struggle which follows the principles of the People's War. Such reactionary difficulties are even manifested in the uneasiness of the Pope who, while in Ayacucho, in that Papal meeting with the repressive forces, preceded by more than a month of intense persecutions and raids, the Pope blessed the criminal weapons, consecrated the mass graves of infamy, sanctified the counterrevolutionary war, blessed the genocidal armed forces and police, mainly its bloodthirsty chiefs, exonerated and what is more, supported the government of Belaunde and called on him to annihilate us as soon as possible. And in a bombastic tone he threatened us to change our course, to abandon the revolution, in concrete to submit ourselves to the ruling order, to betray the people. To this "communique" we have given our immediate, firm and complete reply on February 4th, with the massive blackout which placed all of Lima and the entire central region of the country in the dark.

What has the armed struggle achieved in almost five years? The year 1980 can be defined as the Beginning, 81 and 82 as the beginning of the development of the guerrilla warfare and of the formation of the first People's Committees, embryonic forms of the New Power. From that time to the present, the war has concentrated on establishment/counter establishment, that is, on the counterrevolutionary war to destroy the New Power and the

revolutionary war to defend it, develop it, and build it, by destroying little by little and more each time, the rotten and reactionary old Power. In these nearly five years we have carried out more than 20,000 actions. The Party has multiplied its membership many times and has the prestige as it never had before, within and outside the country; we have constructed a People's Guerrilla Army of thousands of fighters; and what is more important, hundreds of People's Committees have been formed, we strive to develop the support bases and to advance in the formation of the People's Republic of New Democracy, it has emerged, then, the New Power and it is being developed by exercising real state functions.

In synthesis, the PCP is carrying on a successful and growing armed struggle, following the standards of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the one and only genuine communist ideology; an armed struggle which is fulfilled in function of a new democratic revolution, according to Chairman Mao's New Democracy, with the aim of doing away with imperialism, to destroy the subsisting feudal landlords' property, and confiscating the means of bureaucratic capitalism; this is an armed struggle that serves world revolution and receives the support of the international proletariat, mainly of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in which our Party is a member. We base ourselves on the masses of the country who support us, mainly the poor peasantry. We are not linked nor we will ever be linked to any superpower or any other power, since we firmly serve the revolution guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the guiding thought which is the application of Marxism to our reality. And today our immediate goal is: To expand the guerrilla warfare to conquer power for the people!

LONG LIVE THE ARMED STRUGGLE! DON'T VOTE!

DON'T VOTE!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!

SINGLE DOCUMENT  
DEMANDS OF THE PRISONERS OF WAR  
OF THE SHINING TRENCHES OF  
COMBAT OF FRONTON, LURIGANCHO  
AND CALLAO.

LIMA, PERÚ, 18 JUNE 1986.

- 1.- Regarding minutes of July 16th and October 31st of 1985., signed by the representatives of the Ministry of Justice, INPE, Judicial Power, Ministry of Public on one side and on the other side by the representatives of the special prisoners.
- 2.- Guarantees against the new genocide which the government of APRA, the navy and other reactionaries plot against the inmates [on the charge] of "terrorism".
- 3.- No to the transfer of the judicial processes to provinces; nor of the special prisoners. Repealing of the 2nd article of the Law 24499.
- 4.- Increase of the alimentary aid to a minimum of I/. 15 00 daily (1), this benefit will be made extensive to all prisons.
- 5.- Discharge of the president of INPE, Manuel Aquezolo for being accomplice to the genocide on the October 4th 1985. in Lurigancho.
- 6.- Delivery of the bodies of the killed on October 4th 1985. to their families, complying with the resolution of the First Correctional Tribunal of Lima of October 9th 1985.
- 7.- Immediate transfer of the 16 inmates for "terrorism" in Canto

Grande to the pavilions where the special prisoners of Lurigancho are located.

8.- Ceasure of threats, persecution and detentions of the families of the special inmates by the War Navy, DIRCOTE and APRA government.

9.- Closure of the prison of Canto Grande for being contrary to the human dignity.

10.- That the reduction of Sundays and festive days remains ineffective for the computation of 2 for 1.

11.- Acceleration of the trials; for the respect of the right for defense.

12.- Annulment of the regulation of INPE to prohibit the introduction of all kinds of fruits and plastic containers, for being contrary to the health of the political prisoners and common ones;

13.- Discharge of the provocateur employees Guevara, Gonzalez, Jayo, Aybar and Retes from Fronton, as well as the Chief of Security Isabel Guerrero and the mayor Rosa Lermo in Callao.

14.- Suppression of the rubbish dumps in Lurigancho.

15.- Electric power supply 24 hours per day in Fronton.

16.- Reparation of the water, sewer and electric system in Callao and Lurigancho.

17.- Against requisition for being massacres and robbery of inmates.

18.- Attention, treatment and supply of medicines for the inmates that have fallen ill. Evacuation of the sick to the hospitals.

Increase of the health budget 100%.

19.- No to the intervention of the War Navy in Fronton, nor humiliating body searches of the war prisoners' families by the Navy officials.

20.- Ceasure of the terrible politics of missing persons.

21.- Support to the popular struggle in Peru and for the struggle of the social detainees, political prisoners and war prisoners in the world.

22.- Delivery of clean materials, cots, mattresses, linen, pyjamas for the inmates of Peru.

23.- That the extension of the corresponding benefits to the special prisoners in the whole country becomes effective.

24.- No reprisal against the special inmates, nor against their families and lawyers.

25.- Publication of this agreement and of the minutes from July 16th and October 31st 1985.

26.- Presence of the journalists during agreement signing and the execution of thereof.

# NOTHING AND NOBODY CAN DEFEAT US!

PCP - CENTRAL COMMITTEE - PERU, 1986

With deep affection for the love of truth. and Liberty. I have nothing in my hands that remains of the LTC. except this ashtray labor of prisoners of war who now lie on their cowardly murdered bodies. and the abject world, the History the masses. will judge these war criminals. You see all the men of the earth in the bench of the accused and will be sentenced as such war criminals who today must be shaking. Nothing and no one can defeat us, the river increases its natural cause, the overflow is a Law.

There is a logic. The reactionaries generating disturbances and failing until their final ruin. The village also has its Law: fighting - fail. Returning to fight, we can fail again. We will return to fighting until the final Victory that calls us. Bloodshed are banners that call for all people to achieve what we have craved, power. We are condemned to succeed, it's a beautiful sentence. We were born to win.

This is already a grand reality.

They can grind us. Blow us to smithereens. but they can not break our communist morality.

We are ready to die.

The moral of the class is at stake. It must be defended. and we will do it with blood, anguish and tears.

It can not be any other way. It is the only way to blow them to

smithereens. And we will do it in a deep storm.

In desperation the reactionaries are losing more control; no more than ever we need not do so. Only teach the world the reactionary nature of the class that they defend, people will simply not exist as such but strictly to change the world in the image and likeness of the working class, organized vanguard of the Communist Party of Peru.

Only the war will deeply touch the people until the last fold of their souls, from the singing to the cries, and from the cries to the singing, there is no other free way, and we have voluntarily chosen this hard, long and bloody road of the victorious and invincible people's war that the Party and our people carry forward. It is natural that the reactionaries act this way.

We have already been told wisely, the more vile the more deeply the reactionaries will dig their own graves: that's how it is, that's how it will be.

As a fighter of this heroic Shining Trench of Combat who has resisted tenaciously the bombing. of the reactionary genocidal Armed Forces, dishonor of the national heroes. Brave to kill cowardly to die. They know how to kill but don't know how to die.

The people will never forget the blood shed from it's best children.

Beloved people from around the world, your communist children of war will not fail you, especially at this very moment. We will hoist high the red flags of Communism.

We have bright prospects.



What can we do, well our destiny is to succeed. The last word is that we are winning.

We fight clearly for our cause, for Communism.

We'll talk about other issues on another day.

I reaffirm my commitment to our revolution, to the world revolution, with the blood of our people, of our brave fighters with the blood of our communist comrades that flows freely crumbling the old and creating the new.

Never again will I see their faces, their smiles but that lives within my heart. I will be the bearer of its ideals that are mine, that are of our people.

I will follow your examples. to fight for our people to serve the people wholeheartedly without any personal motive. with complete selflessness.

Long live Chairman Gonzalo, guarantee of victory!  
Long live the Communist Party of Peru!  
Glory to the fallen fighters!

A Fighter - June 19, 1986

NOTE - Letter from a fighter, member of the People's Guerrilla Army (Ejercito Guerrillero Popular), written on June 19, 1986 ("DAY OF HEROISM"), amid the heroic resistance of the rebellion against genocide, when the sinister reactionary armed forces, commanded by the genocidal Alan Garcia, assaulted the shining trench of combat in Peru's "El Fronton" prison. I hand it over before I die. We publish it, as it was drafted, so that history records it.

## DAY OF HEROISM RESOLUTION

PCP - CENTRAL COMMITTEE - PERU, JUNE 1986

Continuing the path of its predecessor, the reactionary aprista government since its inception has applied genocide against the people's war, covering it with bombastic demagoguery through the accomplice support of electoral opportunists, confirmed by Aqomarca, Umaru, Bellavista and Llocllapampa; crimes committed by the armed forces and police forces of the Peruvian State.

The reaction pointed ominously against the prisoners of war, planning their genocidal annihilation that was finalized on October 4 last year in the cowardly and brutal murder of thirty fighters in the Lurigancho prison; unpunished heinous crimes that only the triumphant people can punish.

On June 18, 1986 at the El Fronton, Lurigancho and Callao prisons, the prisoners of war rose in rebellion against the newly underway genocide, after reiterating and denouncing publicly, before the proper courts and authorities, of the carnage the government and its armed forces were plotting; they rebelled in defense of the revolution and their lives, demanding claims for twenty six very fair and rational grievances.

On the nineteenth, the reactionary APRA government led by Alan García, after grotesquely manipulating the farce called the "Peace Commission," triggered the most obstinate and dark operation of extermination: mobilizing the Army, Navy, Air Force and police forces, under the Joint Command, consummated the most infamous genocide, killing hundreds of guerrillas and

children of the people, war prisoners, bathing himself once again in the people's burning blood. Fall on Alan Garcia, his Cabinet, the Joint Command, the police and armed forces indelible shame for the people will not forget and that only he would sanction!

Fighters of the People's Guerrilla Army, prisoners of war, raising "to rebel is justified," fought heroically and valiantly stamped a landmark of heroism, valor and courage which history will guard as an exemplary demonstration of the heroic people that only people's war can generate.

Thus, June 19 is immortally stamped as the DAY OF HEROISM, the blood of these heroes bears fruit on the armed revolution, dousing it more, rising like a monumental glinting flag, inexhaustible battle cry that brings the inevitable final victory.

The belligerently glorious death of these prisoners of war covers itself with the blood that's already been shed, and before this the communists, combatants and children of the people, armed, have assumed the irrevocable commitment to follow their shining example, towards developing the People's War serving the world revolution until the unfading light of communism settles around the globe under the undefeated flags of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung, the ever living Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Glory to the fallen heroes, long live the revolution!

## DEVELOP THE PEOPLE'S WAR, SERVING THE WORLD REVOLUTION

"A revolution must go through a civil war. This is a rule. And to see only the ills of war but not its benefits is a one-sided view. It is of no use to the people's revolution to speak unilaterally or one-sided of the destructiveness of the war."

"It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue. It demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work."

Chairman Mao Tse-tung

### CONTEXT OF THE SIXTH YEAR.

May 17 mark the sixth anniversary of the launching of the People's War in Peru. Six years ago the Communist Party took up arms to carry out the democratic revolution by overthrowing the exploitation and oppression of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and the subsisting semi-feudalism, in order to conquer power for the proletariat and the people, within the context and at the service of the world revolution. Since then, under the invincible banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Guiding Thought, we have march along the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside, and have been waging a revolutionary war taking the countryside and city as a single unit with the countryside the principal theater of armed action and the complementary but necessary. In synthesis,

a People's War, in essence a peasant war led by the Communist Party, whose core is the generation of revolutionary base areas.

These years of armed struggle can be summarized as follows: 1980 was the beginning of the armed struggle, of guerrilla warfare; 1981 and 1982 saw the unfolding of a guerrilla struggle and the birth of the People's Committees, the new political power of workers, peasants and petite bourgeoisie, a joint dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat through its Party; 1983 and 1984 were years of struggle focusing on restoration and counter restoration, that is, of counterrevolutionary war that try to smash the new political power and restore the old order, and revolutionary war to defend, develop and build the newly arising people's power, a hard-fought struggle waged between the reactionary Armed Forces and the People's Guerrilla Army; from 1985 through today there have been a continuing defense, development and building to preserve the base areas and expand the People's War throughout our mountains from North to South.

Since 1983 the Peruvian revolution evolves under the great political strategic conception of "Building Base Areas" and in military terms of developing People's War, which means principally guerrilla warfare complemented by guerrilla actions such as sabotage, selective annihilation and propaganda and agitation, so as to carry out the central task of building, preserving and developing base areas and spreading the People's War throughout the country, taking into account the variability that the fluidity of guerrilla warfare imposes not just on the new state power but on all forms of revolutionary construction and work. This basic plan of "Building Bases" forms the context for the present "Plan for the Great Leap," based on the specific political strategy of "two republics, two roads, two poles," that is, the Republic of the old reactionary Peruvian state vs. the New

Democratic People's Republic in formation; the old dead-end road of votes which only serves to preserve the old exploiting order vs. the new road of arms which is transforming Peruvian society to serve the people. These are two poles, one of the big bourgeoisie heading up the dictatorship of the ruling classes in the service of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semi feudalism, the black and odious past which is being destroyed, versus the proletarian pole, represented by its Communist Party in the leadership of the democratic revolution whose victory will open the way to socialism and through the course of repeated cultural revolutions, fused with the great epic of the world revolution, someday will lead to communism, humanity's sole, necessary and an inevitable goal that can never be abandoned. Through the military strategy of generalizing People's War, this strategy has taken the concrete form of four campaigns, each with its specific content.

#### ON THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Since every war is a struggle between two camps, the development of the People's War inevitably led to the unleashing of counterrevolutionary war. The Peruvian state, the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and landlords under the protection of imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, defended their threatened existence. At first they tried to minimize the problem in order to preserve their phony democratic image and not endanger the influx of capital in the form of loans and investment. They sent in their police forces, which despite their abuses, outrages and crimes suffered humiliating defeat and were forced to withdraw from the countryside in the disputed areas and seek refuge in the provincial or departmental capitals. Thus, all the police operations, launched with such loud and confusing propaganda, were soundly defeated and the first People's Committees arose. In the face of the advance of the new state power, the Belaunde government abandoned its reservations to

send in the reactionary Armed Forces; the class necessity of the exploiters and oppressors carried the day and the task of restoring public order was handed over to the Armed Forces (the Army, Navy and Air Force), the backbone of the state, supported by the police forces (the Civil Guard, Republican Guard, and Investigative Police).

In December 1982, a state of emergency was declared in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, and it was placed under the Armed Forces' political-military command. This status was later extended to other areas in the departments of Pasco, Huanuco and San Martin; it is still in force essentially despite some variations. Military control reached a new and important phase with the imposition of a state of emergency and curfew in Lima and Callao beginning in February 1986, which subjected the capital of the Republic and its more than six million inhabitants to military rule. As a result of these moves, seven and a half of Peru's 20 million people are under military authority: a million and half people live under the absolute and unrestrained political-military authority of the Armed Forces, the new lords over their lives and property, revived feudal tyrants decked out with noose and knife; while six million people in the very capital of this much-touted democracy live without any guarantees or rights, subject to overbearing brutality and disguised murder under a martial law which goes so far as to give itself the right to ban one or another specific artistic performance even in public gathering previously authorized by the military.

How have the Armed Forces carried out the counterrevolutionary war? Basically they have followed the doctrines of their master, Yankee imperialism, with its theories of counterrevolutionary war based on its own experiences, especially in Vietnam, and particularly the lessons it has drawn from its fight against the armed struggle in Latin America, especially Central America. To

this fundamental theoretical basis they have added the "antiterrorist" experience of Israel and their chums in Argentina, as well as advice from West Germany, Taiwan, Spain, Britain, etc. On top of all this they throw in their few months of experience in the 1965 anti guerrilla struggle and the more limited experience of La Convencion. Operations are under the leadership of the Armed Forces Joint Command, acting according to the instructions of the National Defense Council headed by the President of the Republic, whether it is Belaunde or Alan Garcia, who have been directly and undeniably responsible for every measure carried out, as well as for the war's overall political leadership, which means they bear the main responsibility for the conduct of the counterrevolutionary war. In short, they have applied world counterrevolutions' well-known strategy against revolutionary struggle, armed subversion and People's War, a strategy which has been defeated many times, smashed and thoroughly and completely beaten by the theory of People's War, time and again demonstrating to the world the superiority of the proletariat strategy over that of imperialism.

### Masses Against Masses.

When the Armed Forces came in they had already been studying the revolutionary war for three years as well as advising and planning the police actions, so they had certain advantages from the beginning, and obviously they had more and better human and technical resources than the police. They immediately began to implement their plan of setting masses against masses, following the old imperialist doctrine of using natives to fight against natives. First they used pre trained units made up of hand-picked army veterans and peasants linked to local tyrants and livestock rustlers, whom they had employed as agents and infiltrators among the peasants, and hooked to the refurbished intelligence network they had begun to set up years before in the



1970s. Based on these agents, infiltrators, spies and stool pigeons, aided by the authorities local tyrants and petty tyrants and their flunkies, they formed vigilante bands under military authority take part in joint actions with police and Armed Forces (who they often acted disguised as peasants or police), unleashing white terror in the countryside assassinating Party members, fighters, mass leaders and peasants carrying out real witch hunts against revolutionaries and the advanced as well as robbery, rape, torture, looting, arson and slaughter. This is how they carried out the sinister policy of burning all, looting all, and killing all.

Later, they used the white terror and death threats to subjugate a part of the masses, and in this way masses under direct vigilante coercion and control were forced to aid the counterrevolutionary war. These coerced people drafted from among the masses acted as guards, arrested and murdered guerrillas, carried out razing operations against neighboring communities or towns and even more distant ones, and took part in search and pursuit operations against the guerrillas. Later these people were regrouped along with people from neighboring areas into strategic hamlets under direct military rule. Then, in addition to being forbidden to come and go freely, since they are not allowed to go anywhere without the military, even to work, and subject to constant control, they were militarized and organized into "patrols" and "defense committees," forced to take up rudimentary weapons, and, sunk in starvation and poverty, obligated to take part militarily in the white terror and the counterrevolutionary war. In conclusion, while the police forces were also used as cannon fodder by the Armed Forces, as even the soldiers, sailors and aviators have always been, these coerced masses have been the main and real cannon fodder in this sinister plan of pitting masses against masses, of using natives to fight natives.

These coerced masses have been and still are used to spearhead all

the reactionary attacks and operations or to surround the repressive forces like a human shield. These coerced masses have suffered 2,600 losses (including vigilantes), almost five times more than the number of uniformed soldiers and police killed (without taking into account the hundreds of infiltrators, agents and informers.)

Genocide.

When their policy of masses against masses proved unable to contain the People's War, the reactionary Armed Forces resorted to the most evil, perverted and criminal genocide, one of the greatest infamies in the history of the Republic of Peru. The military showed its genocidal tendencies from the beginning, in Huambo, Iquicha, Huaychao, etc. Belaunde cynically saluted and approved of these incidents as "the Ayacucho peasant's gallant answer to terrorism." It should be made clear that he himself had approved and authorized such actions and not only publicly praised but called for genocide: this is the self-proclaimed democrat, humanist and Christian "President" full of respect for the Constitution and the law, covered forever in the blood of the people which began to flow in torrents. Among the victims were the journalists cowardly murdered in Uchuraccay.

They began to wipe out the peasants and their communities and small towns in 1983 in the department of Ayacucho. In June of that year, in Espite, in the province of Cangallo, they used helicopters to strafe the masses with gun fire, and throw grenades at villagers who were trying to flee through the mountains. In July, in the towns of Occopeja and Uchuraccay, in the province of Huanta, again they used helicopters to strafe the masses with bullets, and wiped them out with grenades. In Paccha, a town in Vinchos, in the province of Huamanga, the majority of the population was murdered and the rest carried away to Lima. In

July, the first monstrously tortured bodies began to turn up in the streets of the city of Ayacucho and the surrounding areas; during the two months leading up to the November elections, the bodies of more than 800 people were found, people who had been brutally murdered after bestial tortures and their bodies left to rot. In November, in Silvia, in the province of La Mar, in a reprisal for an ambush against the Army, they arrested 60 people and indiscriminately killed 20 of them. A month before, in Sillco, in the province of Huanta, they threw grenades and fired directly on the masses for the first time. Culminating this slaughter, on election day, in Socos, in the province of Huamanga, the local police detachment tortured and murdered more than 50 people who had been taking part in a wedding party. Officially, 37 people were reported dead.

Along with all this reactionary white terror, they began to set up concentration camps in the department of Ayacucho, massive and evil torture centers, under the control of the Army in the "Los Cabitos" barracks in the city of Ayacucho, in Totos (Cangallo) and Qoisa and Pichari (La Mar), and under the control of the Navy in Huanta. In the Totos camp, as of July 1983 they had secretly buried more than a hundred people; more than 20 of them had their throats cut, the prisoners were tortured and buried alive, new prisoners were forced to dig graves more than three meters deep and then were shoved in, while others were thrown in with their hands and feet tied. In Totos the torture is especially brutal and sadistic. To terrify the people, they cut off heads and impale them on stakes.

But the genocide was not confined to Ayacucho. In October 1983, it spread to the department of Pasco, the country's mining center; there, in Chinche, a hamlet of the province of Alcides Carrion, 45 peasants were wiped out. On November 13, the day of the municipal elections, three helicopters were used to strife with

machine-gun the population in Parabana, in Tauacaja province in the department of Huancavelica, killing more than 50 people in retaliation for an ambush that guerrillas had carried out against an Army patrol that day.

During 1984 the genocide became macabre, reaching the heights of horror. The Armed Forces, mainly, as well as the police, unleashed their evil, rotten, inflamed, blind and rabid hatred against the people, in their frustrated efforts to stop the revolutionary war by isolating the guerrillas from the masses of peasants, particularly the poor peasants. Once again, in their own tradition, the armed reaction fed upon the flesh and blood of the unarmed people. Let's look at some of the "heroism" that serves to prop up their false glory and unfounded pride.

The genocidal slaughters.

In the department of Ayacucho at the end of June they killed 150 people in the San Francisco area. July 5th, they killed 30 peasants in Chiara; on the 8th, they killed 40 after an operation in the village Rosario; the 12th, they wiped out 30 people in Pomabamba; on the 15th, in a reprisal for an action at Apacheta they killed 17; the 16th, 25 tortured bodies were found along the highway to Huamanguilla. August 3rd, the tortured bodies of 37 people were found in Puramanta; on the 18th the corpses of 17 tortured children and adolescents were found in Cocahuichun, in Via de los Libertadores, and 8 bodies, two of them children, in Leonpata; the 27th, 19 people were found murdered in Sajrarumi and 21 in San Francisco. September 1st, 23 peasants were killed in Churrubamba and Misiquibamba. The same month, in Paraiso, in Mariscal Caceres province in the department of San Martin, they killed 22 peasants. In the department of Huancavelica, between the 15th and 23rd of October, an Army operation killed 75 peasants in Milpo and 15 in Pillo-Pachamarca. November 19th,

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once again in Ayacucho, they wiped out 50 peasants in Putis and Chullay; in Lucmahuaico, Vilcabamba, in the department of Cusco, soldiers and vigilantes from Andahuaylas killed 22 peasants on the 23rd and 20 more on the 26th. Once again in Huancavelica, December 6th the police killed 38 peasants in Cuni, near Marcas in the province of Acobamba; the same month 16 bodies were found in Ayahuarcuna, in Ayacucho.

Some actions that took place in June and July in Ayacucho as part of this sinister wave of genocide in 1984 should be specifically mentioned. In Vinchos, they killed 40 commissioners of various people's committees. In Remillapata they shot a child nine years old and another of 11 together with their mother and their father who was the Security Commissioner; in Mayopampa they threw a commissioner into a burning building. These vile murders, so merciless and ferocious that children are shot because they happen to be the children of members of the new political power, is a monstrous expression of the hate and fear with which this new political power fills them. In Balcon 70 Marines came in and murdered 18 peasants, among them six children whose bodies they dumped in their trucks. A third of the dead were children, this murder of children is a constant policy to terrorize and break the parents, as well as a disgusting and often-used way of punishing revolutionaries especially. Nevertheless, the Marines came back again the next day, sarcastically and contemptuously offering their victims food, trying to buy them off. The people quite justly became enraged and drove them away. After an ambush in Pichari, the "glorious" Civil Guard came in and stopped a truck carrying passengers, who were taken off and killed. Local forces of the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) buried these 20 people, but in shameless cynicism the murder was attributed to the PGA. This is another common trick used by the reactionary forces who often disguise themselves in peasant clothes in order to commit atrocities, loot, rape, arson, razing and

the most frightful crimes, especially against children, and then blame the guerrillas so as to turn the masses against them. One example of this is the murder of 50 peasants by the Marines in a place called Azangaro, 20 minutes from Luricocha, during this same period.

Another example of their terror tactics took place in San Francisco, when peasants going down to the jungle to harvest were indiscriminately wiped out, without even being asked for their identification papers. In Huamanguilla they killed nine peasants, burning one peasant alive. That is one of their usual ways of terrifying people by showing their mercilessness toward anyone considered a communist or a guerrilla.

A similar example happened in Chuschi, January 10, 1983, where they tied dynamite to a peasant and blew him up while shouting, "This is how terrorists die! " This barbaric policy has been implemented since the beginning of the Armed Forces' intervention and continues today. In this black wave of death razing became widespread. A small example is the operation in Incaaraqay, where after stealing everything they burned down 500 houses. The extermination made whole towns disappear; July 15, the Armed Forces backed by vigilantes killed the entire population of Quinoa and completely wiped the town off the face of the earth. But even this was not enough for them. The white terror continued fattening on the people's flesh. On August 22, 1984, in a reprisal for an ambush, a Marine unit in Silvia arrested 50 youth at random and shot them at the spotlight; emulating the German fascists who set Europe aflame during World War II, they murdered 10 sons and daughters of the people for every Marine who fell in combat. November 10th, Marines aided by the Republican Guard finished off 40 peasants in Quimbiri, after having savagely tortured them in Luisiana, a telling example of their ongoing policy of covering their tracks and hiding their

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crimes by exterminating the victims.

Discoveries of common graves.

Another shocking proof of the genocide perpetrated by the Armed Forces has been the discovery of common graves, a macabre and disgusting sight. The inextinguishable death cries of men, women and children shook the national conscience. The broken lives of the people have fueled history's enraged clamor for class justice, a justice that only the advancing armed revolution can and will bring about, as well as the constant and unsilenceable exposure of the barbarism with which the Peruvian state defends itself, using its Armed Forces, under the leadership of whatever government happens to be on duty, whether it is the Popular Action party of Belaunde or Alan Garcia's APRA, because what is at stake is their class dictatorship, their very order of exploitation and oppression. In the department of Ayacucho on August 19, 1984, a grave with 10 bodies was found in Via de Los Libertadores, and on the 22nd, a grave with 30 corpses along the Huanta-Mayo road, 30 kilometers from Huanta. On the 23rd seven common graves with a total of 89 bodies in an advanced state of decomposition were found in Pucayacu, a discovery which profoundly shook public opinion and unleashed the masses' condemnation and repudiation of the Armed Forces and the Belaunde government then in power. The political military command of the region was in the hands of General Adrian Huaman and the officer directly responsible for the massacre was Naval Captain Alvaro Artaza. Garcia tried to reappoint Huaman as the chief of Ayacucho, and Barrantes used to call him "the peasant general." The trial of Captain Alvaro took place within the Navy itself, and the present APRA government gave him a promotion, closed his case and sent him to Spain for his own protection.

The same day a common grave with 30 bodies was found in

Ayahuarcoma (Macacharca); on the 25th other bodies were found in Quinoa and Muyuri; and the 28th a grave with 12 people whose throats had been cut was found in Cocahuischaca, Via de Los Libertadores. In September peasants exposed the existence of common graves in Toldorumi, Zamatapampa and Usutapampa in the province of Victor Fajardo, and in Pichuyrumi and Qarpaqasa in Cangallo. The authorities and the daily newspapers paid little attention to these exposures by the peasants, just as they ignored many others in order to hide the real extent of the genocide. September 13th, three new common graves with 50 dead were discovered in Iribamba; on the 14th a grave with five bodies was found in Luricocha and another in Qasa-Orqo with 10 tortured corpses. On the 18th, a grave with five bodies in Yanaorqo. October 18th a grave with 25 bodies in Vado Chico (Huanta); on the 20th, one with eight dead in Capitanpampa, another with three in Ayahuarcoma and a third with five corpses in Iribamba; the 25th, four new graves with 41 bodies in Vado Chico; the 28th, a grave with four dead bodies in Laurente (Huanta). November 13th a grave with 15 bodies in Huamanguilla; the 19th, three graves containing 45 murder victims were found in Las Vegas, at kilometer 25 of the Ayacucho-Huanta road; and the 22nd, three graves with 10 bodies were found in Neque.

The genocide continued in 1985, though not with the same intensity. Right up until Belaunde left office, common graves continued to be discovered in Ayacucho: January 11th a grave was found in Paquec (Huanta) with four bodies; January 16th four graves were uncovered one in Huamanguilla with 11 bodies, a second in Qanqana (Huanta) with five, and in the province of Huamanga, a third in Pava with three bodies and a fourth in Pacha with 16. Two graves with 3 bodies were found March 10th near Huanta. The massacres continue in this region, as these statistics show: February 23rd, in Canaire they killed 50 peasants; on June 26 in Miopata-Suco (Huanta) they annihilated 12. July 400



9th in Manzanayoq (Cangallo) they cut the throats of eight peasants and cut their bodies into pieces, and did the same to another eight in Pacamarca, also in the province of Cangallo. July 12th they killed 12 peasants and sacked and burned homes Waracayoq; five were killed in Chacari. This genocide also began to spread throughout the department of Huanuco: February 21st, a grave with five bodies was found in Alto Pacae; the 22nd they killed peasants in La Soledad; another grave with seven dead was found the 28th in Aucayacu. In March, they killed 30 people in Arancay. On June 27th a grave with 11 bodies was found in Yanajanja (Nuevo Progreso). Thus, the Action Popular government which had plunged the country into a bloodbath ended its term in office completely soaked in it, covering ex-president Belaunde with the indelible shame of genocide, and leaving us a valuable lesson: the more the various governments, which by turn head the old state, talks about "democracy," "human rights" and "peace" more hunger, poverty, repression, terror, murder and even genocide they furiously unleash against the Peruvian people.

How has the counterrevolutionary war gone since Garcia's government took office, especially regarding the questions we have been referring to? In political-military zone number five, a principal center of operation in the department of Ayacucho, once again on August 2nd they began an operation that razed villages Huambalpa, Carhuanca, Vilcashuaman, Vischongo and Cangallo; the 10th they razed Huamanmarca and murdered seven peasants. The genocide at Aqomarca August 14th shook all of Peru: in a place called Llocllapampa eight graves were found, containing a total of 69 corpses; in addition two people were murdered in Piteq, one in Yuraqera, one in Mayopampa, two in Ahuacpampa and three in Queuqata, all savagely killed by the Army, which would surround the village, round up the peasants, separate the men from the women and children, and rape, pillage, shoot, finish

them off, then cover some of the bodies with Iye, burn the rest and bury the unidentifiable bits and pieces of bodies in pits. In the midst of all the fanfare and demagogic bluster of Garcia about "revolution," "a national, democratic and people's state," "democracy," "respect for human rights, "not answering barbarism with barbarism, " "reconciliation, " "fighting while upholding the law" and other cheap phrases thrown to the wind by the APRA government, the exposure of Aqomarca tore apart their lies and revealed their double-dealing, shattered illusions and once again unmasked their opportunism.

Then came a great hustle and bustle in parliament, a farce of gestures and so-called presidential measures, while the "opposition" rent their clothes and made easy deals, and the people repudiated and condemned all this and advanced further toward becoming clear about the highest ruling circles. Almost a year has gone by since then. Commands have been reshuffled; Lieutenants Hurtado, Paz and Rondon have been held responsible; the various commissions have presented their reports, etc., etc. Today Hurtado has been given a promotion and sent abroad for further training, in the United States or somewhere under U.S. control; Paz also got a promotion and Rivera will undoubtedly get one in 1987. What happened to the investigation, the indictments the Army was preparing? Buried under silence. The sentence of 10 days hard labor the military investigators proposed for Lieutenant Hurtado, has it been carried out? How about justice? Just as in the case of Pucayacu, only the triumphant revolution will bring about justice.

But this smokescreen of "fighting while upholding the Constitution and the law" continued. Between August 28th and September 4th, 60 peasants were murdered in Huambalpa; in Pucayacu on August 28th a new grave containing seven bodies came to light. The "democratic" application of the principle

"fighting while upholding the Constitution and the law" went on. The villages of Aqomarca, Umaru, Incaraqay, Patin, Tankiwa, Cochapata, Mayopamba and Manallasaq were razed between the first and the 25th of September. A new genocide took place September 2nd and 3rd: Umaru and Bellavista, 66 dead, 29 murdered in Bellavista on the 2nd. Immediately afterwards, on the 3rd, 37 peasants wiped out, among them 11 children less than nine years old. September 13th they killed seven eyewitnesses to the Llocllapampa massacre, including a child of nine. The 28th four graves were found with more than 80 bodies, in Totorá, near Sachabamba.

In the department of Huanuco, four graves with 14 bodies were found in Huancar (province of Ambo), and in the department of San Martín a grave with the bodies of seven murdered people was uncovered in Situyi (province of Mariscal Cáceres).

On October 4th Peruvian society was once again shaken by another genocide, this time in the very capital of the Republic, in Lurigancho prison where 30 prisoners of war were murdered and 23 wounded, before the eyes of seven thousand prisoners. Following a preestablished plan meant to break the will of the prisoners of war and deal a blow to the revolution, the Llapanatic, the Republican Guard's anti subversive troops, armed to the teeth, were unleashed against the British Pavilion where those convicted of "terrorism" were being held. When instead of surrender they were met with heroic resistance, they used dynamite and explosive charges to open a breach in the walls, then threw dynamite into the cellblock, along with teargas and incendiary bombs. After the assault, they finished off the wounded, burned alive and brutally beat the survivors and finally burned down the cellblock to hide the evidence of their monstrous criminal genocide. But despite their cynical efforts to cover up their crime and silence all witnesses, the truth got out,

further unmasking the APRA government and its undeniable guilt for this new, cold-blooded barbarism.

November 2nd in Uchuyunga, in the province of La Mar in the department of Ayacucho, they killed 19 peasants; at the end of the year, peasants in San Martin exposed the massacres in Aucayacu, Campo Grande, Venenillo, Madre Mia and Palo de Acero. As 1986 began, this situation continued, as the following facts are enough to show: January 21st in Chururupampa, near Huanta, seven bodies were found; in Uchiza, Huanuco department, 30 people were killed in February; and in the department of Pasco, in the hamlets "Ocho de Diciembre" and "Independencia" five peasants were shot dead on their own doorsteps in retaliation for a guerrilla raid. In short, Garcia's APRA government is continuing the same genocide the Belaunde government started.

The Disappeared.

The policy of making people "disappear" has been part of the regime's genocide since the Armed Forces came in; it intensified greatly at the beginning of 1984 and has continued through today. Now, especially in the last few months, once again there have been more and more reports of people turning it up "missing." The "missing" amount to thousands of people but the exposures and protests bounce up against the official silence which denies or ignores the suits brought against it and stonewalls everything. This perverse policy, long practiced by reaction, has become especially intensified lately. Its immediate precedent was the sinister policy of "disappearances" carried out by the 1970s Argentine military government that bathed its people in blood and even more ignominiously made tens of thousands "disappear." A similar policy is being carried out here, also targeting on the poorest masses, above all peasants, who are not reported missing because of lack of any documentation or because

of the restrictions and persecutions their families face, but who undoubtedly make up the bulk of the thousands never found. They lie wrapped in the shadow of as yet undiscovered graves or in clandestine cemeteries in the many concentration camps, together with the remains of other exemplary sons and daughters of the people, of the class and of the revolution. These thousands of "missing" makes up yet another historically implacable accusation that will dig the ground out from under the reactionary Armed Forces and, along with the devastating blows of the armed people, bring about their destruction and so prepare the end of the rotten order of the Peruvian state they hold up.

What has been the result of this genocide? The evil and shameful murder of 8,700 Peruvians, 8,700 sons and daughters of the people, including 4,700 murdered from among the masses, the poorest and most exploited, especially from among the peasants as well as from the neighborhoods and shantytowns of the cities, and 4,000 disappeared, of the same classes, flesh of the same flesh. The policy of genocide carried out by the Armed Forces has cost the people, the proletariat, the peasantry and the petite bourgeoisie 8,700 of its children, who have fallen murdered, and not at all in the way claimed by phony and inconsistent revolutionaries, or those opportunists who pretend to be revolutionaries while preaching the evolution of the existing social order, or those hacks who openly or secretly scribble in defense of the system, or those such as the reaction and its flunkies who claim that the genocide is a result of the People's War. No! The genocide is clearly and specifically a policy approved and ordered by the government of the Peruvian state, proposed and implemented by the Armed Forces with the help of the police, an evil and barbarous practice begun in 1,983, cruelly and bloodily intensified in 1,984 and systematically carried out through today, and now being worsened and once again intensified by Garcia and his reactionary APRA government whose responsibility must be resoundingly exposed.

But what has been the purpose of this genocide? It is to try to contain the People's War, which by the end of 1982 had begun to establish the new political power in the form of People's Committees; to smash the guerrilla war, to separate the masses from the revolutionary war, to destroy the new political power and hold back its development, to hold back the development of the People's War; to achieve the reactionary political objectives of the Armed Forces, the Army, Navy and Air Force, institutions which together and through a division of genocidal labor among them killed 1,767 sons and daughters of the people in 1983 and "disappeared" 730, until that year there was only 14 losses among the masses and no "missing," a total of 2,497 people among the masses murdered in 1983. How about in 1984? The spiraling political genocide against the masses reached 2,522 dead and 2,881 disappeared; a total of 5,403 sons and daughters of the masses murdered, the highest peak of the genocide perpetuated so far by the Armed Forces.

Did they succeed in their objective of smashing the People's War of putting an end to it? No, because the People's War, corresponding its class character, has shown its superiority; it has proven itself capable of confronting persistent cruel violent offensives and genocide of tremendous proportion, and is more tempered, of continuing to develop and grow. In these hard times of forging our steeled heroism the turbulent trumpets of the new state are beginning to be born, pregnant with the future, the masses are showing themselves ready and willing to change our society and they are doing it; the Party, the Communist Party of Peru, leading the People's War, is fully demonstrating that is the vanguard of the proletariat and that it adheres strictly to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and its accurate and correct application to the specific concrete conditions of the democratic revolution and further, with firm resolution the Party is holding the course of the People's War, a war that is and will continue to

be marching unwaveringly toward the foundation of the People's Republic of Peru, opening the door to socialism and the final goal.

The People's War has not been smashed, stopped or held back; rather, as the regime's chieftains have been forced to admit even while continually trying to minimize it, and as their fears, frantic maneuvers and measures especially demonstrate, the People's War is expanding, developing, delivering resounding blows. Thus, the genocidal plans and the genocide itself have failed, as their policy of using masses against masses failed and as their whole reactionary strategy is failing. What has come of using masses against masses, of their genocide, of their reactionary strategy? It has once again covered the Armed Forces of the Peruvian state with the blood of the people, to an extent never before known in the history of the Republic; the genocide they have perpetrated will turn more and more against them and spur on the concentrated class hatred with which their criminal barbarity has filled the masses.

Their new heights of infamy have been registered forever in the memories of countless masses who will mete out crushing punishment to those who are politically and militarily responsible, no matter how long it may take. This blood which has been cynically and perversely spilt today has become a thundering and powerful public accusation against the Peruvian state and its Armed Forces and police, its political leaders and chieftains of crimes against humanity, and it will more and more become the unfurled banner at the center of the revolutionary storm, waving and gleaming as the victorious People's War carries out the complete and thorough justice denied it today.

What we have seen and experienced in the People's War in Peru has reaffirmed even more deeply for us the ineluctable law

established by Chairman Mao Tsetung: "All reactionaries try to eliminate the revolution through mass slaughter, and they think the more people they kill the more it will weaken the revolution. But despite the reaction's subjective 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 ineluctable law of history."

## THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR.

The application of Marxism Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian society leads to the conclusion that revolutionary violence or violent revolution, the only way to seize state power and transform the world, must take the form of People's War and more specifically a peasant war led by the Communist Party of Peru as the representative of the proletariat, a war which develops as a single unit waged principally in the countryside and complementarily in cities, following the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside whose essence is the establishment of base areas, so that the democratic revolution, culminates in the establishment of People's Republic, a great victory which must be followed by continuing the revolution through socialism and cultural revolutions, under the dictatorship of the proletariat with the firm exercise of its class violence, until achieving, together with all humanity, glorious communism, the realm of true freedom. Based on the above, there are four fundamental questions that arise and must be taken into account: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the ideology of the proletariat; the Party as the leader of the revolution, the People's War, which in our case is specified as a peasant war which follows the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside; and revolutionary base areas or the New Power. Let us examine the sixth year now completed on the light of these relevant points.



## On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

We take the stand of the international proletariat, the last class in history, with its own class interests different from and antagonistic to those of other classes, and with an aim that only the proletariat leading the people's of the world can attain, communism, the only unsurpassable new society, without exploited or exploiters, without oppressed or oppressors, without classes, without a state, without parties, without democracy, without weapons and wars, the society of "great harmony," the radical and definitive new society toward which 15 billion years of matter in motion, that part of eternal matter which we know, and humanity has been inevitably and irresistibly heading, but only by propelling the class struggle forward until it reaches the epic heights of People's War, with gun in the hands of the armed class and masses of people, and counterrevolutionary war is destroyed forever, imperialism and reaction are overthrown and swept off the face of the earth, and in the shadow of the guns of invincible People's War upon which the dictatorship of the proletariat rests, society is transformed in all spheres, destroying and eliminating all class differences and private ownership of the means of production that gives rise to them, ending war forever, and communism radiates for all humankind.

Since we take the stand of the international proletariat, we based ourselves in its ideology today Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, with Maoism principal as its third stage, the highest point of the proletariat's ideology has reached in its historical process of development. It is within this context that we take up the position and class interests of the Peruvian proletariat as part of the international working class, since only on the basis of the universal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is it possible to stand with the proletariat and fight for its interests, here or anywhere else. There is only one proletarian ideology; it is

applicable to the whole world and development is a single world process. On the other hand, ever since Marx found Marxism and through the advances made by Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the basic question has always been the application of this science to the conditions of each revolution; consequently the problem is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution, and specifically, the application of the universal law of violence, People's War, to the revolutionary war in this country. From this fusion of Marxism with our concrete reality there arises and develops a Guiding Thought, that is, the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution. In short, our starting point is the outlook of the international proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and the Guiding Thought of President Gonzalo. These are the basis of all our political, theoretical and practical action; without this basis it is not possible to serve the class firmly and consistently.

Regarding the Party.

First let's look at the need for a party; then later when we take up its building we'll deal with its present role. Since its very beginnings Marxism has held that there must be a Party to lead the struggle to seize state power; this was reiterated by Leninism and emphatically reaffirmed by Maoism. Without a revolutionary party of a new type, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, there can be no revolution for the proletariat and the people. This is a great truth that no communist can evade without ceasing to be one, a truth we Peruvian communists had to confront. The Communist Party of Peru was founded on October 7th, 1928 on a solid Marxist-Leninist basis by José Carlos Mariátegui, who provided it with basic theses concerning Peruvian society, the land question, imperialist domination, the role of the Peruvian proletariat, as well as programmatic points and a general political line and

consequent particular lines. But the founder died in 1930, less than two years afterwards; even a first congress remained pending, so that the Party did not have time to consolidate itself before trends that had already been developing took a leap, Mariátegui and his line were openly put into question, and the line was changed by Ravines. Thus opportunism usurped Party leadership and imposed its authority in the two-line struggle within the Party with the gravest consequences for the class and the revolution.

This road led to the parliamentary cretinism manifested in the 1939 elections, in the service of the comprador bourgeoisie represented by Prado. Later, during World War II, there was a phony "founding congress" which adopted the general political line of "national unity" under the guidance of Browderite revisionism, an expression of capitulation to Yankee imperialism's domination and the domestic rule of the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords, under the pretext of the struggle against fascism. Subsequently, this situation led to the Party's participation in the 1945 elections as part of the "National Democratic Front" with the APRA party, with the excuse of bringing about a democratic opening; this new electoral adventure ended when the balloon the Party had become blew up after Odria's 1948 coup d'etat. In the beginning of the sixties the fraction founded by Chairman Gonzalo began to develop within the Ayacucho Regional Committee. By fraction, what is meant is what Lenin taught: "A section in a party is a group of like-minded persons formed for the purpose primarily influencing the party in a definite direction, for the purpose of securing acceptance for their principles in the party in the purest form. For this, real unanimity of opinion is necessary." The fraction arose as the product of the development of the class struggle on the world level, especially the great struggle between Marxism and revisionism that spread Mao Tsetung Thought, as Chairman

Mao's development of Marxism-Leninism was known in the mid-1960s. This was the principal and decisive factor giving rise to the fraction.

At the same time, a substantial basis for it was provided by the development of Peruvian society, the advance of bureaucrat capitalism, the sharpening class struggle of the masses, the intensification of political activity and growing propaganda about armed struggle, and by developments in the region itself where the fraction arose, a region where the decrepitude of semi feudalism was becoming increasingly stark and where the peasantry was beginning to awaken in a particularly militant fashion reflecting a similar process going on throughout the country. Within the Party at that time, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism deepened.

The fraction headed by the Ayacucho Regional Committee fought the revisionism of Del Prado and his followers in the IV National Conference where Del Prado and Company were expelled. From then on the faction developed within the Party nationwide. The development of Marxism-Leninism by Chairman Mao and the great lessons and experiences of the Communist Party of China played a vital and decisive in this initial process. Since then both our initial commitment to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and our application of it to our conditions have developed further.

After the V National Conference in November 1965, in the two-line struggle within the Party the fraction came to fight for building the three magic weapons of the revolution: the party, armed forces and united front, demanding that these tasks are fulfilled in the light of the political line of the Conference which had established the building revolutionary armed forces for armed struggle as the principal task, but in a thousand ways the dead weight of revisionism hindered and opposed the fulfillment of the

principal task; under these circumstances the fraction, reaffirming the necessity of an ideologically united and organizationally centralized Party, called for the Reconstruction of the Party" based on "the heroic fighter." This process was carried out in three periods, each with its corresponding political strategy:

1. Defining the problem of Reconstruction, guided by the political strategy of "surrounding the cities from the countryside."

At this point the problem was to build a Party to lead the armed struggle on this road, which meant that the peasant and land question acquired tremendous importance and it was vital to put the Party's center of gravity in the countryside. Further, the decisive question of ideological and political line centered on "basing ourselves on Mao Tsetung Thought," as it was said in those days, and on "reclaiming and developing Mariátegui," with development being the outstanding aspect of this. It was not enough to reclaim him for two key reasons: the development of Marxism-Leninism by Chairman Mao Tsetung, and the development of bureaucrat capitalism in Peru. This phase took place during the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and its manifestations in various spheres of Party life and ended with the January 1969 VI Conference which approved "the Reconstruction of the Party" "on the basis of Party unity around Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought (as was said in those days now it is Maoism), Mariátegui's Thought and the general political line. "

2. Carrying Out the Reconstruction

This period was guided by the political strategy of "Reconstruct the Party" in accordance with the Party's basis of unity. October 1968 saw the coup d' etat of Velasco, who took on the task of deepening the development of bureaucrat capitalism, carrying out

the corporativization of Peruvian society guided by a fascist political outlook and suppressing the rising mass movements. This period divides into two parts: first the struggle against right liquidationism, a form of revisionism which sought to destroy the Party by centering it on open, masses work and pushing it into legalism; on the strictly political level this line put forward expropriating the land instead of confiscating it and above all denied the fascist character of the government. When these liquidationists couldn't take over the Party, they perversely attempted to destroy it and the fraction took up the Party's defense. In February 1970 a split took place and the fraction assumed the leadership of the Party; from then on it led the process of Reconstruction. In the second part there was a struggle against "left" liquidationism, another variant of revisionism that tried to destroy the Party by shutting it up behind four walls, denying the importance of peasant work and the possibility of any mass work because, according to them, mass work and organizations are impossible under fascism. They reduced fascism to simply a question of violence, and worse, to an irresistible violence in the face of which nothing could be done but wait for better times. They put forward the "relative stability of capitalism" and consequently of the social system. They said "the line is enough" and that there was no reason to develop Mariátegui further, and called Maoism into question, bragging about being "pure Bolsheviks." This "left" liquidationism was smashed in 1975 at a Central Committee plenum.

During this period, our-political understanding of Peruvian society deepened, especially our understanding of bureaucrat capitalism, based on Chairman Mao Tsetung's thesis. This question is fundamental for understanding and leading the democratic revolution. In fact this concept slammed the door on the opportunist tendency to tail a faction of the big bourgeoisie while pretending to unite and struggle with the national

bourgeoisie, and to support the Velasco's fascist and corporatist plans, "reforms" and measures, and it continues to be extremely useful today. The ideological-political building of the Party also advanced, especially regarding the understanding of Mariátegui's thought and general political line synthesised for the first time in five basic points taken from his works as well as the necessity to develop it further. The relationship between secret and open work was delineated and the latter was developed according to the Leninist criteria of areas of support for the Party's mass work; thus, mass organizations were created by the Party to develop the links between the Party and the masses.

### 3. The Culmination of the Reconstruction

This period was guided by the political strategy of "Culminate and Lay the Basis," in other words, culminate the reconstruction and lay the basis for launching the armed struggle. With the unfolding of the process the Party was approaching the conclusion of its Reconstruction and so had to sum up what had been achieved, define and sanction the general political line, continue the building of the Party on a national level with its center of gravity in the countryside, define the specifics of the armed struggle and lay the basis to launch it by developing the work among the peasants. The left fought tenaciously to attain these objectives, waging intense and sharp struggle against rightism. This rightism developed into a right opportunist line that first opposed the Culmination and then launched an onslaught against the general political line, labeling it "ultra leftist," and ended up rapidly opposing the initiation of the armed struggle. Nevertheless, with firmness and wisdom the left repeatedly defeated right opportunism, another form of revisionism opposed in the last instance to revolutionary violence, to armed struggle, to people's war, to the Party's fulfillment of its role of fighting to seize power for the proletariat and the people, and to the

proletariat's advance in its historic mission. In April 1977 the left defeated the right opportunist opposition to Culminate, with the approval of the national plan to build the Party under the slogan "Build for the purpose of launching the armed struggle"; the left again resoundingly defeated the right in September 1978 with the approval of the "Summation of the Reconstruction, " the sanctioning of "Mariátegui's general political line and its development, " and the drafting of the "Outline of the Armed Struggle." Finally, it thoroughly and completely defeated the right opportunist line at the May 1979 IX Expanded Central Committee Plenum, when under the slogan "Define and Decide" the agreement was taken to "Initiate the Armed Struggle."

A long chapter of the Party's history had closed and another one opened: the Reconstruction had been culminated and a new stage would open, that of the armed struggle. It should be clearly and firmly emphasize that during this period of the Culmination, when Chairman Mao died, the Party pledged to the international proletariat and the revolution that it would always hold high the banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao, and declared that "To be a Marxist today is to be Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought" (now Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) Thus, when the Hua-Deng coup took place, with the latter of course in charge at the end of the day, the Party condemned it as a counterrevolutionary coup against the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, against the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for the restoration of capitalism and against the world revolution.

In sum, then, the Communist Party of Peru was reconstructed and became a Party of a new type, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, and so once again there existed the organized vanguard of the proletariat, capable of leading it to the seizure of state power. In this way "Define and Decide" can be considered the first milestone of the people's war unfolding today. Later the Party



achieved the second milestone, that of Preparation; a period of the auctioning of the Party Programme, the general political line of the Peruvian revolution and the Party statutes whose norms guide us today, the resolution of strategic political questions regarding revolutionary violence, people's war and the Party, the army and the United Front. The following decision was taken: "Forge the First Company in Deeds! Let violence flourish concretized in initiating and developing the armed struggle; let us open up a new chapter with lead and offer our blood to write it, a new chapter in the history of our Party and people, and let us forge the First Company in deeds! Peru, December 3rd, 1979." And the Communist Party of Peru began to lead the people's war going on today.

### On the People's War.

Taking international experience as its magnificent starting point, so valuable and rich in positive as well as negative lessons, principally taking people's war as the military theory of the proletariat, and taking the concrete conditions of the country into account, the VIII Central Committee Plenum sanctioned the "Outline of the Armed Struggle." In essence this plan held that people's war in Peru must develop as a single revolutionary war in the countryside and cities, with the countryside the principal theater of armed actions, following the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside. Furthermore, for social and historic reasons and especially their impact on military affairs, it took into account the importance of the mountains, especially the stretch that runs from the central to the southern region, as well as that of the capital city. It also analyzed Peru within the context of Latin America as a whole, particularly South America, and within the context of the international situation and the world revolution. With this outline in mind the Party prepared the armed struggle dealing with two types of questions:

1. Questions of political strategy, which define the content and objectives of the people's war in the long and short run, as well as its necessary directives and military plans and the building of the three instruments the Party, Army and Front and their relation to the new state power.
2. The launching of the armed struggle, which is a key and decisive question, merited the Party leadership's very special attention; it was solved with the "Starting Plan" guided by the slogan "Launch the armed struggle! ", the concretization of the overall politics which were to take military form (every plan has an overall political line which guides it). Its contents included, first, the political tasks to be carried out, which is is, to initiate the armed struggle, boycott the elections, foment the peasant struggle for land arms in a hand-and lay the basis for newborn things, especially political power; second, forms of struggle guerrilla fighting, sabotage, armed propaganda and agitation, selective liquidations; third, forms of military organization armed detachments, with or without modern arms; fourth, timetable, starting date and duration of the plan, specific simultaneous actions on specific dates; fifth, the slogans "Armed Struggle!", "Workers and Peasants Government!" and "Down with the new reactionary government! "

The first two periods of the people's war the periods of defining and preparing its beginning were completed. On May 17th 1980 not May 18th as the reaction claims to confuse it with the date of the elections and which others repeat the people's war in Peru began, entering its third period, that of actually beginning it, lasting all of 1980, through two successfully completed campaigns which laid the basis to go over to the fourth period, "Develop guerrilla warfare," in 1981, a period that continues today. May 17th was a political blow, a defiant and far reaching blow which unfurled rebel red flags and raised hammers and sickles

proclaiming "It's right to rebel" and "power grows out of the barrel of a gun," calling on the people, on the peasants (especially the poor), to stand up, arms in hand, to light the bonfire and shake the Andes, to write a new history in the fields and every corner of our tumultuous geography, to tear down the rotten walls of the old oppressive order, to conquer the peaks, to storm the heavens guns in hand and bring about a new dawn. The beginning was modest, almost without modern arms; we fought, advanced and built from small to large, the weak initial fire became the great turbulent and raging flames which are now spreading, throwing off sparks of revolution and exploding the people's war forward.

The Peruvian state launched its counterrevolutionary war and its Armed Forces carried out their infamous genocide and cut down the lives of the people by the thousands; together with this they launched their propaganda, dreaming of smashing the revolutionary war with ink, paper, lies and tricks. Opportunism played its part by snitching, sending in "leaders" to stir up the masses against the revolution, propagandizing and agitating against it and in defense of bourgeois democracy and the vote in pursuit of velvet seats in parliament. World reaction, the superpowers, especially Yankee imperialism as well as the social imperialists, and the other imperialist powers, gave their immediate support and sent the government their advisors; among them an outstanding role was played by the Chinese arch reactionary clique whose black heads Deng, Li Hsien-nien, etc., were among the first to stand up as judges to condemn us. As was to be expected, the reaction opened up its hells and let loose its demons plagues and horsemen of the apocalypse against the People's War; soaked in blood, drunk with arrogance, they bragged of triumphs and victories, crushing defeats, set backs and retreats, withdrawals, and the turning back and defeat of the revolution. But what really has happened? How has the armed

struggle and afterwards the genocide unfolded? What has really been the reality of the last two years and of the sixth year of the People's War? The following is the data provided by the Interior Minister:

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Actions	219	715	891	1123	1760	2050	6758

These figures show the yearly increase of our actions, as well as those of the Armed Forces and their police assistants; their policy's methods and even their genocide have not held back the growth of the armed struggle, at least as far as quantity is concerned, according to the APRA Minister himself. Nevertheless, the total 6758 is very far from correct, firstly because of the state's rather understandable desire to minimize the dimensions of the people's war, and secondly because they don't take into account all the various forms the revolutionary war takes, such as armed propaganda and agitation, for example, nor do they count actions carried out in distant and isolated areas. Consider that actions carried out even in the department of Lima itself aren't reported for a week, and in general, a cover of silence and lies is used to maintain the so-called public calm and the prestige of the repressive forces. During the six years of People's War 30,000 actions have been carried out in all but two of the country's 24 departments, leaving out only Amazonas and Madre de Dios, while including even the constitutional district of Callao.

These actions developed basically in the Peruvian mountains and principally centered in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac. They also took place in the coastal region, in its cities and especially in the country's capital, and in the jungle highlands and the important cities there; so the revolution is fighting

throughout the whole country. Furthermore, these military actions have developed and increased in quality: blows waged against Armed Forces anti guerrilla bases, ambushes, destruction of strategic hamlets, land invasions, devastating sabotage, higher-level elective annihilations and intensified armed propaganda and agitation—all these show a very important and far-reaching qualitative advance. It should be made clear that more than half of the six years' actions were carried out between June 1984 and today, and a third of the 1980-1986 total have been carried out in the last year. This is the clear and concrete reality. What are the great results of the counterrevolutionary war, its genocide and its offensives of '83 -84? Obviously they failed; they haven't even been able to hold back the development of the people's war, let alone put an end to it.

Table 1 below, shows the four forms of struggle through which the People's War in Peru is developing. The principal form is guerrilla warfare and the other three are complementary forms of guerrilla actions: sabotage, selective annihilations and armed propaganda and agitation. It can be seen that 45.9% of the total actions carried out in the country are guerrilla engagement (fought by detachments in the city and in the countryside by platoons and companies), while sabotage only comprises 11.2% and selective liquidations scarcely 8.2%, and armed propaganda and agitations reach 34.1%. These figures clearly show that guerrilla warfare is the essence and heart of the People's War in the country; it is significant that the percentage of guerrilla warfare reaches its highest level, 54.4%, in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac predominantly peasant zones, and the aim is to develop it in all regions, even, in a specific form, in Lima.

Clearly, guerrilla warfare is the very center of the armed actions and the other forms only serve to complement it and push it

forward, because it is the form that most directly aims to destroy the enemy's military organizations, especially the Armed Forces. It is also notable that armed propaganda and agitation make up more than a third of the actions. This shows the important People's War gives to politically educating and mobilizing the masses; obviously this work is directed principally toward the peasants and in the cities toward the proletariat, and although in the countryside it is mainly carried out in oral form, it is complemented by campaigns with posters and illustrated leaflets. This kind of work is most prominent in new areas, but it is given great importance in all areas, occupying second place overall. Sabotage, for its part, is in third place, with the aim of dealing economic blows to the reaction, especially imperialism and the state economy, big capital and big landlords. In regard to the latter, tearing down the semifeudal relations of production is extremely important to the peasantry. Finally, only 8.2% of the total is made up of selective annihilations of enemies of the people, carried out either against those who have been condemned directly by the masses in people's tribunals or against incorrigible enemies of the revolution who owe blood debts, people who have carried out massacres, torturers, infiltrators, spies, etc. These actions are carried out without any cruelty but rather as simple and expedient justice, and in the majority of cases have been approved by the masses. Nevertheless the media has portrayed them as something monstrous, clumsily distorted them and exaggerated their number. Clearly, we must underline here that the monstrosities imputed to the People's War are crimes cynically carried out by the Armed Forces themselves who then attribute them to the revolution.

In conclusion, the table makes the guerrilla character of all the armed revolutionary actions unmistakably clear and shows that guerrilla warfare, the very substance of People's War, is their principal aspect and essence; thus it completely disproves the

absurd accusation that tries to pin the label of "terrorism" on the revolutionary war going on in this country. In fact, as we have been saying since 1980, those who repeat this lie without any proof and there is none are only parroting Reagan and the Peruvian reaction. What is developing in Peru, while the whole world watches, is simply and completely a people's war and nobody with an ounce of brains can deny it.

The region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac deserves particular attention. This is where the fraction first became active and in a word was its cradle; furthermore, it is where the first actions of war took place, in Chuschi, and where the heroic people and above all the poor peasants have generously spilt their blood to light the flames of the People's War and keep them burning and ceaselessly rising. The masses of this region have suffered the most vile and insatiable genocide; it is where the reaction has concentrated its Armed Forces and carried out its most elaborate plans; it is where the reactionaries have bragged about their anticipated triumph and about how the area is "almost" pacified, only have to eat their words later in the face of the revolution's new offensives, which never stops them from once again crowing victory. What is the present situation in this region and how has the revolutionary war developed there in the last two years?

Tables 2 and 3 below show that in the last two years 63.4% of the total actions in the country were carried out in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, and that furthermore 75.1 % of the guerrilla actions, 43.3% of the sabotage, 74.0% of the selective annihilations and 52.0% of the armed propaganda and agitation were carried out in this region. So how can it be said that a slackening of the People's War as taken place there? There is no basis whatsoever except the subjective and ever-changing statements of the authorities and military chiefs who have never

even given any sort of official report, not the government nor the Joint Command nor the Political-Military Command, despite the fact that the region has been under a state of emergency continuously since March 1982 and sporadically before that during the police operations carried out since the beginning of 1981. Clear and concrete facts show that this region continues to be the main battlefield between the armed revolution and the armed counter-revolution; while the reactionaries dream of sweeping away the people's war it resists all assaults and continues to be like a thunderstorm whose center is Ayacucho. Almost since the beginning of armed action, more persistently since the Armed Forces came in and usually in parallel with the reaction's offensives and campaigns, coffeehouse strategists, scribblers, opportunists, "Senderologists" and mistaken or vacillating revolutionaries have advised or pontificated upon the impossibility of keeping the people's war going in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, saying that we should abandon the region and retreat to other areas, in order, as they sometimes said, to "preserve" the armed struggle and launch it again under new and better conditions. We should point out that in general these are the same people who have fought against the People's War either openly or covertly in the name of "widening the democratic space" or simply of "defending democracy."

We are convinced of the great truth of what Chairman Mao said about how an area should not be abandoned until it has repeatedly proved impossible to defend; since the most ferocious genocide in the history of the Republic has been met head-on and overcome in this region for several years now, what else needs to be said? Who would the recommended retreat have benefited? Simply and purely the counterrevolution; it would have been a great favor to the enemy to dismantle and dissolve the best and most proven bastions of the people's war. But irrefutable facts prove that whatever may be said against the people's war, it



continues to develop defiantly and proudly in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, firmly linked to the masses, brimming with heroism, daily writing new pages in the armed revolution which is transforming Peruvian society, and which precisely in recent months have been unleashing devastating blows even within the city of Ayacucho itself, blowing up the phony showcase of peace in the country's most militarized city, as was done for example with the car-bombs in the Republican Guard barracks and more recently in the Civil Guard's IX Command headquarters on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the people's war, a blast which shook the city and threw all the repressive Armed Forces and police into confusion and virtual panic. In conclusion, you can't hide the sun with your finger: Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac continue to be the great bonfire of the people's war and the most defiant revolutionary challenge. These figures show the yearly increase of our actions, as well as those of the Armed Forces and their police assistants; their policy's methods and even their genocide have not held back the growth of the armed struggle, at least as far as quantity is concerned, according to the APRA Minister himself. Nevertheless, the total 6758 is very far from correct, firstly because of the state's rather understandable desire to minimize the dimensions of the people's war, and secondly because they don't take into account all the various forms the revolutionary war takes, such as armed propaganda and agitation, for example, nor do they count actions carried out in distant and isolated areas. Consider that actions carried out even in the department of Lima itself aren't reported for a week, and in general, a cover of silence and lies is used to maintain the so-called public calm and the prestige of the repressive forces. During the six years of People's War 30,000 actions have been carried out in all but two of the country's 24 departments, leaving out only Amazonas and Madre de Dios, while including even the constitutional district of Callao.

These actions developed basically in the Peruvian mountains and principally centered in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac. They also took place in the coastal region, in its cities and especially in the country's capital, and in the jungle highlands and the important cities there; so the revolution is fighting throughout the whole country. Furthermore, these military actions have developed and increased in quality: blows waged against Armed Forces anti guerrilla bases, ambushes, destruction of strategic hamlets, land invasions, devastating sabotage, higher-level elective annihilations and intensified armed propaganda and agitation—all these show a very important and far-reaching qualitative advance. It should be made clear that more than half of the six years' actions were carried out between June 1984 and today, and a third of the 1980-1986 total have been carried out in the last year. This is the clear and concrete reality. What are the great results of the counterrevolutionary war, its genocide and its offensives of '83 -84? Obviously they failed; they haven't even been able to hold back the development of the people's war, let alone put an end to it.

Table 1 below, shows the four forms of struggle through which the People's War in Peru is developing. The principal form is guerrilla warfare and the other three are complementary forms of guerrilla actions: sabotage, selective annihilations and armed propaganda and agitation. It can be seen that 45.9% of the total actions carried out in the country are guerrilla engagement (fought by detachments in the city and in the countryside by platoons and companies), while sabotage only comprises 11.2% and selective liquidations scarcely 8.2%, and armed propaganda and agitations reach 34.1%. These figures clearly show that guerrilla warfare is the essence and heart of the People's War in the country; it is significant that the percentage of guerrilla warfare reaches its highest level, 54.4%, in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac predominantly peasant zones, and

the aim is to develop it in all regions, even, in a specific form, in Lima.

Clearly, guerrilla warfare is the very center of the armed actions and the other forms only serve to complement it and push it forward, because it is the form that most directly aims to destroy the enemy's military organizations, especially the Armed Forces. It is also notable that armed propaganda and agitation make up more than a third of the actions. This shows the important People's War gives to politically educating and mobilizing the masses; obviously this work is directed principally toward the peasants and in the cities toward the proletariat, and although in the countryside it is mainly carried out in oral form, it is complemented by campaigns with posters and illustrated leaflets. This kind of work is most prominent in new areas, but it is given great importance in all areas, occupying second place overall. Sabotage, for its part, is in third place, with the aim of dealing economic blows to the reaction, especially imperialism and the state economy, big capital and big landlords. In regard to the latter, tearing down the semifeudal relations of production is extremely important to the peasantry. Finally, only 8.2% of the total is made up of selective annihilations of enemies of the people, carried out either against those who have been condemned directly by the masses in people's tribunals or against incorrigible enemies of the revolution who owe blood debts, people who have carried out massacres, torturers, infiltrators, spies, etc. These actions are carried out without any cruelty but rather as simple and expedient justice, and in the majority of cases have been approved by the masses. Nevertheless the media has portrayed them as something monstrous, clumsily distorted them and exaggerated their number. Clearly, we must underline here that the monstrosities imputed to the People's War are crimes cynically carried out by the Armed Forces themselves who then attribute them to the revolution.

In conclusion, the table makes the guerrilla character of all the armed revolutionary actions unmistakably clear and shows that guerrilla warfare, the very substance of People's War, is their principal aspect and essence; thus it completely disproves the absurd accusation that tries to pin the label of "terrorism" on the revolutionary war going on in this country. In fact, as we have been saying since 1980, those who repeat this lie without any proof and there is none are only parroting Reagan and the Peruvian reaction. What is developing in Peru, while the whole world watches, is simply and completely a people's war and nobody with an ounce of brains can deny it.

The region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac deserves particular attention. This is where the fraction first became active and in a word was its cradle; furthermore, it is where the first actions of war took place, in Chuschi, and where the heroic people and above all the poor peasants have generously spilt their blood to light the flames of the People's War and keep them burning and ceaselessly rising. The masses of this region have suffered the most vile and insatiable genocide; it is where the reaction has concentrated its Armed Forces and carried out its most elaborate plans; it is where the reactionaries have bragged about their anticipated triumph and about how the area is "almost" pacified, only have to eat their words later in the face of the revolution's new offensives, which never stops them from once again crowing victory. What is the present situation in this region and how has the revolutionary war developed there in the last two years?

Tables 2 and 3 below show that in the last two years 63.4% of the total actions in the country were carried out in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, and that furthermore 75.1 % of the guerrilla actions, 43.3% of the sabotage, 74.0% of the selective

annihilations and 52.0% of the armed propaganda and agitation were carried out in this region. So how can it be said that a slackening of the People's War as taken place there? There is no basis whatsoever except the subjective and ever-changing statements of the authorities and military chiefs who have never even given any sort of official report, not the government nor the Joint Command nor the Political-Military Command, despite the fact that the region has been under a state of emergency continuously since March 1982 and sporadically before that during the police operations carried out since the beginning of 1981. Clear and concrete facts show that this region continues to be the main battlefield between the armed revolution and the armed counter-revolution; while the reactionaries dream of sweeping away the people's war it resists all assaults and continues to be like a thunderstorm whose center is Ayacucho. Almost since the beginning of armed action, more persistently since the Armed Forces came in and usually in parallel with the reaction's offensives and campaigns, coffeehouse strategists, scribblers, opportunists, "Senderologists" and mistaken or vacillating revolutionaries have advised or pontificated upon the impossibility of keeping the people's war going in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, saying that we should abandon the region and retreat to other areas, in order, as they sometimes said, to "preserve" the armed struggle and launch it again under new and better conditions. We should point out that in general these are the same people who have fought against the People's War either openly or covertly in the name of "widening the democratic space" or simply of "defending democracy."

We are convinced of the great truth of what Chairman Mao said about how an area should not be abandoned until it has repeatedly proved impossible to defend; since the most ferocious genocide in the history of the Republic has been met head-on and overcome in this region for several years now, what else needs to

be said? Who would the recommended retreat have benefited? Simply and purely the counterrevolution; it would have been a great favor to the enemy to dismantle and dissolve the best and most proven bastions of the people's war. But irrefutable facts prove that whatever may be said against the people's war, it continues to develop defiantly and proudly in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, firmly linked to the masses, brimming with heroism, daily writing new pages in the armed revolution which is transforming Peruvian society, and which precisely in recent months have been unleashing devastating blows even within the city of Ayacucho itself, blowing up the phony showcase of peace in the country's most militarized city, as was done for example with the car-bombs in the Republican Guard barracks and more recently in the Civil Guard's IX Command headquarters on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the people's war, a blast which shook the city and threw all the repressive Armed Forces and police into confusion and virtual panic. In conclusion, you can't hide the sun with your finger: Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac continue to be the great bonfire of the people's war and the most defiant revolutionary challenge.

**Table 1: The Great Leap, Forms of Struggle and Zones**

Forms of Struggle of People's War	Countrywide (%)	Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac (%)	Central, North, South and Hualaga (%)	Metropolitan Lima (%)	Other (%)
Guerrilla Warfare	45.9	54.4	36.0	12.0	16.8
Sabotage to Economic Targets	11.8	8.0	18.6	23.7	26.9
Selective Annihilations	8.2	9.6	9.2	3.8	1.7
Armed Propaganda and Agitation	34.1	28.0	36.2	60.1	54.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Table 2. Distribution of Actions by Region (June 1984-June 1986)**

Total Actions	100.0%
Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac	63.4 %
Other Regions	28.2 %
Metropolitan Lima	8.4 %

**Table 3. Forms of Struggle and % by Regions (June 1984-June 1986)**

Forms of Struggle	Countrywide (%)	Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac (%)	Other Regions (%)	Metropolitan Lima (%)
Guerrilla Warfare	100	75.1	22.6	2.3
Sabotage	100	43.3	39.7	17.0
Selective Annihilation	100	74.0	22.1	3.9
Armed Propaganda and Agitation	100	52.0	33.0	15.0

As can be seen in these three tables the armed revolution carried out only 8.4% of its total actions in Metropolitan Lima, while carrying out 17% of all sabotage and 15% of the armed propaganda and agitation there. These data disprove the so-called "retreat" or concentration of the revolution in Lima claimed by the reactionary press, military chiefs and government authorities, who seek in this way to give some basis to their claims that the revolution is suffering hard blows in the Ayacucho region, on the one hand, and on the other to give some explanation for the resounding actions which have shaken the capital in the last two years. An analysis of Table I shows that during the two years studied 60% of the work in Lima was directed at armed propaganda and agitation, 23.7% at sabotage and only 3.8% at selective annihilations. Thus we can see from the percentages of the forms of people's war in Lima and their proportions in relation to the rest of the country that the endless clichés about the revolution's retreat are baseless fabrications. The point is that because of conditions in the capital actions there have big repercussions the large-scale economic concentrations make large-scale sabotage possible, such as the Bayer factory or the Hogar department store; the big central state institutions there can be sabotaged, such as the blows dealt to the Government Palace and the Joint Command; foreign bigshots visit there, so there are occasions for big blackouts such as the one that greeted the Pope; obviously the central authorities are located there, so there are opportunities for selective annihilation such as that of Rear Admiral Ponce Canessa. Furthermore, the repercussions immediately sharpen the contradictions among the reaction the case of this same Rear Admiral is an example while actions there are more difficult to hush up due to the concentration of media and the presence of international news agencies and all kinds of foreign representatives. Thus, the capital cannot be neglected in people's war, all the more if we keep in mind some international



experience on this point; what is required is better organised work increasingly capable of warding off blows and infiltration, with stepped-up ideological training so as to be able to face any risk and give priority to the development of work linked to the masses of workers and the neighborhoods and shantytowns. When all positive forces are brought into play, it is these conditions, and not any so called retreat of the work from other areas, which make it possible to wage revolutionary war in the capital as well and to raise it to a higher level.

Ambit and expansion. With the slogan "Stoke the bonfire, spread the flames, unleashes the class struggle of the masses especially in its armed form and let the repression spur us on," the spread of the People's War was taken up with the aim of drawing a compass of action extending from the department of Cajamarca on the border with Ecuador in the northwest down to the department of Puno on the border with Bolivia in Peru's southeast, throughout the mountains that are the historic axis of Peruvian society and its most backward and poor area, in order to convert this ambit into a great theatre of revolutionary war and advance this war. Achieving this scope was an important part of the "Great Leap Plan" and its concretisation. As can be seen in Table 2, 28.2% of the armed actions were carried out in "Other Regions," that is, outside of the regions of Ayacucho-Huancavelica-Apurimac and Metro Lima, as was 26.2% the guerrilla warfare, 39.7% of the sabotage, 22.1% of the selective annihilation and 33% of the armed propaganda and agitation. In this way the people's war is firmly advancing in the country's central region, vital to the whole economy because of its mining, agricultural products and communication and a transportation trunk lines and because it is at the heart of the state's geopolitical plans. In the same way the revolutionary war is rapidly advancing in the country's North, centered in the mountains, as well as in the Huallaga River basin. Both are large and rich regions with

important economic potential and a growing population, especially the North. The People's War is also spreading in the South, similarly centered in the mountain countryside, an extremely poor area, especially in highly explosive Puno. This has come to worry the present government greatly because it is exactly in the area where they plan to build their "showcase of development" that the revolution is hitting them and undermining their plans. Our work there is not something new or only recently taken up; it is as old as the people's war itself, since from the period of preparing the war this work was conceived and organized according to a national plan which established regions classified according to their importance, giving each one its due attention according to specific conditions; of course these regions have developed unevenly. Thus the war was not conceived in terms of one single region but in terms of simultaneous though uneven development in several regions, with one of them principal (which one that is could change according to necessity), all within the framework of a strategically centralized and tactically decentralized plan.

The undertaking of the work in each region and its impact can be judged by the following: in July 1984, in the Huallaga River Basin, the department of Huanuco and Mariscal Caceres province in the department of San Martin were declared under a state of emergency and placed under the control of Political Military Command Number 7. This situation has more or less continued until today. In the central region in November of that same year a state of emergency was declared in the province of Alcides Carrion in Pasco department, under the command just mentioned, and this later spread to the important mining province of Pasco. In the North armed actions have rocked the departments of Cajamarca, Ancash and especially La Libertad; the countryside has been profoundly shaken by land invasions promoted by the People's Guerrilla Army. The police forces and

Army headquartered in Command Number 7 have replied by unleashing repression, but it is being insisted that this region too be placed under a state of emergency and that the Armed Forces come in fully. In the South, above all in Puno which has been thrown into an uproar, police outposts have been assaulted, as happened for instance at San Anton, towns such as San Jose and Chupa have been seized, SAIS (large state-linked farms trans.) have been sabotaged and burned down, and 10,000 peasants have been mobilized in armed land invasions aimed at these SAIS which control immense extensions of land. This has led the police forces to declare "red zones" in the provinces of San Roman, Azangaro and Melgar; reactionary clamor has mounted in favor of the proclamation of a state of emergency and the intervention of the Armed Forces. Poverty, natural calamities and armed action are combining to make Puno an extremely explosive volcano.

To the preceding, we would add that successive guerrilla actions have penetrated deeply into the department of Apurimac, to the very doorstep of its capital, Abancay. With this, the basic task of extending our scope throughout the central mountains has been practically completed. Today, the People's War is spreading, extending through the Sierras northward to Cajamarca and southward to Puno, from one border to the other, from Ecuador to Bolivia. This great goal was achieved through tenacity, striving and blood; it has opened up new possibilities for the ongoing Peruvian revolution. But although this would be sufficient, there is more: fighting not only in the Sierras but also in the jungle highlands, in two key places, in Apurimac at the strategic convergence of the departments of Cuzco, Apurimac, Ayacucho and Junin, and in the Huallaga River area, a rich region where imperialism and the state plan giant enterprises. Furthermore, the struggle is unfolding on the Coast, especially in its central and northern regions, and, as we've emphasized, in Metropolitan Lima itself, a city whose strategic importance lies in its being the capital

and in its tremendous concentration of people, with the majority of the Peruvian proletariat as well as enormous masses of the poor in its neighborhoods and shantytowns. In synthesis, the People's War has not only won this expansion throughout the mountain ambit; it is spreading in the Sierras, the jungles and the coast, vigorously pushing ahead, building the new and opening up the future.

To complete this picture let's look at some outstanding actions. In the department of Ayacucho, blows dealt against the Armed Forces anti guerrilla bases (there are 70 in the region, according to a recent statement by the Minister of War), in San Jos, de Seque and Aqomarca for example, hitting the foundation of the APRA government's pilot project for the region after the genocide of Aqomarca; attack against 14 strategic hamlets forced groupings of peasants carried out by the present government after the farce of the so-called "surrender of Senderistas" at Llochegua whose destruction means liberating the masses from reactionary, military control; ambushes carried out against the Army, Marines and police, in San Pedro, Enimont and elsewhere; engagement and even repeated engagements mocking the Armed Forces' encirclement, wiping out and wounding soldiers; sabotage of the setting up of the microregions (government local economic development projects trans.) which are to serve as the basis for corporativisation; the blowing up of 27 high-tension towers of the new Corbiza-Ayacucho electrical network, sabotaged even before its official inauguration; car-bomb attacks against the Republican Guard and even the IX Civil Guard Command Headquarters in the city of Ayacucho itself as we've already mentioned. In Huancavelica, the blowing up of six bridges and 35 electrical towers of the Mantaro power lines, the main power network in Peru; the razing of the Cinto and Vichincha agricultural enterprises, whose land was seized and livestock redistributed. In Apurimac, a new upsurge of armed actions in the department,

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including even Abancay, the capital city, where the Matara power plant was sabotaged, as was the plant in Chincheros, and attacks on police outposts.

In Peru's central region, the attacks spread and escalated; ambushes such as the one in Michivilica against the Republican Guard; sabotage of the Centromin (state mines trans.) power substation and its steam-shovels, paralyzing the area's only open-pit mines; sabotage of the SAIS Tupac Amaru; blowing up of the railroad bridge which paralyzed the Huancayo train for months and hindered the shipment of minerals from Huancavelica and Cobriza; sabotage and harassment in Huancayo with exposure of and battles fought against the II Rimancuy. In the northern region, land invasions under the slogan "Seize the land!" mobilized 160,000 peasants and led to the confiscation of 320,000 hectares of land, mainly pastureland, and 12,000 head of cattle, mostly first class, which were redistributed to the peasants; sabotage of the "Norperu," the country's only oil pipeline; sabotage in the APRA's heartland, Trujillo, during the APRA's national birthday celebrations presided over by Garcia personally, right in the main plaza of APRA's "capital." In the South and especially in the convulsed department of Puno, the previously mentioned actions aimed at solving the land problem, the motive force of the class struggle in the countryside. In the Huallaga River region, the assault on the police outpost at Aucayacu; the attack against the vigilante bands at Agua Blanca; razing of the big tea plantation; ambush of the Republican Guard at La Muyuna; engagement with the UMOPAR (the Civil Guard's Mobile Rural Patrol Unit) at Alto Morona and firefight with a 30-man Army patrol at Patayrrondos.

In the city of Lima, sabotage of embassies, including the biggest blow against a foreign representative so far, the recent attack against Soviet social-imperialism's embassy; sabotage of dozens of

APRA's local offices; a car-bomb in the middle of the Plaza de Armas in front of the Government Palace during the visit of Argentine President Alfonsin and the subsequent burning of the Scala store on the same square, which provoked tremendous shooting and threw the palace yards into great confusion; the car-bombings of the police headquarters, the Armed Forces Joint command and the international airport; the usual total blackouts such as on December 3rd and during last March and July; fires, such as the Maruy department store, also right on the Plaza de Armas, with the result that the entire capital of the Republic was put under a state of emergency and a curfew established under Armed Forces authority from last February to the present; selective annihilations, including hitting the chairman of the National Elections Board during the general elections, and Armed Forces and police officers and recently a Navy Rear Admiral, as well as the APRA organizational secretary, which sharpened the contradictions within the reactionary camp and gave rise to an enormous political uproar and thunderous threats; and, June 7th, Army Day, the ceremonial pledge of allegiance to the flag presided over by Garcia was sabotaged by explosive charges, one of them only 20 meters away from the official reviewing stands, thus demonstrating that despite the state of emergency and major military and mounted police presence for the preceding 24 hours, the revolution can hit wherever and whomever necessary.

The struggle of the prisoners of war and those who have come to their direct support merits special mention. Although these struggles have been waged for several years now, stubbornly and heroically going up against and overcoming torture, abuses, subhuman conditions, murder plots, reprisals, assassinations and even genocide, turning the reactionary dungeons into luminous trenches of combat, still the struggles taken up since the middle of last year should be given special emphasis.

On July 13, 1985, the prisoners of war in the trenches at El Fronton, Lurigancho and Callao began a united struggle to win special prisoner status; in daring warrior actions they forced the Belaunde government to sign an agreement and recognize them as such, with the rights that such status implies. This struggle took the government by surprise and dealt it a sounding defeat, turning the period of the transfer of the presidency to good political advantage. The government prepared to get revenge. The new APRA government took charge of carrying this out; it scarcely had taken office when it began to repudiate the agreement. A difficult and complicated struggle arose, with the government trying to manoeuver and double deal; when this failed it, cooked up and hatched the October 4th genocide, deliberately unleashed a few days before the anniversary of the Party's founding, seeking to inflict a moral defeat on the prisoners of war in the trenches and on the revolution. But the Lurigancho prisoners of war not only stood up to the genocidal attack with heroic daring; at the cost of their own blood, they turned it around so it backfired on the government itself, and with class solidarity, especially that of the other imprisoned fighters, they celebrated October 7th with exultant revolutionary communist ardor and exemplary optimism. They continued their struggle, and once again correctly pushing ahead the struggle, on October 31st forced the reactionary APRA government to sign the agreement it had repudiated, only this time it was signed by higher level authorities. But the struggle did not end and reaction never ceases plotting and maneuvering against the sons and daughters of the people. The government proposed the prisoners' transfer to Canto Grande to further its plan to wipe them out; in the face of these the prisoners launched a campaign called "Unmask the Reactionaries and Resist," declaring their firm resolve to oppose the transfer even at the cost of a new genocide, and powerfully exposing the government. This struggle culminated on January 15, 1986, when a clash between family

members of the prisoners of war and the Civil Guard led to the killing of one of the relatives and the wounding of 20 others, forcing the Minister of Justice to declare that "there will be no transfer to Canto Grande because the prison is not for 'terrorists.'" A chapter in the campaign against the new genocide closed but the problem persisted: in violation of their public promises, faithful to their own reactionary nature, they began to transfer new prisoners there, while the press clamors for more transfers and the Navy represses visitors. The struggle continued and new chapters remained to be written, as we'll see when we examine the infamous June genocide. With their high morale and proven combativity the prisoners of war have taught and continue to teach how revolutionaries can and must turn the prisons into luminous trenches of combat. The actions carried out between June 1984 and June 1986 demonstrate a development not only in quantity but especially in quality, across a wide scale; they provide irrefutable proof of the development of a real People's War through six years of unyielding battle in the countryside and cities of Peru, "and let the traitors say what they like."

### On Building the New State Power

To complete the analysis of the People's War in Peru, we must take up the question of the new state power, the new state, the building of base areas, the essence of surrounding the cities from the countryside, the question of political power, the joint New Democratic dictatorship, which must transform the old society so that with the culmination of the democratic revolution, socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat advances and guarantees the march to communism. We'll take up this point within the context of the building of the three instruments, since the state is inextricably linked to the Party and the army.

We have already dealt with why the Party is necessary and how  
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the Communist Party of Peru was reconstituted so that it could take up the task of leading the People's War; still, to be concisely considered are some important further aspects of its development in the course of the last six years. The Party set itself the task of its militarization at the 1979 National Conference, when preparations for the war were being discussed. Concretely, insofar as what needs to be discussed here, we understand the militarization of the Party as the ensemble of the transformations changes and adjustments necessary to lead People's War as the principal form of struggle giving rise to the new state and the joint dictatorship that will transform society and replace the rule of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semifeudalism with a New Democratic People's Republic, thus culminating the democratic revolution, and further, within the framework of world imperialism and reaction which are sinking and will sink in the midst of wars, attacking and seeking to destroy all that is new and revolutionary, especially everything proletarian, to defend and develop the revolution in its socialist stage, preserving the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism, tightening the omnipresent links with the world revolution by serving as a base area for the joint war of the proletariat and people's of the world to sweep imperialism and reaction off the face of the earth, and continue a long road of repeated cultural revolutions until communism.

It is within these general outlines that we conceive of the development of specific People's War fighting against an equally specific counterrevolutionary war, taking place within the framework of an era of many varied wars in which imperialism is sinking, in short, a great clash between People's War and counterrevolutionary war on a world level, the highest form of struggle and the one that will decide the issue. Looking at things in the broadest terms, as long as there are classes, the advance to communist itself through cultural revolution will take place in the

shadow of People's War as the proletariat's military line, with its ongoing development. Consequently, our Party and all communist parties face this necessity and these prospects no matter what specific forms they may take.

To be specific about the militarization of the Party, our Party as a whole has plunged into the People's War, throwing all its members into it; in short, "Our center is to combat," as our Central Committee decided. Another important question is that of concentric construction, meaning, in brief, to take the Party as the axis around which to build the army, and around these instruments, together with the unleashing of the masses in People's War, to build the new state. An outstanding question is "the training of Party members first and foremost as communists," and as fighters and administrators," so as to carry out the three great tasks demanded by the revolution.

Mass work must be developed through and for the People's War. The leadership is key and there must be a Great Leadership [Jefatura]. The two-line struggle must be firmly and consistently develop, so as to strengthen the Party and other organizations for the People's War. A vital and decisive question is the further development of the political line: We have achieved a considerably deep understanding of Peruvian society; of the political conjuncture and principally of military line, People's War and how to lead it, especially regarding the specifics of war in Peru and how it unfolds simultaneously in the countryside, and city without forgetting that the countryside is principal. Finally, as was inevitable, the number of Party members has increased considerably, with peasants becoming a very high percentage and a considerable number of youth and women entering the Party, which entails some obvious problems but more importantly a great future well, as long as proletarian ideology is strengthened.

As the crowning aspect of our advances, the People's War has allowed the Party to more firmly and clearly grasp Maoism as the third and highest stage of Marxism and takes up the task of "Upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" and struggle to put it in command of the world revolution, with the consciousness that this will serve communism, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples; furthermore firmly grasping the class outlook and fusing it with the People's War has led to the further development of Guiding Thought. Finally, the People's War itself has made it possible to further train the Party membership in proletarian internationalism.

Regarding our armed combatants, the People's War, the masses of people and the Party have given rise to the People's Guerrilla Army, an army of a new type to carry out the political tasks of the revolution established by the Party and take up the political tasks consecrated by the international experience of the proletariat: to fight, to produce and to mobilize the masses, which means politically educating them, mobilizing them, organizing and arming them. It is a peasant army under the absolute leadership of the Party according to the principle: "the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party." Its foundation is work to build it up ideologically, with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and its application, that is, Guiding Thought, the Party's general line and policies; building the army politically is complemented by organizing the Party within the army, with Party leadership of all political work within the army as well as of the army's mass work. Militarily the army is built on the basis of the theory of People's War and the Party's military line and plans; it is organized in detachments and platoons in the city. Companies and battalions in the countryside, always under the double command system, one political and the other military, guided today by the slogan: "develop the companies and strengthen the platoons aiming for battalion." This building of the

People's Guerrilla Army is also based on Lenin's great thesis regarding the people's militia and its three functions as police, army and administration. Military training take place with the aim of developing bellicosity so that actions are thoroughly and successfully carried out. The armed forces started out as armed detachments without arms, because as Lenin taught the lack of arms cannot be used as a pretext for not organizing an armed apparatus; later they armed themselves with whatever they could, including with dynamite, which is still very important, since rudimentary and traditional weapons play a fundamental role.

Though we strive to get modern weapons by snatching them from the reactionary forces, we follow Chairman Mao Tsetung's great teaching, which history has proven: "Since history began, revolutionary wars have always been won by those whose weapons were deficient, lost by those with the advantage in weapons . . . If one cannot fight unless one has the most modern weapons, that is the same as disarming oneself."

The People's Guerrilla Army, with its thousands of combatants, has proven itself; it has been steeled in the forge of the people's war and is the pillar of the new state power. The new power, the new state in the form of People's Committees, the developing base areas and the New Democratic People's Republic in formation, this is the highest achievement of six years of People's War. Taking into account Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thesis on the state, we consider this question as very linked to the united front, especially taking into account the specific conditions in which we are developing and the tradition of the opportunist electoral "fronts" in our country.

The Central Committee has instructed that the People's Revolutionary Defense Fronts be built only in the countryside, in the concrete form of the new state power, based on People's

Committees; while in the cities, the People's Revolutionary Defense Movement is being built. The People's Committees arose toward the end of 1982, first in Ayacucho, after the police forces were dealt humiliating blows and withdrew from large parts of the countryside. These are united front committees that give concrete expression to the joint dictatorship of the workers, peasants and petit bourgeoisie, the three classes taking part in the armed revolution today: the proletariat, the peasantry and the petite bourgeoisie. These people's committees, taken as a system of state, are the concrete form of the New Democratic dictatorship whose system of government, in turn, is based on the people's assemblies. Although the national bourgeoisie is not taking part in the revolution now, its interests are respected. The Committee is elected by a Delegate Assembly according to the three thirds rule. One-third communists as representatives of the proletariat, one-third poor peasants as representatives of the peasantry, and one-third middle peasants and progressive elements as representatives of the petite bourgeoisie. Like all the forms of the new state power, the Committees are based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Communist Party and supported by the People's Guerrilla Army.

The Committee is made up of five commissioners, called this to emphasize that they have been commissioned to perform a specific task and can be recalled at any time. Within the framework of the programme of the democratic revolution, the destruction of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semi feudalism, they organize the social life of the masses in all spheres: the organization of production, especially agriculture, and commerce, which are guided toward collective work; justice, education and recreation, as well as seeing to the progress of the people's organizations and guaranteeing collective and individual security. The basis of this work is the introduction of new social production relations. The development of the hundreds of

People's Committees and of the base areas for which they are the foundation follows the fluidity of guerrilla warfare, since they are principally a product of guerrilla warfare following the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside and of the People's War as a whole, and they have suffered the assaults of the counterrevolutionary war. Thus an acute struggle is being waged around the new state power, between the armed revolution and the armed counterrevolution. For instance, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration waged especially during the years 1983 and 1984 is very significant. On this subject, it is worth pointing out that during the last two years the People's Guerrilla Army carried out 180 counter-restorations and in connection with this sharp contention seized 591 towns. In short, the vortex of the war between the People's Guerrilla Army and the reactionary Armed Forces and police are the question of the new state power, the creation, defense and development of the people's committees, the base areas and the continuing advance in the formation of the New Democratic People's Republic, the new state, which radiates and will continue to radiate against wind and rain, like a blazing, defiant torch calling on the people to surge forward with the flaming waves of the People's War, devouring the past and vigorously opening the future for the proletariat and the people forever.

And what has been the cost in lives? The reactionary policy of setting masses against masses, of genocide and disappearances has already cost the lives of 11,300 of our people. Adding to that the 1,668 dead of the Armed Forces and police, and police agents, informers, feudal tyrants and despots, and the 1,738 fallen of the People's Guerrilla Army, this adds up to approximately fifteen thousand dead as of May 1986. This is the truth, not the doctored statistics the reaction publishes to cover up its sinister genocidal policies.

DEVELOP THE PEOPLE'S WAR, SERVING THE WORLD REVOLUTION

This is the People's War in Peru. Its analysis and comprehension demand that four questions be taken up: Marxism Leninism-Maoism, the Party, People's War and the new state power, whose consideration has brought us to a clear and concrete conclusion: the People's War in Peru is an authentic People's War which is turning the country upside down; the "old mole" is burrowing deeply in the bowels of the old society and no one can stop him; the future already dwells among us, the old and rotten society is sinking hopelessly and the revolution shall prevail.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

DEVELOP THE PEOPLE'S WAR TO SERVE THE WORLD  
REVOLUTION!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO!

# HOIST, DEFEND AND APPLY MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, PRINCIPALLY MAOISM!

COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU - COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN - MAY 1ST, 1987

The greatest epic in history, which is the struggle of the international proletariat, the last historical class whose grandiose goal is communism, in its heroic process has generated Marxism as the first stage of its invincible ideology; but class struggle and October's triumphant revolutionary storm raised Marxism up to Marxism-Leninism; but the revolution's unceasing forge, the development of the people's war and of the masses such as never had been seen before, made concrete in the triumph of the Chinese Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, within the context of the turmoiling class struggle at world level and the combat against contemporary revisionism, raised up Marxism once more from its second to its third stage, from Marxism-Leninism to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Thus, today to follow the proletariat's ideology and to be a communist is to be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist, and only being so one can serve the proletarian world revolution wherever one combats, because Maoism as the third stage is universally valid and consequently it is necessary to hoist it, to defend it and to apply it.

At present, the international class struggle sets us forth three contradictions: 1) oppressed nations - imperialist superpowers (USA and USSR) and imperialist powers; 2) proletariat - bourgeoisie; 3) superpowers against each other, superpowers against imperialist powers and imperialist powers one against another. Of the three contradictions, the first is the principal one



and its solution is the development and triumph of revolution of New Democracy; the second one has as its solution the socialist revolution and, in perspective, the proletarian cultural revolution; the third one is the source of imperialist exploitation and oppression and of counter-revolutionary wars and of a new rapine war for world hegemony; in regard with this, the imperialist superpower USA and the socialimperialist superpower USSR are those that directly and at present contend for that hegemony. It is in these conditions that the proletarian world revolution, existing a revolutionary situation in unequal development, has begun to develop its stratgical offensive in long perspective for decades of the oncoming new century; in which, by means of the people's war making concrete the democratic, socialist or proletarian cultural revolutions shall sweep imperialism and reactionaries from the face of the Earth.

On account of the above, today more than ever rises the need and the decisive importance each time more urgent of counting on Communist Parties, organized vanguards of the proletariat, based on the all-powerful ideology of the international proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Parties forged for and amid the people's war by means of their militarization, more skillful every day in leading the revolution and inexorable in the struggle against revisionism of any kind. Parties that can manage the construction of the instruments for the revolution, of the Party itself, of the revolutionary armed force and of the united front on behalf of the revolution and not on the bastard electioneering opportunism. From Marx to Chairman Mao, passing through Lenin, Marxism has always stood out the decisive and far-reaching importance of the Party; today the communists, holding on this great truth as never before, feel its necessity and struggle for its ideological, political and organizing construction, conscious as never before that without a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party there is no revolution led by the proletariat, the only one that is an

authentic revolution.

Such being the state of things, the people's war, the military theory established by Chairman Mao Tsetung, the masses' war led by the proletariat is a great word of command for the present and for the future, within the age of wars in which the old and caducous imperialist and reactionary world order is sinking and will sink. The people's war sets us forth two questions: 1) the people's war has universal validity, this implies that it is applicable to a democratic revolution as well as to one of socialist character, of course keeping in mind the own character of each one of these types of revolution and even more bearing in mind the specific conditions of every concrete revolution in each country; 2) the people's war of universal validity is the answer to the imperialist world war, it implied at present and in perspective the transformation of the imperialist counter-revolutionary war into a revolutionary war, into a people's war, into a war for the conquest of Political Power for the proletariat and the people (be it a State of New Democracy or a State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat); thus, for the Communist Parties the prolem lays not in centering the attention on the imperialist world war but on the people's war, because only from the latter will derive the Political Power led by the proletariat.

And today, May First, day of the international proletariat, when we meditate on its grandiose emancipating epic and its great historical goal; today when we hail the turmoiling and demolishing revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations and the inexhaustible and uncessing struggle of the peoples of the world, we call to Hoist, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism! since only in this way the international proletariat through its Communist Parties will be capable of leading the conquest for Political Power and of emancipating itself as a class.

HOIST, DEFEND AND APPLY MLM, PRINCIPALLY MAOISM

GLORY TO THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT!

LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU!

HOIST, DEFEND AND APPLY MARXISM-LENINISM-  
MAOISM, PRINCIPALLY MAOISM!

## AGREEMENTS BETWEEN PCP AND PCE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU - COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN - MAY 1ST, 1987

1. The Communist Party of Peru and the Communist Party of Spain agree officially to establish relations as fraternal Communist Parties on a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, a common revolutionary struggle, the proletarian world revolution and also a common goal, communism.

2. Our two Parties making proletarian internationalism concrete, assume the development of just, correct and steady relations in the assurance that evolving them fully and helping each other like comrades in arms, we will serve united with other fraternal and equal parties so that communism may shine on Earth for the good of all mankind.

3. Both Parties with full conscience and total assurance hoist Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the true and unvanquished ideology of international proletariat, assuming Maoism as its third and principal stage; and, solemnly we commit ourselves to struggle firmly and tenaciously in order that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, be the command and guide of the proletarian world revolution.

4. The PCP and the PCE undersign the statement "Hoist, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism!"

5. The Communist Party of Peru hails the Communist Party of Spain and backs its struggle for providing the proletariat of the Spanish State with an organized vanguard that may lead it to the conquest of Political Power. The Communist Party of Spain hails

the Communist Party of Peru and backs the people's war led successfully by it, standing out the meaning and the importance that this war has for the proletarian world revolution.

6. We applaud that the first meeting of our Parties has been an excellent one, which besides being a landmark will inevitably have transcendence in our tasks and common struggle; and we express the decision to transform this beginning into a fruitful development that future meetings will evaluate and make concrete.

7. PCP and PCE deem necessary and of unevadable importance the regrouping of communists, of firm and consistent followers of the proletariat's ideology, of those who are for the world revolution, for the crumbling of the old oppressive order of imperialism and the reactionaries, for the proletariat's leadership through its Communist Parties and for the crushing of revisionism of all types; in synthesis, of those who are for fighting unbendingly for communism. PCP and PCE are for the struggle on behalf of a Future Communist International sustained on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism; and they consider the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement as a stag in that direction, which it will serve so long as it sustains itself on and follows a just and correct ideological and political line.

# TO GIVE OUR LIVES FOR THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION DECLARATION ON THE DAY OF HEROIC RESISTENCE

PRESIDENT GONZALO - JUNE 1987

The everlasting bosom of the people nourished them with sober food and set them to walk; the class struggle shaped their minds; and the Party, as the premier and highest social formation, elevated their political consciousness, arming them with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, guiding thought; it empowered their combativity, organizing them in the People's Guerrilla Army, and fusing them with the masses of poor peasants, steeled their bodies and spirits in the inextinguishable forge of the People's War. Becoming Prisoners of War, they never bent their knees, but continuing to fight, mobilize and produce through hard work, they transformed the sordid dungeons of the obsolete, putrid Peruvian State into Luminous Trenches of Combat.

The ruthless, pounding, well aimed blows of the People's War in its unstoppable advances have gutted the reactionary beast, reverberating like a ceaseless lashing or an insistent demand in the tossing and turning nightmares of the Aprista government, already fascist and corporativist, and headed by the genocidal Garcia Perez. They dreamt up the dark and bloodthirsty plans for a devastating, decisive blow to crush the People's War. The rebellion of the Prisoners of War, in defense of the Revolution and of their own lives, unmasks and condemns before the world those sinister plans for mass murder, and exposes the monstrous and disgraceful genocide perpetrated through governmental order and with a free hand, by the armed forces and repressive bodies, carried out with a blind hatred for the people and a perverse

homicidal for ironlike and fierce resistance of the comrades, fighters and children of the masses, who showed their ideology, courage and heroism, who boldly deployed themselves in a pitched battle. Thus the reactionary beast drank blood to satiety in order to impose its peace of the dead; the lives miserably and cowardly laid waste become immortal, forming the monumental trilogy of Shining Trenches of Combat of El Fronton, Lurigancho and El Callao, a historical landmark which will proclaim more and more the greatness of the Day of Heroism.

The attempted devastating and decisive strike ended up falling on the heads of those who engendered it, sinking the fascist and coporative government of Aprista along with its president, who violated the norms of his own State, precipitating a grave political crisis and a great loss of prestige which they still cannot overcome. Thus the rebellion of the Prisoners of War, at the cost of their own lives, earned for the Party and the Revolution a magnificent political, military and moral victory; moreover, they contributed enormously to successfully sealing off the great leap with a golden seal and laying the foundation for the new plan of developing bases, whose first campaign has been the greatest shakeup the Peruvian State has experienced so far, and the greatest repercussion of the People's War, both inside and outside the country. Thus, the prisoners of war, as historical figures, go on winning more battles beyond death, since, living and fighting within us, conquering new victories, we feel their firm and indelible presence vibrating and shining, showing us today, tomorrow and forever how to give our life for the Party and the Revolution.

Glory to the Day of Heroism!

## GLORY TO THE DAY OF HEROISM!

LTC CANTO GRANDE - JUNE 1987

A year ago, on June 19, Day of Heroism, prisoners of war from the Shining Trenches of Combat at El Fronton, Lurigancho, and Callao prisons rebelled, raising the Fundamental Truth of marxism-leninism-maoism, President Gonzalo's guiding thought "Rebellion is Justified," against the developing genocidal policy, in defense of the Revolution and their lives, demanding claims for very fair and rational grievances.

The communists and People's Guerrilla Army fighters and children of the masses fought heroically, sealing a landmark of Heroism, bravery and courage, expression of the new human armed with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, guiding thought that only the Communist Party and the People's War is capable of generating, through which they concretized the immortal Day of Heroism, their precious blood bearing fruit of our Great Epic, the People's War, rising like the monumental glinting flag and inexhaustible battle cry that brings us to the inevitable final triumph: COMMUNISM.

With this glorious action, our Communist Party, wisely led by President Gonzalo, achieved a great political, military and moral victory; becoming the decisive action of the Grand Plan of Conquering Bases that has plunged the reactionary APRA government and its head Alan Garcia in the worst crisis he could ever dream of, forcing him to define his predicament and develop his corporate fascist policies and isolating him politically.

Our Communist Party has demonstrated once again that it is a Militarized Party of a New Type, its guiding ideology Marxist-



## GLORY TO THE DAY OF HEROISM

Leninist-Maoist, capable of withstanding genocide and continue fighting; proof of this is that the surviving Heroes and the new prisoners of war have raised Red Flags with hammers and sickles in the fascist Canto Grande prison, converting the prison into a Shining Trench of Combat.

Today we reaffirm our unwavering commitment to follow the shining example of the People's Heroes, developing the People's War serving the World Revolution while fulfilling the course charted by President Gonzalo to conquer the condition of political prisoners and prisoners of war. We affirm, with historical optimism, our decision of HEROIC RESISTANCE before the newly planned genocide, to which we will fight, resist and defeat, thereby serving our Communist Party, the people and the people's war in the successful completion of the new Great Plan to Develop Bases, led today by the victorious politic of "CULMINATING BRIGHTLY BY ESTABLISHING A HISTORICAL MILESTONE."

LONG LIVE PRESIDENT GONZALO!

GLORY TO THE DAY OF HEROISM!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, GUIDING THOUGHT!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY!

DEVELOP PEOPLE'S WAR IN SERVICE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

ETERNAL GLORY TO THE FALLEN HEROES, LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION!

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

**PCP**



¡PROLETARIOS DE TODOS LOS PAISES, UNIOS!



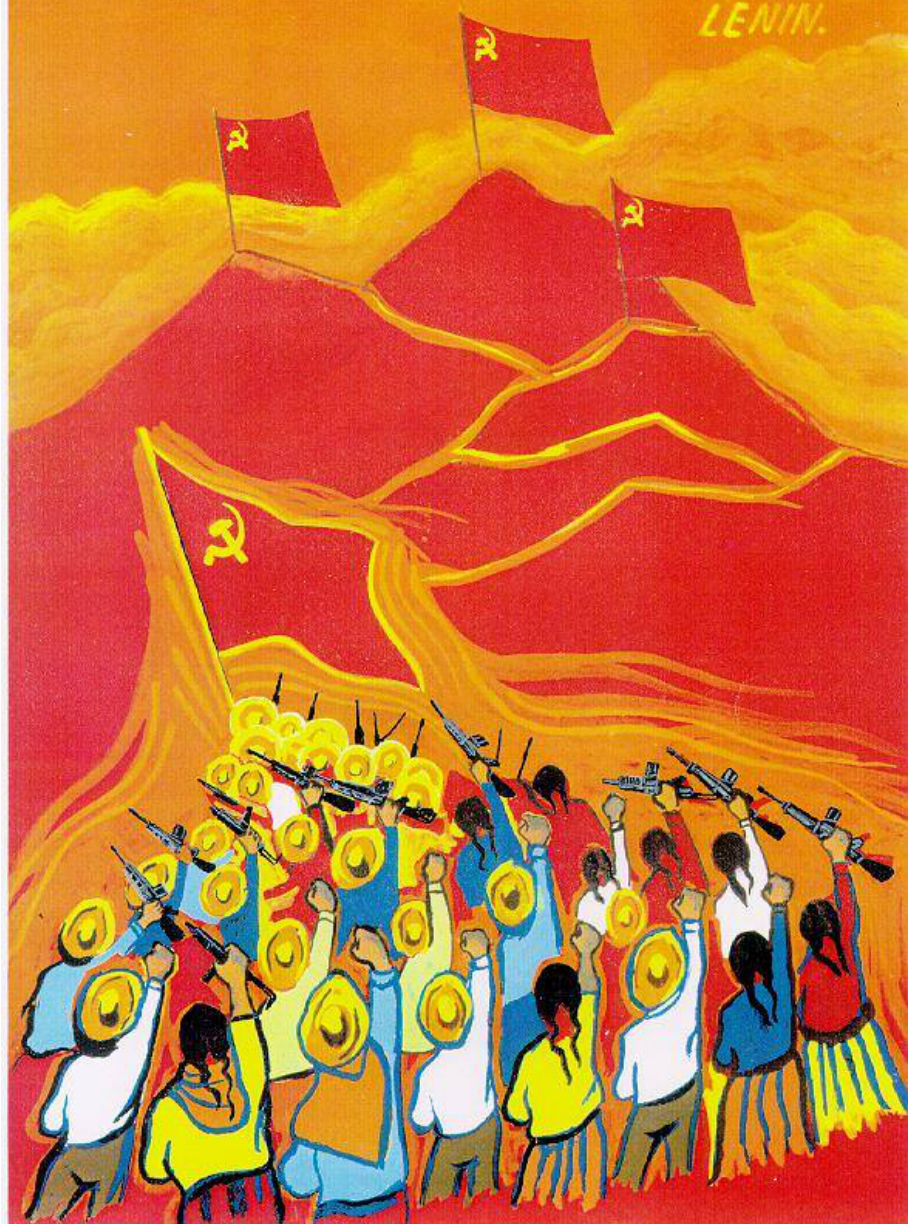
PARTIDO COMUNISTA DEL PERU

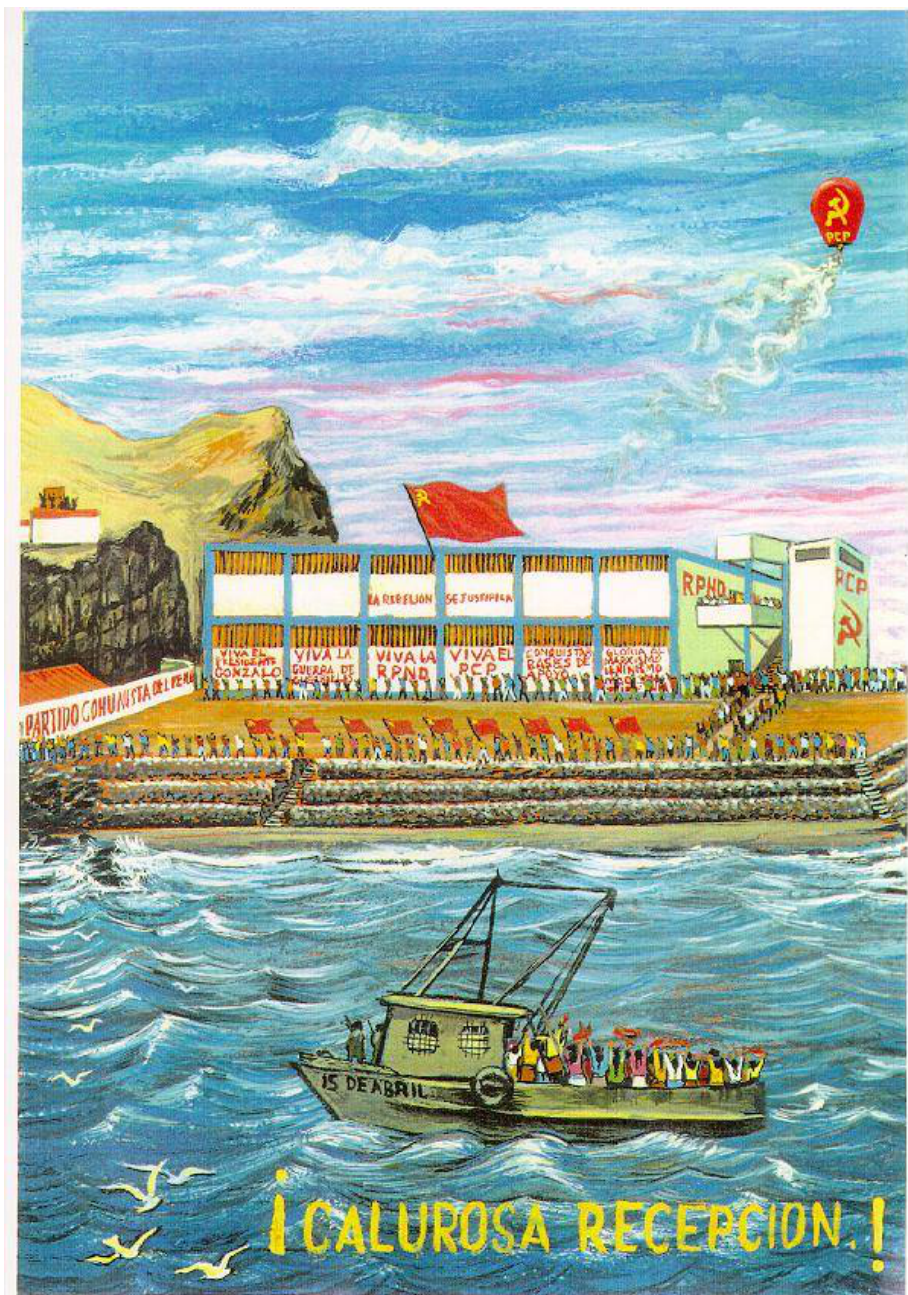
1980  
MAYO  
1985



"¡SALVO EL PODER TODO ES ILUSION!"

LENIN.





PARTIDO COMUNISTA DEL PERU

VIVA EL COMRADE GONZALO  
VIVA LA GUERRA DE LOS PUEBLOS

VIVA LA RPND

VIVA EL PCP

COMUNISTA BASES DE

MAQUINOS UNIDOS

PCP

¡ CALUROSA RECEPCION. !

DESENCADENAR LA FURIA  
DE LA MUJER



LIMUSA FRANCISCA DE COMBALE,  
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