

Excerpts from Worldwide Campaign Speech

Five Years of People's War

Following are excerpts from the main speech given at meetings held around the world as part of the Worldwide Campaign to Support the People's War in Peru. The speech was prepared by a Peruvian living abroad who closely follows events in Peru. —AWTW

SUMMING UP FIVE YEARS OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU AND THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

PART ONE: SUMMATION OF FIVE YEARS OF PEOPLE'S WAR

Dear comrades.

We will begin our exposition with a quote from Chairman Mao Tsetung:

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

Chairman Mao teaches us that there is only one way to seize

political power: revolutionary violence. The theory of seizing power by the peaceful road is wrong, impracticable and revisionist. Revolution is the overthrow of one class by another and the old classes will never give up their political power voluntarily, not even in the worst crisis. The only way to deal with them is to sweep them away through revolutionary war, by means of revolutionary armed force. We should keep this universally valid principle in mind.

We should also keep in mind one of Marx's great teachings:

"Once the banner of revolution is raised, it cannot be lowered again."

This means that the armed struggle must be organized and persisted in. In order to launch the people's war in Peru the Communist Party of Peru made the great decision never to lay down its arms until communism is reached.

THE DEVELOPING PROCESS OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU

These five years of people's war represent a great epic, an epic being

carried out in our homeland by the Peruvian people and the Communist Party of Peru, guided by the invincible banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo.

Let's look at some historical background.

The Communist Party of Peru, the PCP, was reconstituted as a Party of a new type, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo, in other words, as a fighting machine and not just an organizing machine. If this hadn't been done, it would have been impossible to make revolution. Without a Party there is no revolutionary general staff leading the masses to seize power. The Party is the principal instrument of the revolution, the heroic combatant who leads the other two instruments, the united front and the armed struggle.

Founded October 7th 1928 by José Carlos Mariátegui, the PCP could not consolidate as a Party of a new type, because communist parties have to undergo a process of maturation. In the decade of the



1960s Marxism and revisionism clashed on a world scale. This had its reflection within the Communist Party of Peru. Thanks to Chairman Mao, the PCP rediscovered Mariátegui. At that time great mass movements were unfolding: between June 1963 and February 1964 half a million peasants mobilised spontaneously to struggle for the land. Workers and employees carried out massive strike movements, without any central coordination, and university students did the same. All of this contributed to the development of a movement within the Communist Party itself.

The revisionists within the Party were expelled in 1964. After that, a handful of communists became a faction within the Party. Chairman Mao says: outside the Party there are other parties and within the Party there are factions. He also says that all groups of people can be divided into left, centre and right. Lenin taught that a faction is a grouping of communists who fight to apply communist principles in the purest manner. It was Chairman Gonzalo who forged the red faction

within the Party and smashed the other factions whose actions were not open and above-board. Thus, through a long struggle, this red faction became the Party. The reconstitution of the Party can be divided into three periods:

- From 1963-69 is the period of Deciding to Reconstitute, guided by the strategic line of surrounding the cities from the countryside. In 1969 it was agreed to reconstitute the Party, taking as its basis of unity Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, José Carlos Mariátegui and the Fifth Party Conference.

- From 1969 to 1975 is the Application of the Reconstitution, guided by the strategic line of rebuilding the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to carry out people's war.

- From 1975 to 1979 is the Culmination of the Reconstitution, whose strategic line was to culminate the Reconstitution and lay the basis for the armed struggle.

With the Reconstitution completed, the Communist Party of Peru under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo launched the people's

war on May 17th 1980, a far-reaching step that has opened up a new historical period in Peru.

In conclusion, this is the historical background from which a Party of a new type arose, mature, fit to seize power, reconstituted through fierce two-line struggle, whose basis of unity as a Party is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo.

Now let's talk about the different periods in the armed struggle in Peru.

First period - the Definition, in 1979. The launching of the armed struggle took place in the midst of a two-line struggle against those who wanted to continue reconstituting the Party and convert the Party into an organising machine instead of a fighting machine. The Party, under Chairman Gonzalo's firm leadership, didn't split during this struggle, because once their reactionary positions were smashed those who opposed initiating the armed struggle left the Party individually, as revisionists. Thus a new stage, a different direction, had

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been defined.

Second period - the Preparation, from 1979 to the beginning of 1980. The Party agreed on a series of basic political strategies to carry out the revolution. These political strategies were:

1. Revolutionary violence. The Party deeply studied the writings of the proletariat's great teachers from Marx to Chairman Mao Tsetung, on subjects from the necessity of using revolutionary violence to seize power, to the theory of people's war, which is the proletariat's fully developed military theory.

2. General Line of the revolution and the military line as its centre. With Maoism's contributions, Chairman Gonzalo developed Mariátegui's thinking and established the General Line of the Peruvian revolution. In 1979 this line was adopted by the PCP. It has five aspects:

a. The character of Peruvian society. Our society is semi-feudal and semi-colonial. Semifeudal, because of its vast masses of peasants who are doubly subjugated by the feudal lord and the land. Semicolonial, because even though our country is relatively independent politically it is economically dependent on imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. Bureaucrat capitalism is developing within this semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. It is a monopoly capitalism tied by a thousand threads to feudalism and imperialism.

b. The character of the Peruvian revolution. In its present stage the Peruvian revolution is a democratic revolution to carry out antifeudal and anti-imperialist tasks. With the completion of this stage, the Peruvian revolution will continue without interruption as a socialist revolution, within which there will be several cultural revolutions to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so as to achieve classless society, communism.

c. The three instruments of the revolution. To make revolution there must be a Communist Party as the leading and highest form of organisation; a revolutionary army as the principal form of organisa-



Shantytown near Lima.

tion; and a revolutionary united front, for the purpose of the armed struggle, based on the worker-peasant alliance and including those classes that make up the people: the proletariat, peasantry, petit bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. Since Marxism understands that who is comprehended within "the people" can change, we'll see later who actually makes up the united front today.

d. The character of the democratic revolution. As we've pointed out, the democratic revolution must accomplish two great tasks, directed against feudalism and imperialism. It is a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type, a New Democratic Revolution as Chairman Mao called it.

e. Mass line. There are specific lines for the different sections of the broad masses of our people: workers, peasants, women, youth, intellectuals, etc.

To carry out the revolution military line must be made the centre. As Chairman Mao taught, military line arises and is further developed in the midst of war. In the period of preparation, following the line laid out by Chairman Gonzalo, the PCP began to militarise itself, putting the gun at its centre. The military line has to do with the

theory of people's war, with the building of the revolutionary armed forces and with strategy and tactics.

3. The Programme of the Communist Party. In essence, it is a question of the stages of the Peruvian revolution: complete the democratic revolution, begin the socialist revolution and then carry out several cultural revolutions in order to achieve communism.

4. The building of the three instruments.

- Regarding the Party. The strategic plan to militarise the Party was decided upon. This is a universally valid contribution by Chairman Gonzalo. Lenin said that we lived in the era of imperialism and that imperialism would collapse in the midst of wars. Chairman Mao said in the 1960s that we were undergoing a period of 50 to 100 years in which the world would be greatly transformed and that the parties should adapt themselves for these transformations. Chairman Gonzalo says that therefore, the Communist Party must militarise itself, the Party should be the vanguard of these wars against imperialism, developing actions from small to large, centring on the gun.

- Regarding the united front. The identity between united front and state was determined. They are the same in terms of their class composition. For example, Peru today is under a landlord-bureaucrat dictatorship, that is, a dictatorship of the big landowners together with the big bourgeoisie. The state is a reflection of the front the reactionaries enter into. The same thing happens with the revolution: the united front is of four classes; this is reflected in the New State which has already arisen under the leadership of the Communist Party, with the participation of the proletariat, peasantry and petit bourgeoisie. Today the national bourgeoisie isn't in the united front, but the front represents its interests as well.

- Regarding the armed struggle. In the Preparation period the task arose of working out a Military Plan to carry out the agrarian war.

5. The Decision to Form the First Company in the Course of Action. Once this political strategy was agreed upon, it took material form

after 1982 with the heroic guerrilla action of the attack on the Ayacucho jail, which succeeded in liberating several hundred prisoners of war.

6. The basic orientation. The Party decided upon the basic orientation of developing the Party's militarisation in the course of action, in order to carry out actions and form detachments.

7. The Plan to Launch the Armed Struggle. Three great watchwords were established: a) Armed struggle, b) Workers' and peasants' government, c) Fight the new reactionary government. The revolutionary struggle was put forward as a unity of the countryside and city, with the countryside principal and the city complementary. It was agreed to incite the peasants to rise up for land and to carry the New State in a knapsack. The rules for launching the armed struggle were established: start out with harvests and invasions (of landlords' land), guerrilla actions, and boycott of the elections. On April 19th 1980 the Communist Party of Peru declared war on the enemy.

Third Milestone - Launching the armed struggle, a period which lasted until the end of 1980. It comprehends the launching of the armed struggle, that is, the Initial Plan, and the beginning of guerrilla warfare. Chairman Mao said that every revolutionary war has three phases: strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium and strategic offensive. Militarily the Party had begun the strategic defensive - which at the same time represented an offensive politically speaking. This period begins May 17th 1980 with the assault and destruction of a voting station in a small town in Ayacucho named Cuschi, where the enemy was about to carry out its electoral farce the following day. Thus, the new road was opened up in deeds, the emancipating road of the armed struggle versus the reactionary and oppressive road of maintaining the old order through elections.

In less than 15 days, by the end of May 1980 98 actions had been carried out and the first detachments were formed. These detachments were, as Lenin said, armed groups without arms to lead the crowd. Something new had arisen: the prin-

cipal form of struggle, the armed struggle, given expression in these first 98 actions, and the principal form of organisation, given expression through these detachments.

Highly mobile guerrilla actions against the landlords began. For instance, a feudal estate in Ayrabamba, July 10th 1980. Simultaneously came the smashing of a position within the Party which failed to understand that the armed struggle was centred in the countryside and wrongly claimed that it was centred in the city and that the line the Party was applying was "Hoxhaist." At that time collective harvests also began to be carried out.

Another important action was in Aysarca, December 24 1980. This was the first annihilation, that is, attack on the enemy's living forces. For the first time some reactionary elements hated by the people were executed.

In this third period, the launching of the armed struggle, the five component steps of any action were determined (determination of the plan, forces and means, preparation, execution and summation). Platoons and special detachments arose.

Fourth Period - Developing Guerrilla Warfare. This period, which began in 1981, is the longest phase of the people's war because it includes the whole strategic defensive. Several military plans have been carried out one after another.

a) Plan to open guerrilla zones, from January to April 1981. The application of this plan led to opening eight guerrilla zones and nine operational zones. Guerrilla zones are areas where armed guerrillas contend with the reaction for political power. Operational zones are places where the revolutionary forces come in, hit and retreat. In this period the five steps to be carried out were established: preparation, overwhelming response (initial battle), guerrilla warfare, coup de grace and complementary actions.

The strategic plans to open guerrilla zones are established on a national level; the Central Committee works out strategic operative plans. Then, in each region the tactics are worked out and carried through in a decentralised way. Each one of

these steps, the preparation, the overwhelming response, etc., are carried out simultaneously throughout the whole country.

b) Plan to Unfold Guerrilla Warfare, from May 1981 to December 1982. This plan has three moments:

- First moment: Seize arms and means. Arms are acquired by attacking police outposts, and the means by attacking mines to seize dynamite.

- Second moment: Shake the countryside with armed actions. The main action of that time was the 1982 breakout from the Ayacucho jail that we've already mentioned.

- Third moment: Hit the Enemy. This moment is extremely important because it represents the key link in order to be able to achieve the leap to forming clandestine People's Committees. In the face of the Party's onslaught the police forces fled the countryside along with the reactionary authorities, creating a power vacuum. That's when the People's Committees arose. This period of dealing blows to the enemy involved destroying feudal forms, directing the spearhead against the power of the feudal tyrants, or in other words, against feudal political power in the countryside. In December 1982 the reactionary Armed Forces (mainly the Army and Navy, as well as the Air Force) came in to destroy the People's Committees and reestablish the old political power. The bloodthirsty, criminal Armed Forces organised "mesnadas," armed bands who massacred People's Committee leaders. In the Middle Ages the mesnadas were bands armed by the landlords to oppress the peasants. In the face of this new situation, the Party instructed that these armed bands should be annihilated. Punitive actions were carried out against them at the beginning of 1983, which impeded the reactionary plan to organise mesnadas.

c) Great Plan to Win Base Areas. Revolutionary base areas are the essence of people's war. Beginning in 1983 a military plan with four political tasks was laid out:

- First task: the overall reorganisation of the Party.

- Second task: the creation of the People's Guerrilla Army, and the in-

corporation of the militia within it.

- Third task: development of the front. In the countryside, the Revolutionary Front for the Defense of the People was established. In the city, it was the Revolutionary Movement for the Defense of the People. Thus the new state power is arising through the People's Committees, giving shape to revolutionary base areas and advancing the People's New Democratic Republic.

- Fourth task: the Great Plan. In other words, the preparation of strategic plans at the national level.

In this Great Plan to Seize Base Areas, the principal and secondary axes were defined. The axis is the line of movement of the guerrilla fighting. Four forms of struggle and 11 methods were defined:

- Guerrilla actions in the form of collective planting and harvesting, assaults, ambushes, seizures of towns, confrontations, prison breakouts and tactical street-fighting.

- Sabotage.

- Selective terrorism, including executions and people's trials.

- Psychological warfare, through agitation and mobilisation.

Within the overall orientation of this Great Plan to Seize Base Areas there were two campaigns to Defend the People's Committees, Develop the Base Areas and Build the People's New Democratic Republic. The first of these campaigns began in January 1983 and the second ended in April 1984.

The most important thing about the period of these two campaigns is that the struggle was centred around reestablishment and counter-reestablishment, or in other words counter-revolutionary war to destroy the new political power and revolutionary war to defend it, develop it and build it up, little by little destroying the old outworn and reactionary order. In this period the struggle became fierce, and the three instruments of the revolution were greatly developed: the ranks of Party members swelled greatly, thousands of people joined the People's Guerrilla Army, especially poor peasants, and hundreds of People's Committees sprang up.

During 1983 and 1984, through the course of this struggle between

reestablishment and counter-reestablishment, the new political power developed, and there was also a great expansion and growth of the struggle in the cities. In 1984 the reaction unleashed a terrible blood-bath. Thousands of sons and daughters of the people were barbarically murdered and their bodies thrown into common graves for wild animals to feed upon. The "disappearances" began — flagrant, disgusting murders carried out with impunity.

d) Plan for the Great Leap. This plan, part of the overall plan to seize base areas, was worked out and began to be applied in June 1984. Its political strategy is to concretise and develop revolutionary base areas. Because of the electoral political conjuncture the following campaigns have been carried out:

- First campaign, beginning June 1984, to begin the Great Leap and win political space so as to make the new state the principal aspect in the contradiction between the new one and the old one. In opposition to the continuation of the bureaucrat road through the elections, the Party put forward the democratic road through armed struggle, not the power of votes but that of the rifle. The reaction was saying "these elections are against terrorism" and all the candidates took that up and united to struggle against the Communist Party, which reflected the success of the Party in this campaign.

- Second campaign, from January to June 1985, to further develop the beginning of the Great Leap and oppose the elections, with the slogans "Don't Vote — Impede and Prevent the Elections."

- Third campaign, beginning in July 1985, to further develop the people's war and oppose the new government's assumption of office. This campaign is being successfully carried out right now.

We will take up these campaigns again in the second part of this exposition.

Today the reaction is carrying out forced regroupment of peasants. First they wage campaigns of destruction and then concentrate some of the peasants together in one place, under threat of death, to

make it look like what is going on is a struggle between peasants, when in fact what they're doing is modeled on "strategic hamlets" used in Vietnam or the "peasant organisations" formed in Guatemala under Yankee advisors. The reactionary Armed Forces have augmented their troops and established field camps. It should be kept in mind that the armed struggle never proceeds in a straight line, but rather through advances and setbacks in which we can see that the principal tendency is development.

The second campaign, against the elections, fulfilled its goals. Today the PCP is struggling to expand throughout the mountain region, widening its guerrilla warfare, so that fluid guerrilla actions can extend from Cajamarca to Puno. This means developing the people's war.

In conclusion to this brief analysis of the process of the people's war in Peru, we'd like to point out the following:

- The PCP is unfolding a people's war in the countryside and city.

- The Party has assumed its responsibility for the seizure of power, in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo.

- The people's war has successes and setbacks, but the overall trend is that it is developing.

- The people's war unfolding in Peru aids the struggle in other countries.

- It can be seen that in Latin America the conditions are ripe for the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

- The PCP is becoming the leading force in the democratic revolution and will become the recognised vanguard and centre of the revolution.

- Through the armed struggle the Communist Party is being forged in the furnace of war, where the poor peasants carry the main weight of the war, a reflection of the fact that it is a peasant war led by the Party. It is the masses who make history.

- The main achievement won in this war has been the new state power.

- The Party carries out the policy of self-reliance, which means that the people's war is a continuation of

the class struggle.

- The Party applies the policy of deciding for itself, which means that it will not submit itself to super-powers or imperialism.

ON THE BUILDING OF THE THREE INSTRUMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION

Chairman Mao Tsetung teaches us that handling the three instruments well is a sign of correct leadership.

To build the Party, the army and the front, the Communist Party of Peru bases itself on the following principle: build organisation on a political and ideological basis, in the midst of class struggle and two-line struggle simultaneously, for the purpose of armed struggle to seize political power.

Let's look at some aspects of the building of the three instruments:

1) *Regarding the Party*

a) The ideological-political aspect. The Party applies Chairman Gonzalo's great thesis of the militarisation of the Party. As we've said before, we have entered an era of wars, we live in an epoch foreseen by Chairman Mao, an epoch of 50 to 100 years of profound social changes, and therefore we should prepare ourselves to take up different forms of struggle. It has to be taken into account that even after imperialism is defeated, there will still be capitalism. The proletariat will definitively consolidate its political power. This is the strategic offensive of the world revolution. Since it is an era of wars and great transformations, the Party undergoes changes which lead to its modification, its militarisation.

Let us recall that Marx spoke of the necessity for the proletariat to constitute itself into a Party. Lenin taught the construction of a Party of a new type. Chairman Mao showed how to build a Party in relation to the united front and the armed struggle. Today, Chairman Gonzalo says: the Party must be militarised. The communist parties must militarise themselves, that is, taking into account the unevenly developing revolutionary situation, the parties must be constituted or reconstituted with the rifle at their centre and go over to armed actions.

Historical conditions demand this modification. The militarised Party develops in the midst of war, which allows three things: 1) it gives rise to war communism, which means an absolute lack of self-interest that creates a spirit that keeps the flames of revolution burning; 2) it allows capitalist restoration to be prevented, because it gives the Party absolute control over the army; and 3) it develops a militarised society, that is, the general arming of the people.

The experience of the PCP shows the correctness of Chairman Gonzalo's thesis. The Party matured through a 15-year process of Reconstitution which was carried out with the clearly defined aim of leading a peasant uprising. The Party culminated this process by formulating a whole set of basic political strategies to carry out the revolution, beginning to militarise itself, putting the gun at its centre, and thus preparing itself to launch the armed struggle. Then the Party went over to carrying out armed actions, from small to bigger, forming detachments, then platoons, companies, etc., forming its military units in the course of action and thus building the heroic People's Guerilla Army.

In this way, the Party has been carrying through its militarisation in the course of war, making itself fit, as Chairman Mao taught, to fulfill the proletariat's responsibilities to lead the revolution in this era of wars and great transformations in which imperialism is hastening towards its ruin and in which the main trend is revolution.

b) The organisational aspect. Let's consider four questions:

First question: concentric construction. The Party in arms leads the army absolutely, it is the army's backbone. The army is the backbone of the state and the state is led by the Party through what is at this point a joint dictatorship of three classes, the proletariat, the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie. The state is built according to the three-thirds policy, that is one third of its members are communists, one third are peasants and one third progressives.

Second question: organisational

structure. Its essence is democratic centralism. It is centralised in order to lead the war as a single whole strategically and decentralised tactically. The social composition of the Party has changed. Today it has a membership of a new type, basically poor peasants. Each Party member has three functions: political, military and administrative. The Party member of a new type is forged in the war and develops the revolution by force of arms wherever he or she may be, and with great disdain for death.

Third question: organisational system. This refers to the disposition of forces for the purpose of war. Today the Party is working to cover the region from Cajamarca to Puno with continuous and sporadic military actions, with the Party's main Regional Committee located in the poorest area. The task is to advance through the mountain valleys, spilling over through the jungle highlands and the headlands of the rivers leading to the coast, while at the same time carrying out work in the cities.

Fourth question: organisational work. The Party carries out open and secret work.

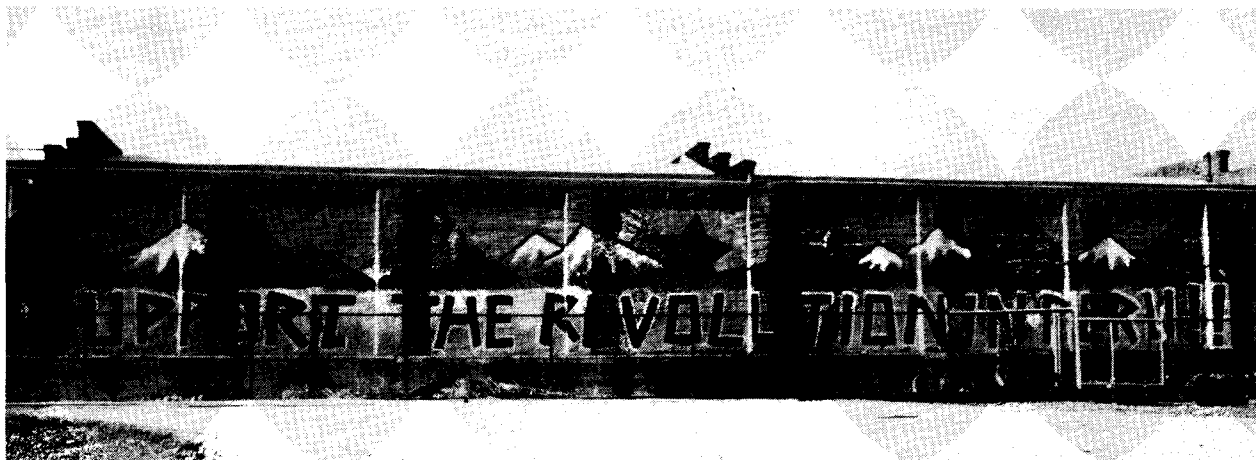
c) The aspect of leadership. The Party has a leadership system. In addition to the Central Committee, there is a Political Bureau, a Permanent Committee and the Chairmanship of the Party.

d) The aspect of two-line struggle. Within the Communist Party of Peru the red line, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line, is in command. Its highest expression is Chairman Gonzalo. Rightism, which is the main danger, is dealt with by decapitation, which means that the right is not allowed to raise its head; it must be made to trod on its own black banners and defend its communist qualifications.

e) The aspect of mass work. The Party aims to organise new organisms which can resist reactionary attacks.

2) *Regarding the People's Guerilla Army*

The People's Guerrilla Army was created out of political necessity. It is made up of three forces: the main forces, the local forces and the community forces. This has allowed the



Wall mural, San Francisco Bay Area.

revolutionary forces to multiply and contend with the reactionary Armed Forces. The People's Guerrilla Army is absolutely led by the Party and has three functions: to fight, produce and mobilize. To mobilize means carrying out propaganda among the masses, mobilising them and arming them.

The militia has been incorporated into the People's Guerrilla Army. Lenin said that the state is a people's militia that fulfills three functions: the functions of an army, a police force and an administration. This was aimed at preventing the formation of castes. Nevertheless Lenin had to create the Red Army because 14 foreign armies invaded the Soviet Union. The Red Army developed so greatly that today, when revisionism has transformed the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist superpower, it is a powerful aggressive apparatus centred on guns. The left within the Communist Party of China put forward that the Party should control the militia and then swallow up the army, as Lenin had proposed. Military men who do not become proletarianised, who are not trained as communists, become tyrants. They think that the political power belongs to them and they end up running feudal fiefdoms. Chairman Gonzalo, with great historical vision, has anticipated this problem with the army and therefore he has incorporated the militia within it.

The building of the army is primarily ideological-political. Today there is not enough arms and matériel, but the Party doesn't buy

arms because it doesn't want to mortgage the revolution. The Party relies on the masses; Peru's revolution is being carried out with dynamite. Little by little, the reaction's arms will end up and are ending up in the hands of the people.

3) Regarding the State

Today there are People's Committees which exercise real state functions, which give shape to a new state system through the joint dictatorship under the leadership of the Party as the representative of the proletariat, a new system of government, of the organisation of power, based on assemblies. There is a representatives' assembly, made up of delegates of the various organisations that arise. This assembly elects the five clandestine commissioners who make up the executive. These commissioners are:

The Political Commissioner, who is a Party member.

The Security Commissioner, a Party member who coordinates responses to the reaction together with the People's Guerrilla Army.

The Commissioner of Community Affairs, who is a peasant, and has to do with trials, births, marriages, etc.

The Front Commissioner, who is a petit bourgeois, for example a shopkeeper or intellectual. He organises the people into the organisations that are generated.

The Production Commissioner, who is a peasant. Organises planting, collective harvests, etc.

The People's Committees in a zone are joined together to make up

the People's New Democratic Republic Organising Committee which has three tasks: leadership, planning and building.

In the countryside political, economic, military and cultural bastions of the revolution are being created. The New Democracy is face to face with the old one. The social life of the masses, production, the administration of justice, commerce, education, recreation, etc. is being organised. Today it has become necessary to formulate laws regarding the land and the people's rights. New production and social relations are coming into being step by step.

The Party sees to it that the underdogs seize power, that the masses themselves give rise to people who can carry out state functions.

As a conclusion to this brief analysis of the building of the three instruments of the revolution, we would say the following:

The armed struggle is giving rise to new things. The PCP, understanding how to lead newly arising things, has developed its political vision. Today the Party is the heroic fighter who leads both the armed struggle and the front. Of course, the work of construction follows the fluid lines of war.

IMPACT OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Here we see how the reaction has responded to the armed struggle and the armed struggle's profound impact on the development of the class

struggle in Peru.

The reaction, faithfully carrying out U.S. imperialism's guidelines, began by labeling the PCP "terrorist." It should be kept in mind that the individual terrorism of the nineteenth century was condemned by the great teachers of the proletariat, but when the bomb has become a weapon in the hands of the masses, as it has today in Peru, it becomes a correct form of struggle. Then the reaction sent in the police, as if they were fighting common criminals. At intervals they carried out three police operations which failed miserably one after another. The purpose of these intermittent operations was to gather information on the Party and find the guerrillas. In January 1983 the reactionary Armed Forces came in, utilizing armed bands made up of feudal tyrants, petty tyrants and their followers. Later the Armed Forces organised them into paramilitary units. When the Armed Forces came in, they were faced with insufficient authority, a lack of economic support and problems with the country's borders. They feared being drawn into a civil war.

In November 1983 the reactionary Armed Forces began carrying out wholesale slaughter and genocide. About the time of the municipal elections that year the first mass graves appeared and the "disappearances" began. In 1984 they began carrying out a plan to subjugate the masses. They penetrated into the People's Committees trying to group the peasants together in relocation camps. Thus they carried out a militarised corporativisation. The old state divided in two: the bourgeois-democratic state with representative democracy, and militarised corporativism which ruled over 10% of Peru's population, both face to face with a rising People's New Democratic Republic. The Party is working to unleash uprisings among the masses of peasants imprisoned in the relocation camps.

In July 1984 the government gave the Armed Forces Joint Command the authority to fight the guerrillas wherever they wanted throughout the country. By the end of 1984 the reaction began to talk about "con-

solidating," bragging that they would end the state of emergency and give political power back to the civilian authorities. But since the Party responded with a mighty offensive in January 1985, they were forced to postpone their "consolidation." In May 1985 the reaction passed a law regarding the state of emergency and state of siege which gave the Joint Command carte blanche against the guerrillas. Thus the reactionary Armed Forces have come in to fight as the main forces, augmenting their troops, which, when they are scattered, are more vulnerable to ambushes.

The United Left, for its part, headed up by the slimy and accommodating Menshevik Barrantes, is in favour of smashing the guerrillas and defending the old order.

This is how the reaction has desperately tried to save the ruling classes whose existence is menaced by the onslaught of the revolution, unleashing criminal actions including genocide which have led to the death of more than 10,000 sons and daughters of the people.

The armed struggle led by the PCP has opened up the third period in contemporary Peruvian society, which means the destruction of the three mountains which weigh upon our people: imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The first period was from 1895 until the end of World War II; this was the beginning and development of bureaucrat capitalism, led by the comprador bourgeoisie. The second period, after 1945 more or less, marks the deepening of bureaucrat capital, with the increasing presence of a bureaucrat bourgeoisie. The third period, which began in 1980 with the beginning of the armed struggle, is the period of bureaucrat capitalism's crisis and destruction.

Thus 13 centuries of reactionary states have begun to be swept aside. This is the greatest and most far-reaching epic in our history. Today the exploited are beginning to build their own state. The Peruvian masses now have found their vanguard and that is the main thing. The PCP is the definitive demand of the oppressed, above all of the poor peasants led by the proletariat. It is the most thorough challenge the

reaction has ever faced. The Party will never declare a truce nor will it ask for one. The armed struggle is war without quarter. There are no deals. The development of new things unfolds through the armed struggle, shattering the old order.

MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM AND THE ARMED STRUGGLE.

Now let's say a few words about the doctrine, the philosophical basis which guides the Communist Party of Peru.

The proletariat, the last class in history, a class whose historic mission is to emancipate itself and all mankind in order to achieve communism, can do this because it has an all-powerful doctrine: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Lenin represented the development of Marxism to a new stage, the stage of Leninism. Chairman Mao Tsetung represents the development of Marxism-Leninism to a higher stage, the stage of Maoism. Chairman Mao developed Marxism in its three component parts: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. The PCP fights for the universal recognition of Maoism, so that the world will recognise Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the ideology which guides the world revolution. Maoism means a universally valid school, current and stand.

The guiding thought of Chairman Gonzalo is the fusion of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with Peru's reality. It is the key to the Peruvian revolution. This guiding thought is Chairman Gonzalo's and not a collective product. Forged in the reconstitution of the Party and developed further with the armed struggle, this guiding thought has made important, universally valid contributions: the strategic offensive of the world revolution, the militarisation of the communist parties, regarding people's war, the concentric construction of the three instruments, the analysis of fascism, the analysis of bureaucrat capitalism and the factions which collude and contend within the big bourgeoisie, regarding the two-line struggle, etc.

To produce a universal development, a fourth stage of Marxism, many communists in the world are contributing and working together.

This will give rise to a fourth stage.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The world revolution led by the proletariat through its communist parties is a fairly protracted process. The bourgeois revolution took 300 years to take hold. The Communist Party of Peru calculates that it will take 200 years to consolidate the proletariat's dictatorship, counting from 1871 when the proletariat first took power in the Paris Commune.

The world proletarian revolution has had very important milestones:

- In 1871, with the Paris Commune. Marx put forward that the proletariat should have applied more violence, which means dictatorship.

- In 1917 with the Russian revolution. With it a new era in the world proletarian revolution began.

- In 1949 with the triumph of the Chinese revolution. China established a New Democratic state under a joint dictatorship and went over to the socialist revolution. Thus the correlation of forces in the world changed in favour of socialism.

- In 1966 with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It resolved the problem of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today we find ourselves in the strategic offensive of the world revolution, in the period of 50 to 100 years when the principal contradiction is between the oppressed nations on one hand and the superpowers, imperialism on the other. Thus the main trend in the world today is revolution. Therefore one must dare to seize power, the communist parties must militarise themselves, the oppressed nations, whose masses play an important part in making history, must march as the main force led by the communist parties.

In order to achieve communism all the oppressed must emancipate themselves. The Peruvian revolution is part of the world revolution and the Communist Party serves the world revolution because it is internationalist. This is why the PCP has joined the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, through which the Party is rejoining the Interna-

tional Communist Movement.

The Peruvian revolution has received internationalist support, especially from the RIM. For example, support committees for the Peruvian revolution have been formed. The PCP is a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party in arms and that means that it has a greater responsibility because with the armed struggle it must demonstrate Maoism's validity to the world.

THE PRESENT SITUATION FOR THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

The development of the three instruments of the revolution, the Party, the armed struggle and the united front, finds its expression in the new state power. To develop the new, three things are necessary: a) a correct line, that is, correct political and military lines and specific policies; b) the development of organisational forms; c) a great outpouring and even overflowing of energy, because the old tends to reestablish itself within the new. The Party is bringing all its forces into play to draw the masses into organisational forms to carry out the people's war, and tenaciously and firmly escalate the guerrilla war in order to expand throughout the mountain regions and retake lost positions in the main Regional Committee.

Today the latest events show that the People's War is developing and advancing. As the PCP said in its May 1985 letter to the Committee of the RIM, "Today the PCP is finishing off five years of people's war. Through the course of these five years it has carried out around 25,000 armed actions, in whose forge it has formed a People's Guerrilla Army which is the backbone of the base areas of the new state power, of the New Democracy which is making its way among our people. The difficulty of this situation is concisely expressed by its cost of 10,000 fallen in combat or 'disappeared.' Nevertheless, despite the intensification of this genocide being carried out by the reactionary armed forces, during the last year our work has expanded into new zones, as well as persisting in the zones where we began, so that we are car-

rying out the orientation of 'stoke the bonfire, spread the flames, develop the struggle of the masses principally as an armed struggle, and let the repression spur us onward.' In this way the people's war in our country continues to blaze defiantly, expanding, spreading its roots and preparing for newer and higher tasks, guided always by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, battling for the emancipation of our people for the purpose of and at the service of the world revolution. Thus we are contributing and will contribute to the tasks of the RIM, more and more willing and able to aid in every possible way our glorious common cause: the emancipation of the proletariat and the prevailing of communism throughout the earth." □