

**GENERAL POLITICAL LINE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU**

Central Committee of The Communist Party of Peru

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Chapter 1

Fundamental Documents

1.1 On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

In the furnace of class struggle, the ideology of the international proletariat emerged as Marxism, afterwards developed into Marxism-Leninism and later Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Therefore, the scientific ideology of the proletariat, all-powerful because it is true, has three stages or landmarks in its dialectical process of development: 1) Marxism, 2) Leninism, and 3) Maoism. These three stages are part of the same unity which began with the Communist Manifesto one hundred and forty years ago, with the heroic epic of the class struggle, in fierce and fruitful two-line struggles within the communist parties themselves and in the titanic work of thought and action that only the working class could generate. Today, three unfading lights are outstanding: Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung who, through three grand leaps have armed us with the invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which today is principally Maoism.

Nevertheless, while Marxism-Leninism has obtained an acknowledgment of its universal validity, Maoism is not completely acknowledged as the third stage. Some simply deny its condition as such, while others only accept it as “Mao Tse-tung Thought.” In essence, both positions, with the obvious differences between them, deny the general development of Marxism made by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The denial of the “ism” character of Maoism denies its universal validity and, consequently, its condition as the third, new, and superior stage of the ideology of the international proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, that we uphold, defend, and apply.

As an INTRODUCTION, in order to better understand Maoism and the necessity to struggle for it, let us remember Lenin. He taught us that as the revolution advanced to the East it expressed specific conditions that, while they did not negate principles or laws, were new situations that Marxism could not ignore, upon the risk of putting the revolution in danger of a defeat. Notwithstanding the uproar against what is new by pedantic and bookish intellectuals, who are stuffed with liberalism and false Marxism, the only just and correct

thing to do is to apply Marxism to the concrete conditions and to solve the new situations and problems that every revolution necessarily faces. In the face of the horrified and pharisaic “defenses of the ideology, the class, and of the people” that revisionists, opportunists and renegades proclaim, or the furious attacks against Marxism by brutalized academicians and hacks of the old order who are debased by the rotten bourgeois ideology and blindly defend the old society on which they are parasites. Lenin also said clearly that the revolution in the East would present new and great surprises to the greater amazement of the worshipers of following only the well-trodden paths who are incapable of seeing the new; and, as we all know, he trusted the Eastern comrades to resolve the problems that Marxism had not yet resolved.

Furthermore, we must keep well in mind that when Comrade Stalin justly and correctly stated that we had entered the stage of Leninism as the development of Marxism, there was also opposition by those who rend their garments in a supposed defense of Marxism. There were also those who said that Leninism was only applicable to the backward countries. But, in the midst of struggle, practice has consecrated Leninism as a great development of Marxism, and thus the proletarian ideology shone victoriously in the face of the world as Marxism-Leninism.

Today, Maoism faces similar situations. All new things, like Marxism, have always advanced through struggle, and similarly, Maoism will impose itself and be acknowledged.

As for the CONTEXT in which Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed and Maoism was forged, on an international level it was on the basis of imperialism, world wars, the international proletarian movement, the national liberation movement, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism, and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. Three big historical landmarks must be emphasized in the present century: first, the October Revolution of 1917, which opened the era of the world proletarian revolution; second, the triumph of the Chinese Revolution, in 1949, which changed the correlation of forces in favor of socialism; and third, the great proletarian cultural revolution, which began in 1966 as the continuation of the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship in order to maintain the revolutionary course towards Communism. It is enough to emphasize that Chairman Mao led two of these glorious historical feats.

In China, as the center of world revolution, Maoism was concretely expressed within the most complex convergence of contradictions, and the intense and ruthless class struggle which was marked by the pretensions of the imperialist powers of tearing and dividing up China after the collapse of the Manchurian Empire (1911), the anti-imperialist movement of 1919, the revolts of the great peasant masses, the twenty-two years of armed struggle of the democratic revolution, the great contest for the building and development of socialism and the ten years of revolutionary storms for carrying forward the Cultural Revolution, as well as the sharpest two-line struggle within the Communist Party of China, especially against revisionism. All this was framed within the international situation described above. It is out of this aggregate of historical deeds that we have to extract four events of extraordinary importance: The founding

of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1921; the Autumn Harvest uprising which initiated the path from the countryside to the city, in 1925; the founding of the People's Republic, 1949; and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR), from 1966-1976; in all of which Chairman Mao was a protagonist and the acknowledged leader of the Chinese Revolution.

We can say from Chairman Mao Tse-tung's biography that he was born on December 26th 1893, opening his eyes to an agitated world scorched by the flames of war; son of peasants, he was seven years old when "Boxer Rebellions" began; a student at a Teachers' Training College, he was in his eighteenth year when the empire collapsed and he enlisted himself as a soldier, later to become a great organizer of peasants and of the youth in Hunan, his native province. Founder of the Communist Party and of the Red Army of workers and peasants, he established the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside developing People's War as the military theory of the proletariat. He was the theoretician of New Democracy and founder of the People's Republic; a promoter of the Great Leap Forward and of the development of socialism; the leader of the struggle against the contemporary revisionism of Khrushchev and his henchmen, leader and head of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These are landmarks of a life devoted thoroughly and solely to the revolution. The proletariat has seen three gigantic triumphs in this century: Two of them belong to Chairman Mao, and if one is glory enough, two are even more.

On the CONTENT of Maoism, of its substance, we must point out the following basic issues:

1. Theory. Marxism has three parts: Marxist philosophy, Marxist political economy, and scientific socialism. The development of all these three components gives rise to a great qualitative leap of Marxism as a whole, as a unity on a superior level, which implies a new stage. Consequently, the essential thing is to show that Chairman Mao, as can be seen in theory and practice, has generated such a great qualitative leap. Let us highlight this with the following points:

In Marxist philosophy he developed the essence of dialectics, the law of contradiction, establishing it as the only fundamental law; and besides his profound dialectical understanding of the theory of knowledge, whose center are the two leaps that make up its law (from practice to knowledge and vice versa, but with knowledge to practice being the main one). We emphasize that he masterfully applied the law of contradiction in politics; and moreover he brought philosophy to the masses of people, fulfilling the task that Marx left.

In Marxist political economy, Chairman Mao applied dialectics to analyze the relationship between the base and superstructure, and, continuing the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist thesis of the "productive forces", he concluded that the superstructure, consciousness, can modify the base, and that with political power the productive forces can be developed. By developing the Leninist idea that politics is the concentrated expression of economics, he established that politics must be in

command, (applicable on all levels) and that political work is the life-line of economic work; which takes us to the true handling of political economy, not just a simple economic policy.

Despite its importance, an issue which is often sidestepped, especially by those who face democratic revolutions, is the Maoist thesis of bureaucratic capitalism; that is, the capitalism which is being developed in the oppressed nations by imperialism along with different degrees of underlying feudalism, or even pre-feudal stages. This is a vital problem, mainly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, since a good revolutionary leadership derives from its understanding, especially when the confiscation of bureaucratic capital forms the economic basis for carrying forward the socialist revolution as the second stage.

But the main thing is that Chairman Mao Tse-tung has developed the political economy of socialism. Of the utmost importance is his criticism of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, as well as his theses on how to develop socialism in China: Taking agriculture as the base and industry as the leading economic force, promoting industrialization guided by the relationship between heavy industry, light industry and agriculture; taking heavy industry as the center of economic construction and simultaneously paying full attention to light industry and agriculture. The Great Leap Forward and the conditions for its execution should be highlighted: One, the political line that gives it a just and correct course; two, small, medium, and large organizational forms in a greater to lesser quantity, respectively; three, a great drive, a gigantic effort of the masses of people in order to put it in motion and to take it through to success, a leap forward whose results are valued more for the new process set in motion and its historical perspective than its immediate achievements, and its linkage with agricultural collectivization and the people's communes. Finally, we must bear well in mind his teachings on the objectivity and the subjectivity in understanding and handling the laws of socialism, that because the few decades of socialism have not permitted it to see its complete development, and therefore a better understanding of its laws and its specification, and principally the relationship that exists between revolution and the economic process, embodied in the slogan "grasp revolution and promote production". Despite its transcendental importance, this development of Marxist political economy has received scant attention.

In scientific socialism, Chairman Mao further developed the theory of social classes analyzing them on economic, political, and ideological planes. He upheld revolutionary violence as a universal law without any exception whatsoever; revolution as a violent displacement of one class by another, thus establishing the great thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". He resolved the question of the conquest of political power in the oppressed nations through the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside, establishing its general laws. He defined and developed the theory of the class struggle within socialism in which he brilliantly

demonstrated that the antagonistic struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and between socialism and capitalism continues. That in socialism it was not concretely determined who would defeat whom, that it was a problem whose solution demands time, the unfolding of a process of restoration and counter-restoration, in order for the proletariat to strongly hold political power definitely through the proletarian dictatorship; and, finally and principally, the grandiose solution of historical transcendence, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the continuation of the socialist revolution under the proletarian dictatorship.

These basic questions, simply and plainly stated but known and undeniable, show the Chairman's development of the integral parts of Marxism, and the evident raising of Marxism-Leninism to a new, third and superior stage: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism.

Continuing with this brief synthesis, let us look at other specific points which, although deriving from the above, should be considered even if only enumeratively, to emphasize and pay due attention to them.

2. The New Democratic Revolution. Firstly, it is a development of the Marxist theory of the State, establishing three types of dictatorships:

- Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, in the old bourgeois democracies like the United States, a type in which the dictatorships of the oppressed nations such as the Latin American ones can be assimilated;
- Proletarian dictatorships, like the ones in the Soviet Union or in China before the usurpation of power by the revisionists; and
- New Democracy, as a joint dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance, led by the proletariat headed up by the Communist Party, which was formed in China during its democratic revolution, and which is concretely expressed in Perú today through the People's Committees, in the base areas and in the People's Republic of New Democracy in formation. It is fundamental to emphasize, within this development of the theory of the state, the key differentiation between a state system as a dictatorship of a class or classes that hold political power, which is principal, and a system of government, which is understood as an organization for the exercise of political power.

On the other hand, New Democracy, one of the extraordinary developments made by Chairman Mao, masterfully materializes for us the bourgeois revolution of a new type, which only the proletariat can lead. In synthesis, it is the democratic revolution within the new era of world proletarian revolution in which we evolve. The New Democratic Revolution implies a new economy, a new politics, and a new culture, obviously overthrowing the old order and upholding the new one with arms, the only way to transform the world.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that New Democracy is a democratic revolution. Although it mainly fulfills the democratic tasks, it also complementarily advances in some socialist tasks, so that the question of two stages, democratic and socialist, which corresponds to countries like ours, is thoroughly solved by guaranteeing that once the democratic stage is concluded, it will be continued as a socialist revolution, without any intermissions or interruptions.

3. The three instruments. The problem of the construction of the instruments of the revolution presents the Party with the problem of understanding the interrelationship between the Party, the army and the united front; and to understand and correctly handle the interconnected construction of the three instruments in the midst of war or in the defense of the new State based on the power of the armed people, expressing in that way a just and correct task of leadership. Their construction is guided by the principle that a just and correct ideological line decides everything, and it is on this ideological-political basis that the organizational construction is simultaneously developed in the midst of the struggle between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line and within the storm of the class struggle, mainly in war, as the principal form of current or potential struggle.

Regarding the Party, Chairman Mao starts from the necessity of the Communist Party, a new type of party, a party of the proletariat. Today, we would say a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party: a party whose aim is to conquer political power and to defend it, and therefore it is inextricably bound to people's war in order to initiate it, develop it or wage it to defend itself. A party sustained by the masses of people, be it by way of people's war which is a war of the masses, or by the united front which, being a front of classes, is based on the broad masses. The Party develops and changes itself according to the stages of the revolution and the periods that these stages may have. The driving of its development is the contradiction which materializes in its heart as the two-line struggle, the proletarian line and the bourgeois or in general non-proletarian line, which is in essence and mainly a struggle against revisionism. This leads to the decisive importance of ideology in the life of the party and to the development of rectification campaigns that serve a greater adjustment of all the systems of party organizations and the membership to the just and correct ideological and political lines, guaranteeing the predominance of the proletarian line and keeping the Party leadership in its iron grip. The Party serves the establishment of political power for the proletariat as the leading class of the New Democracy, and principally for the establishment, strengthening and development of the proletarian dictatorship, and through cultural revolutions the conquest of the great, final goal: Communism. Because of this, the Party must lead everything in an all-around way.

The revolutionary army is of a new type. It is an army for the fulfillment of the political tasks that the Party establishes in accordance with

the interests of the proletariat and the people. This characteristic is concretely expressed in three tasks: To combat, to produce in order to pose no parasitical burden, and to mobilize the masses. It is an army based on the political development of the proletariat's ideology, from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (today), and from the general political line as well as the military one that the Party may establish. It is an army based on people and not on weapons, an army that surged from the masses with whom it has always been linked, serving them wholeheartedly, which allows it to move among the people like fish in the water. Without a people's army the people have nothing, said Chairman Mao, at the same time he taught us the necessity of the Party's absolute leadership over the army and his great principle: The Party commands the gun and we will never permit it to be otherwise. Besides having thoroughly established the principles and norms for the construction of a new type of army, the Chairman himself called for preventing the use of the army for the restoration of capitalism by usurping the leadership through a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat and, developing Lenin's thesis on the people's militia, he carried out farther than anyone the general policy of arming the people, thus opening a breach and pointing out the path towards the armed sea of masses that will lead us to the definite emancipation of the people and the proletariat.

It was Chairman Mao who for the first time developed a complete theory on the united front and established its laws. A front of social classes based on the worker-peasant alliance as a guarantee of the proletariat's hegemony in the revolution, which is led by the proletariat represented by the Communist Party; in synthesis, a united front under the leadership of the Communist Party, a united front for the people's war, for the revolution, for the conquest of power for the proletariat and the people. In synthesis, the united front is the grouping of the revolutionary forces against the counter-revolutionary forces in order to wage the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution mainly through the armed people's war. The united front, obviously, is not the same in every stage of the revolution and, furthermore, it has its specifications according to the various historical periods of each stage; likewise, the united front in a concrete revolution does not equal the one on a world level, although both follow the same general laws. Apart from this, it is important to emphasize the relation between the front and the State that Chairman Mao established when the war of resistance against Japan was evolving, setting forth that the united front is a form of joint dictatorship, a question that deserves to be especially studied by those who face democratic revolutions.

4. The People's War is the military theory of the international proletariat; in it are summarized, for the first time in a systematic and complete form, the theoretical and practical experience of the struggles, military actions, and wars waged by the proletariat, and the prolonged experience of the people's armed struggle and especially of the incessant wars in China. It is with Chairman Mao that the proletariat attains its military

theory; nevertheless, there is much confusion and misunderstanding on this issue. And much of it springs from how the People's War in China is seen. Generally, it is considered derisively and contemptuously simply as a guerrilla war; this alone denotes a lack of understanding. Chairman Mao pointed out that guerrilla warfare achieves a strategic feature; but due to its essential fluidity, the development of guerrilla warfare is not understood as it exists, how it develops mobility, a war of movements, of positions, how it unfolds great plans of the strategic offensive and the seizure of small, mid-sized, and big cities, with millions of inhabitants, combining the attack from outside with the insurrection from within. Thus, in conclusion, the four periods of the Chinese revolution, and mainly from the agrarian war until the people's war of liberation, considering the anti-Japanese war of resistance between both, shows the various aspects and complexities of the revolutionary war waged during more than twenty years amidst a huge population and an immense mobilization and participation of the masses. In that war there are examples of every kind; and what is principal has been extraordinarily studied and its principles, laws, strategy, tactics, rules, etc. masterfully established. It is, therefore, in this fabulous crucible and on what was established by Marxism-Leninism that Chairman Mao developed the military theory of the proletariat: The People's War.

We must fully bear in mind that subsequently, Chairman Mao himself, aware of the existence of atomic bombs and missiles and with China already having them, sustained and developed people's war in order to wage it under the new conditions of atomic weapons and of war against powers and super-powers. In synthesis, people's war is the weapon of the proletariat and of the people, even to confront atomic wars.

A key and decisive question is the understanding of the universal validity of people's war and its subsequent application taking into account the different types of revolution and the specific conditions of each revolution. To clarify this key issue it is important to consider that no insurrection like that of Petrograd, the anti-fascist resistance, or the European guerrilla movements in the Second World War have been repeated, as well as considering the armed struggles that are presently being waged in Europe. In the final analysis, the October Revolution was not only an insurrection but a revolutionary war that lasted for several years. Consequently, in the imperialist countries the revolution can only be conceived as a revolutionary war which today is simply people's war.

Finally, today more than ever, we Communists and revolutionaries, the proletariat and the people, need to forge ourselves in: "Yes. We are adherents to the theory of the omnipotence of the revolutionary war. That it is not bad thing; it is good thing. It is Marxist"; which means adhering to the invincibility of people's war.

5. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a historical perspective is the most transcendental development of Marxism-Leninism made by

Chairman Mao; it is the solution to the great pending problem of the continuation of the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship: “It represents a more profound and wider new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country.”

What was the situation that presented itself? As stated in the Decision of the Communist Party of China on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution states: “Although overthrown, the bourgeoisie still tries to avail itself of the old ideas, culture, habits and ways of the exploiting classes in order to corrupt the masses and to conquer the minds of the people in its endeavors to restore its power. The proletariat must do exactly the opposite: It must deal merciless, frontal blows to all the challenges by the bourgeoisie in the ideological arena and change the spiritual composition of the whole society using its own new ideas, culture, habits and ways. Our present aim is to crush, through struggle, those who occupy leading posts and follow the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ‘authorities’ in the academic fields, to criticize and repudiate the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, and to transform education, literature, and art and the rest of areas of the superstructure that do not correspond to the economic base of socialism, in order to facilitate the consolidation and the development of the socialist system.”

It was in these conditions that the most Earth-shaking political process and the greatest mass mobilization the world has ever seen broke out, and whose objectives were thus outlined by Chairman Mao: “The present GPCR is completely necessary and very timely to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, to prevent the restoration of capitalism, and to build socialism.”

We also emphasize two questions:

- The GPCR implies a landmark in the development of the proletarian dictatorship towards the proletariat’s securing political power, concretely expressed in the Revolutionary Committees; and
- The restoration of capitalism in China after the 1976 counter-revolutionary coup is not a negation of the GPCR but is plainly part of the contention between restoration and counter-restoration, and, on the contrary, it shows us the transcendental historical importance of the GPCR in the inexorable march of mankind towards Communism.
- World Revolution. Chairman Mao emphasizes the importance of the world revolution as a unity, on the basis that revolution is the main trend while the decomposition of imperialism is greater each day, and the role played by the masses grows more immense each year, masses that make and shall make their transforming and unstoppable strength be felt, and reiterates the great truth: Either we all reach Communism or nobody does. Within this specific perspective in the era of imperialism, the great historical moment of the “next 50 to 100

years”, and within this context the opening period of struggle against Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, paper tigers that contend for hegemony and threaten the world with an atomic war, in the face of which, firstly we must condemn it, and secondly, we must prepare ourselves beforehand in order to oppose it with people’s war and make the revolution. On the other hand, starting from the historical importance of the oppressed nations and, furthermore, from their perspective both in the economic and political relationships that are evolving on account of the process of decomposition of imperialism, Chairman Mao stated his thesis that “three worlds delineate themselves”. All of which leads to the necessity of developing the strategy and tactics of world revolution. Regrettably, we know little or almost nothing about Chairman Mao’s writings and statements on these transcendental questions; nevertheless, the very little that is known shows the grand perspectives which he watched closely and the great outlines that we must follow in order to understand and serve the proletarian world revolution

- Superstructure, ideology, culture, and education. These and other related issues have been subtly and deeply studied by Chairman Mao. For that reason, this is also another basic question that deserves attention.

In conclusion, the contents seen in these fundamental issues show clearly to whoever wants to see and understand that we have, therefore, a new, third, and superior stage of Marxism: Maoism; and that to be a Marxist in these days demands to be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and mainly Maoist.

All that has been explained in the contents leads us to two questions:

What is fundamental in Maoism? Political Power is fundamental in Maoism. Political power for the proletariat, power for the dictatorship of the proletariat, power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party. More explicitly:

1. Political power under the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution;
2. Political power for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist and cultural revolutions;
3. Political power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party, conquered and defended through people’s war.

And, what is Maoism? Maoism is the elevation of Marxism-Leninism to a new, third, and superior stage in the struggle for proletarian leadership of the democratic revolution, the development of the construction of socialism and the continuation of the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship as a proletarian cultural revolution; when imperialism deepens its decomposition and revolution has become the main tendency of history, amidst the most complex and largest wars seen to date and the implacable struggle against contemporary revisionism.

On the STRUGGLE AROUND MAOISM. Briefly, the struggle in China for establishing Mao Tse-tung Thought began in 1935 at the Tsunyi Meeting, when Chairman Mao assumed the leadership of the Communist Party of China. In 1945 the VII Congress agreed that the CPC was guided by Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, a specification suppressed by the VIII Congress, since a rightist line prevailed in it. The IX Congress in 1969 resumed the GPCR and ratified that the CPC is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought; that was as far as it advanced.

On an international level, it acquired influence from the 1950s onwards; but it is with the GPCR that it intensely spread out and its prestige rose powerfully and Chairman Mao was acknowledged as the leader of the world revolution and originator of a new stage in Marxism-Leninism; thus, a great number of Communist Parties assumed the denomination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. On the world level, Maoism confronted contemporary revisionism openly unmasking it profoundly and forcefully, and likewise it did so in the CPC's own ranks, all of which raised the Chairman's great red banner still more: The new, third, and superior stage of the ideology of the international proletariat. At present (1988), Maoism confronts the triple attack of Soviet, Chinese and Albanian revisionism. But today, even among those who acknowledge the Chairman's great contributions, including the development of Marxism, there are some who believe that we are still in the stage of Marxism-Leninism, and others who only accept Mao Tse-tung Thought but by no means Maoism.

In this country, obviously, the revisionists who follow the baton of their diverse masters, Gorbachev, Teng, Alia or Castro have continuously attacked Maoism; among them one must condemn, unmask, and implacably combat Del Prado's callous revisionism and his gang, the so called "Peruvian Communist Party"; the abject deviousness of the self-proclaimed "Communist Party of Peru, Patria Roja" who, after raising themselves up as "great Maoists" became Teng's servants, after having condemned him when he was defenestrated in 1976, as well as the anti-Maoism of the so called "Izquierda Unida" (United Left), in whose heart swarmed all the revisionist and even anti-Marxist positions passed off by false Marxists and opportunists of many kinds. We must raise Maoism as a revealing mirror for revisionists in order to combat them implacably, working for the development of the People's War and the triumph of the democratic revolution underway, which is an unavoidable and unrenounceable task of a strategic character.

The Communist Party of Peru, through the fraction led by President Gonzalo, who propelled its reconstitution, took up Marxism-Leninism- Mao Tse-tung Thought in 1966; in 1979 the slogan "Uphold, defend, and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought!"; in 1981: "Towards Maoism!"; and, in 1982, took Maoism as an integral part and superior development of the ideology of the international proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is with the People's War that we have understood more deeply what Maoism implies and we have taken up the solemn pledge to "Uphold, defend, and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism!" and to work relentlessly in helping to place it as leader and guide of the world revolution, the always red and unfading banner

that is the guarantee of triumph for the proletariat, the oppressed nations, and peoples of the world in their inexorable, combative march of iron legions towards the golden and always brilliant goal of Communism.

1.2 Concerning Gonzalo Thought

All revolutions, in their process of development, through the struggle of the proletariat as the leading class and, above all, the struggle of the Communist Party that raises their unrenounceable class interests, give rise to a group of leaders and principally one who represents and leads it, a leader with acknowledged authority and influence. In our reality this has taken shape, on account of historical necessity and causality, in President Gonzalo, leader of the Party and of the revolution.

Moreover, and this is the basis upon which all leadership is formed, revolutions give rise to a thought that guides them, which is the result of the application of the universal truth of the ideology of the international proletariat to the concrete conditions of each revolution; a guiding thought indispensable to reach victory and to conquer political power and, moreover, to continue the revolution and to maintain the course always towards the only, great goal: Communism; a guiding thought that, arriving at a qualitative leap of decisive importance for the revolutionary process which it leads, identifies itself with the name of the one who shaped it theoretically and practically. In our situation, this phenomenon specified itself first as guiding thought, then as President Gonzalo's guiding thought, and later, as Gonzalo Thought; because it is the President who, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality, has generated it; thus endowing the Party and the revolution with an indispensable weapon which is guarantee of victory.

Gonzalo Thought has been forged through long years of intense, tenacious, and incessant struggle to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to retake Mariátegui's path and to develop it, to reconstitute the Party and, principally, to initiate, maintain and develop the People's War in Perú serving the world revolution, and that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism be, in theory and practice, its sole command and guide.

It is of substantive necessity for the party to study Gonzalo Thought for a more just and correct understanding of the general political line, and mainly of the military line, aiming at deepening the understanding of the particularities of the Peruvian revolution, what is specific and particular that President Gonzalo has masterfully emphasized. In this way we serve "the great plan to develop base areas", the development of the People's War and the perspective of conquering political power countrywide.

We must study Gonzalo Thought, starting from the historical context that generated it; examine the ideological base which sustains it; explain its content, more substantially expressed in the general political line and in the military line which is its center; aiming at what is fundamental within it, the problem of political power, of the seizure of power in Perú, which is inextricably linked to

the conquest of power by the proletariat in the whole world; and we must pay close attention to its forging in the two-line struggle.

In synthesis, these fundamental issues can be dealt with by applying the following scheme:

1.2.1 Historical Context

International Context

In relation to the historical events:

1. The development since the Second World War onwards;
2. the powerful national liberation movement and, within it, the process and triumph of the Chinese Revolution;
3. The Cuban Revolution and its repercussion on Latin America;
4. The great struggle between Marxism and revisionism;
5. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. But the key point is to see how, in this great class struggle on the world level, Gonzalo Thought considers that a third stage of the proletarian ideology arises: First, as Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought; then Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought; and later, it is defined as Maoism, understanding its universal validity; and in this way reaching Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, as the present expression of Marxism.

National Context

1. The postwar Peruvian society and within it the political struggle, the so called National Democratic Front, the action of APRA, Odría's coup d'état and the struggle against his Eight Year Rule, the contest between APRA followers and Communists; and particularly, the development of bureaucratic capitalism in the 1960s and part of the 1970s and the sharp class struggle that accompanied it; "Velasquism" and its so-called revolution, the contention and collusion between the comprador bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (factions of the big bourgeoisie), and opportunism and mainly revisionism by their supporters;
2. The class struggle in the peasant movement;
3. The process of the working class movement;
4. The intellectual movement;
5. The armed struggle in the country, especially by the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] and the ELN [National Liberation Army] in 1965, as well as their antecedents in Blanco, Vallejos, and Heraud; and

6. The problem of the Party: How a Party founded on a clear Marxist-Leninist basis degenerated into a revisionist party, the need to retake Mariátegui's path, develop it, and to reconstitute the Party, the Communist Party of Perú that Mariátegui himself founded in 1928, and how through this reconstitution a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party was built. Here it is fundamental how Gonzalo Thought profoundly understood Peruvian society, and focused on the crucial problem of bureaucratic capitalism, and saw the need to reconstitute the Party and to conquer Political Power and defend it with the People's War.

1.2.2 Ideological Basis

Without Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought cannot be conceived, because the latter is the creative application of the former to our reality. The key question on this point lies in the understanding of the historical process of the development of the proletarian ideology, of its three stages shaped in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and with Maoism as principal; and, principally, it is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution; hence Gonzalo Thought is specifically principal for the Communist Party of Perú and the revolution it leads.

The guiding thought, having reached a qualitative leap of decisive importance for the Party and the revolution, has evolved into Gonzalo Thought, thus stamping a milestone in the Party's life

1.2.3 Contents

1. Theory. How it understands and applies the three integral parts of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism; it emphasizes the importance that Marxism gives to philosophy, the necessity of forming ourselves in it, and especially its application of the law of contradiction in the study of every problem, always aiming at defining the principal aspect and the process of things; in political economy, the concern about the relations of exploitation, and especially about bureaucratic capitalism, orienting itself towards ripening the revolution and the repercussion of the People's War on the base, as well as paying attention to the economic relations of imperialism, looking for their political consequences; in scientific socialism it centers on the People's War and its concrete expression in the country, since it always has the problem of political power in mind and, particularly, its shaping and development as a New State.
2. On the contents. The most substantive and developed part of Gonzalo Thought is found in the Party's general political line; this thought directly sustains, therefore, the line and its five elements, with the point of departure being how it understands and maintains the Programme firmly on course.

3. In Gonzalo Thought we must highlight the remarkable fulfillment of the demands stated by Chairman Mao: theoretical solidity, understanding of history, and a good practical handling of politics.

1.2.4 What is Fundamental

What is fundamental in Gonzalo Thought is the problem of political power; concretely, the conquest of political power in Peru, wholly and completely throughout the country, as a consequential application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in our revolution. But, being a Communist thought, it understands the conquest of political power in Perú as a part of the conquest of power for the proletariat on a world level; and that the conquest of power in the country, shaping itself today in the People's Committees, base areas, and People's Republic of New Democracy in formation within the perspective of establishing the People's Republic of Peru, serves to establish the proletarian dictatorship in our country, because without it, it is impossible to march towards Communism. And, all of this is a function of firmly and decisively serving the setting up of people's republics and mainly the proletarian dictatorship throughout the whole world, under the leadership of Communist Parties, with revolutionary armies of a new type, through people's war and the development of cultural revolutions, so that Communism may illuminate all of the Earth.

1.2.5 Forged in the Two-Lined Struggle

It is through a persistent, firm, and wise two-line struggle, defending the proletarian line and defeating the opposing lines that Gonzalo Thought has been forged. Among the most outstanding struggles that deserve to be emphasized are those waged against contemporary revisionism, represented here by Del Prado and his henchmen; those against the rightist liquidationism of Paredes and his gang; those against left liquidationism headed by the one who was called Sergio and his self-proclaimed "Bolsheviks"; and against the right opportunist line that opposed the initiation of the armed struggle. Without struggle, Gonzalo Thought could not have been developed; and his remarkable handling of the two-line struggle within the Party is a fundamental question which we must study and grasp.

To study and principally to apply Gonzalo Thought is decisive in order to better serve the Party, the development of the People's War and the world revolution. Likewise, to learn from President Gonzalo is decisive in order to wholeheartedly serve the people.

1.3 Programme and Statues

1.3.1 Programme

The Communist Party of Perú is based on and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism and, specifically, by Gonzalo Thought as a creative

application of the universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution, as made by President Gonzalo, chief of our Party.

The Communist Party of Peru, organized vanguard of the Peruvian proletariat and integral part of the international Proletariat, especially upholds the following basic principles:

1. Contradiction as the only fundamental law of the incessant transformation of eternal matter;
2. The masses make history and “it is right to rebel”;
3. Class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism;
4. The need for a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party that firmly applies independence, autonomy and self-reliance;
5. To combat imperialism, revisionism, and reaction unbreakably and implacably;
6. To conquer and to defend power with the People’s War;
7. Militarization of the Party and concentric construction of the three instruments of the revolution;
8. Two-line struggle as the driving force of Party development;
9. Constant ideological transformation and to always put politics in command;
10. To serve to the people and the world proletarian revolution; and,
11. An absolute unselfishness and a just and correct style of work.
12. The Communist Party of Perú has Communism as its final goal; given that the current Peruvian society is oppressed and exploited by imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and semi-feudalism, the revolution has first a democratic stage, then a second socialist one that will later develop successive cultural revolutions. Presently with the People’s War the Party develops the democratic revolution, having as its immediate goal to seize power countrywide. Because of this we raise the following objectives:

1.3.2 General Programme of the Democratic Revolution

1. Demolition of the Peruvian State, the dictatorship of the exploiters led by the big bourgeoisie, and of the armed forces and forces of repression that sustain it and of all its bureaucratic apparatus.

2. To sweep away all imperialist oppression, mainly Yankee, and that of Soviet social-imperialism and of any power or imperialist country. In general to confiscate their monopolies, companies, banks and all forms of their property including the external debt.
3. To destroy bureaucratic capitalism, private as well as state owned; to confiscate all their properties, goods and economic rights to benefit of new state, as well as those belonging to imperialism.
4. Liquidation of semi-feudal property and everything subsisting on it, in the countryside as well as in the city.
5. Respect the property and rights of the national bourgeoisie, or middle bourgeoisie, in the country as well as in the city.
6. Fight for the setting-up of the People's Republic of Perú, as a united front of classes based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat headed by its Communist Party; as a mold for the new democracy that carries forward a new economy, a new politics, and a new culture.
7. Develop the People's War that, through a revolutionary army of a new type under the absolute control of the Party, destroys the old power a piece at a time, mainly their armed forces and other repressive forces. This serves to build the new power for the proletariat and the people.
8. To complete the formation of the Peruvian nation, truly unifying the country to defend it from all reactionary and imperialist aggression, safeguarding the rights of the minorities.
9. To serve the development of the Peruvian proletariat as part of the international working class, and the formation and strengthening of real Communist Parties and their unification in a revived international Communist movement guided by the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; all as a function of the proletariat fulfilling its great historical mission as the final class.
10. To defend the freedoms, rights, benefits, and conquests that the working class and the masses have achieved at the cost of their own blood, recognizing them and guaranteeing their authentic enforcement in a "Declaration of the Rights of the People". To observe, particularly, the freedom of religious conscience, but in its widest sense, of believing as not to believe. Also to combat all arrangements harmful to the popular interest, especially any form of unpaid work or personal burden and the overwhelming taxes imposed on the masses.
11. Real equality for women; a better future for the youth; protection for the mothers and the children; respect and support for the elderly.
12. A new culture as a combat weapon to solidify the nation, that serves the popular masses and is guided by the scientific ideology of the proletariat. Special importance to education will be given.

13. To support the struggles of the international proletariat, of the oppressed nations, and of the peoples of the world; fighting against the superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union, imperialism in general, and international reaction and revisionism of all types, conceiving the Peruvian revolution as part of the world proletarian revolution.
14. To struggle tenaciously and heroically for the complete victory and of the democratic revolution nationwide and after completing this stage, at once, without pause, to begin the socialist revolution so that, together with the international proletariat, the oppressed nations and the peoples of the world, through cultural revolutions, will continue the march of humanity towards its final goal, Communism.

But considering that the democratic revolution in the country crosses a period characterized by:

1. Deepening of the general crisis of Peruvian society, mainly of bureaucratic capitalism;
2. Greater reactionarization of the State, today with an Aprista government, fascist and corporatist, headed by the genocidal García Pérez;
3. Sharpening of the class struggle, with the masses accepting more and more the need for combating and resisting;
4. The People's War developing vigorously and growing; and,
5. The people's need for a People's Republic built according to the principles of New Democracy.

Chapter 2

International Line

2.1 Introduction

Chairman Gonzalo has established the international line of the Communist Party of Peru. As proletarian internationalists, he teaches us that we must begin by unfolding the Peruvian revolution through people's war as part of, and at the service of, the world proletarian revolution, marching towards our inalterable goal, Communism, taking into account that each revolution unfolds within the zigzags of world politics.

In appraising the world situation, Chairman Gonzalo begins from Lenin's thesis: "The economic relationships of imperialism constitute the basis of the existing international situation. The history of the XX Century has been defined completely by this new phase of capitalism, its last and highest phase," and that the distinction between oppressor and oppressed countries is a distinctive feature of imperialism. Therefore, in order to see the current situation we cannot depart from the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, since we are in its final and highest phase, imperialism.

Furthermore, upholding what Chairman Mao taught us, that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, that the people are what is truly powerful, and that: "Soviet revisionism and American imperialism, conspiring among themselves, have perpetrated so many evils and infamies that the revolutionary peoples of the entire world will not let them go unpunished. The peoples of all the countries are rising up. A new historical period of struggle against American imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun." He expounds that the destruction of imperialism and world reaction to be carried forward by the Communist Parties, leading the proletariat and the peoples of the world, will be an incontrovertible reality. He calls upon us to fight against the two imperialist superpowers, Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, against the imperialist powers and world reaction, specifying the conditions of each revolution to determine the principal enemy and to avert the actions of the rest.

2.2 The New Era

The victory of the October Revolution in 1917 marked an extraordinary milestone in world history, the end of the bourgeois revolution and the beginning of the world proletarian revolution. This new era was signaled by an intensifying violence expressing the decrepitude of the bourgeoisie in leading the revolution and the maturity of the proletariat to take, lead, and maintain the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revolutions of the oppressed nations also occur within this framework.

In the midst of a complex system of wars of all types, imperialism will be sunk along with world reaction, from which socialism will emerge; consequently, revolution and counterrevolution are conscious that only through war are political changes defined. Since war has a class character, there are imperialist wars such as the First and Second World Wars that were wars of plunder for a re-division of the world; imperialist wars of aggression against oppressed nations such as those of England in the Malvinas, Yankee imperialism in Vietnam, and social-imperialism in Afghanistan; and national liberation wars such as those which are waged in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Since the People's War in Peru is a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought war, without submitting to the superpowers or imperialist powers, it is in the vanguard due to its just character and correct leadership. It is a reality that demonstrates to us that the Communists should focus on the principal aspect of developing people's war as the principal form of struggle to serve the world revolution.

Facing this situation that only through war is the world transformed, we uphold the omnipotence of revolutionary war (meaning people's war) as the highest military theory, that of the proletariat, which must be specified according to each type of country whether imperialist or oppressed as mapped out by Chairman Mao. Thus, the world people's war is an adequate response that serves to prevent the imperialist war or, if this is already happening, to transform it into people's war. But as Communists, we wage war to destroy war through war in order to establish an "enduring peace." We are the only ones that fight for peace—not like Reagan and Gorbachev who make war the more they speak of peace; they are the warmongers.

In appraising the world in this era, we see that four fundamental contradictions are expressed: 1) the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, referring to the contradiction between two radically different systems, which shall encompass this entire era. This contradiction shall be one of the last to be resolved, and shall endure after the seizure of power; 2) the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the contradiction between two opposed classes that shall also persist after the taking of power, manifesting itself in multiple ideological, political and economic forms until its resolution with the arrival of Communism; 3) the inter-imperialist contradictions, the contradiction between the imperialists themselves for hegemony in the world and it occurs between the superpowers themselves, between the superpowers and the imperialist powers and among the imperialist powers themselves. This contradiction shall be solved during the epoch of the next 50 to 100 years; 4) contradictions

between the oppressed nations and imperialism which is the struggle for the liberation of oppressed nations in order to destroy imperialism and reaction, whose resolution is also framed within the next 50 to 100 years. During this time, this is the principal contradiction, although any one of the four fundamental contradictions can be principal in accordance with the specific circumstances of the class struggle, temporarily or in certain countries.

In perspective, in order to arrive at our final goal, Communism, Marxist-Leninist-Maoists must carry forward three types of revolutions: 1) democratic revolution, the bourgeois revolution of a new type led by the proletariat in the oppressed countries, which establishes the joint dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and in certain conditions the middle bourgeoisie, under the hegemony of the proletariat; 2) socialist revolution, in the imperialist and capitalist countries, which establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) cultural revolutions, which are made to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The latter is to subject and eliminate any regeneration of capitalism and to wage armed combat against attempts at capitalist restoration, and which also serves to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the march towards Communism.

Just as no class in the world was able to seize power all at once, but only through a process of restorations and counter-restorations, when the proletariat takes power and establishes its dictatorship, the bourgeoisie's zeal to restore capitalism and to recover its power strengthens and opens up a historical process of struggle by the proletariat to maintain and defend its dictatorship and to avert capitalist restoration and the bourgeoisie who wish to recover power. This struggle between restoration and counter-restoration is an undeniable historical law, until the dictatorship of the proletariat is definitively established. In world history, when the feudal class advanced in China, it took 250 years to definitively crush the restoration of slavery; when the bourgeoisie in the West struggled against feudalism to crush the attempts at restoration or the actual restorations of feudalism, it took 300 years to be definitively established in power. And, addressing a revolution in which the proletariat is definitively installed in power, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration is singularly acute and bitter and will last approximately 200 years, starting from the Paris Commune in 1871. The experiences of capitalist restoration in the USSR and in China leave us with great lessons, positive as well as negative; especially emphasizing the gigantic steps forward in the formation of the new State and how the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the solution to avert restoration.

We, who uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, reaffirm ourselves in revolutionary violence as the universal law to seize power, and that it is crucial in order to substitute one class by another. Democratic revolutions are carried out with revolutionary violence, socialist revolutions are carried out with revolutionary violence and, in the face of restorations, we shall recover power through revolutionary violence. We shall maintain the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with revolutionary violence through cultural revolutions and we will only reach Communism through revolutionary violence. As long as there is a place on Earth in which exploitation

exists, we shall finish it off through revolutionary violence.

This new era arms us richly, and we Communists must strengthen ourselves ideologically, politically, and organically to assume the corresponding responsibilities.

2.3 The Process of the World Revolution

There are two currents that operate in the international Communist movement: The international proletarian movement and the national liberation movement. The first leads and the second is the base.

The national liberation movement. It is waged in the oppressed nations against imperialism and reaction. In the first decade of this century, Lenin paid close attention to the struggles in India, China, and Iran. He expounded that the socialist revolution would not be only and exclusively of the proletariat against its bourgeoisie, but also of all the colonies against their oppressors. He said there is a fusion of two forces, the international proletarian movement and the national liberation movement and, that the weight of the masses in the oppressed nations constitutes most of the population in the world and shall be decisive in the world revolution. He concluded that revolution was shifting to the oppressed nations, but this fact does not negate the revolution in Europe, rather it demonstrated how a socialist State such as the USSR could develop itself in the midst of imperialist encirclement. Developing Marx, Lenin laid the foundations of the strategy for world revolution to undermine imperialism, link the struggle of the national liberation movement with the struggles of the international proletarian movement, and to develop the revolution. If the slogan for Communists is "Proletarians of all countries, Unite!," he put forth the slogan that should guide the struggle of the two forces: "Proletarians of all countries and peoples of the world, Unite!" Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed Lenin's strategy centering on the transcendental importance the national liberation movement has for the world revolution since imperialism fleeces more and more from the oppressed nations, which in turn rise-up in powerful revolutionary storms that should be led by their Communist parties. Thus, the national liberation movement is grounded on the international proletarian movement and these two forces propel the development of world history. Chairman Gonzalo teaches us that the strategy that we Communists must unfold should start from the foundations laid down by Lenin and developed by Chairman Mao.

The international proletarian movement, is the theory and practice of the international proletariat. The proletariat struggles on three levels: Theoretical, political, and economic. Since the proletariat appears in history as the final class, it does so in constant struggle, highlighted by the following milestones: 1848, where the Communist Manifesto elaborated by Marx and Engels established the foundations and the program of the proletariat. 1871, the Paris Commune, where the proletariat seized power for the first time. 1905, the dress rehearsal of the revolution. 1917, the triumph of the October Revolution in Russia, where the class established the dictatorship of the proletariat

and opened up a new era. 1949, the triumph of the Chinese revolution, where the joint dictatorship led by the proletariat is established and the passage to the socialist revolution is resolved, thus changing the correlation forces in the world. In the decade of the 1960s with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the revolution is continued under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the acute struggle between restoration and counter-restoration.

In its revindicative struggle the proletariat generates the union and the strike, which are not only instruments for the economic struggle, but that forge the class "for the great battles still to come." The strike is the principal instrument in the economic struggle and the general strike is a complement to the insurrection, but what Sorel, the anarchists, and others expound is wrong, that power can be seized by the general strike alone. We develop the revindicative struggle as a function of the conquest of Power.

The proletariat generates a political apparatus: The Communist Party which is totally opposed to and different from the other parties, having the objective to seize political power. This is how Marx defined it. Lenin established the characteristics of the Party of the new type, combating the undermining influences of the old revisionism that generated bourgeois workers' parties based on the labor aristocracy, the union bureaucracy, parliamentary cretinism, all fitted to the old order. Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed the construction of the Party around the gun and proposed the construction of the three instruments. Chairman Gonzalo established the thesis of the militarization of the Communist parties and the concentric construction of the three instruments.

The proletariat generates an ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism for the world revolution and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, mainly Gonzalo Thought, for the Peruvian revolution.

Marxism was founded on the ideas of Marx. Marx and Engels took the best that humanity had produced: German classical philosophy, English political economy and French socialism to found the ideology of the proletariat. Marxism has not taken a step in its life without struggling against wrong positions. Thus it had to confront Proudhon and anarchism, right-wing deviations of the supposedly creative developments of Dühring, and the opportunist positions that emerged in the German Social Democratic Party. After subsequently, the old revisionism unfolds with Bernstein and Kautsky after the death of Engels; Lenin is going to defeat them. In synthesis, in its first stage Marxism establishes the Marxist philosophy or dialectical materialism, Marxist political economy, and scientific socialism.

Lenin develops Marxism and brings it to a second stage, Marxism-Leninism. He did this through hard struggles fought against the old revisionism that negated Marxist philosophy, saying neo-Kantism should be the basis instead; that is idealism and not dialectical materialism. In political economy, they negated the growing pauperization among the proletariat, and claimed that the proletariat's demands were being satisfied by capitalism and imperialism. They negated surplus value and imperialism. In scientific socialism, they took aim against the class struggle and revolutionary violence and propagated pacifism.

Revisionism means to revise Marxist principles by invoking new circumstances. Lenin said that revisionism is the advance of bourgeoisie into the ranks of the proletariat and that to fight effectively against imperialism one must also fight against revisionism, since they are two sides of the same coin. Lenin emphasized that revisionism aims to divide the trade unions and the political movement of the proletariat and that it generates the split in socialism. In this accurate and relentless struggle against revisionism Lenin further expounded, during the juncture of the First World War, the need to convert the imperialist war into a revolutionary war, unmasking the old revisionists as social-patriots. He pointed out that in revolutionary times one must create new organizations, since the reactionaries strike at the legal organizations and we should develop clandestine organizations even for mass work. Afterward, he shaped the October Revolution with the Communist Party through the insurrection.

Stalin continued the work of Lenin and in the process of building socialism in the USSR, he struggled against the deviations of Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev that concluded in 1937. This was a 13-year struggle and it is untruthful to say that things were administratively resolved. We take up the position of Chairman Mao on the role of comrade Stalin as being 70

In developing Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao Tse-tung raises Marxism to its highest summit, thus the theory of the proletariat becomes Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. He fulfilled this task within the midst of a tenacious and persistent struggle, crushing the right opportunist lines within the Chinese Communist Party. Here we highlight the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping. On the international level, he led the struggle against and the defeat of the contemporary revisionism of Khrushchev. He shaped the democratic revolution in China, the step to the socialist revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. What is fundamental in Maoism is power, power for the proletariat, power for the dictatorship of the proletariat, based on an armed force led by the Party. Maoism is the application of Marxism-Leninism to the backwards countries, of the strategic offensive of the world revolution, and of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus, we Communists have three great swords: our founder Marx, the great Lenin, and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Our great task is to uphold, defend, and to apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and place it as the command and guide of the world revolution.

Continuing the development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, developing the Peruvian revolution and supporting the world revolution, Chairman Gonzalo upholds, defends and applies our undefeated and unfading ideology, constituting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought as the basis of Party unity. For us, Gonzalo Thought is the principal thing which we must embody because it is the guarantee of victory that leads us to the democratic revolution, to the socialist revolution, to the cultural revolutions until Communism.

From another perspective, Chairman Gonzalo expounds that in the process of the world revolution to sweep away imperialism and reaction from the face of the earth there are three moments: 1st, the strategic defensive; 2nd, the strategic equilibrium; and 3rd, the strategic offensive of the world revolution. He does

this by applying the law of contradiction to the revolution, since contradiction reigns in everything and all contradictions have two aspects in struggle, in this case revolution and counter-revolution. The strategic defensive of the world revolution opposed to the offensive of the counter-revolution, begins since 1871 with the Paris Commune and ends with the Second World War. The strategic equilibrium occurs around the victory of the Chinese revolution, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the development of the powerful national liberation movement. Afterwards, the world revolution enters into the strategic offensive; this moment can be identified in history in connection with the 1980s in which we see indications such as the Iran-Iraq war, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, the initiation of the People's War in Peru, an era circumscribed within the "next 50 to 100 years." From there onward the contradiction between capitalism and socialism will develop whose resolution will carry us to Communism. Our conception is of a long process, not a short one, with the conviction of reaching Communism even if it means passing through a series of twists and turns and the setbacks that will necessarily occur. Furthermore, it is not strange that we should apply the three moments to the world revolution, since Chairman Mao applied them to the process of the protracted people's war. As Communists, we should see not only the moment, but the long years to come.

2.4 Current Situation and Perspective

In the current situation and in perspective we have entered the strategic offensive of the world revolution, within the "50 to 100 years" in which imperialism and world reaction shall be sunk and we shall enter the stage when the proletariat settles into power and establishes its dictatorship. From there forward the contradiction shall be between socialism and capitalism on the road towards Communism. That restorations have occurred in the USSR and China does not negate the thriving process of development of the international proletariat; rather it shows how fierce the struggle is between restoration and counter-restoration. From this we Communists draw lessons to avert the restoration of capitalism and to definitively establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We reaffirm ourselves on Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thesis that a period of struggle has begun between American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism; thus the two principal enemies are defined at the world level for those who make democratic revolution or socialist revolution, including those who make nationalist movements, and the corresponding task is that each revolution or movement specify its principal enemy and avert the domination of the other superpower or of the other powers. In Peru, Yankee imperialism dominates us in collusion with the big bourgeoisie and the landowners. Nevertheless, at the world level there is contention between the two superpowers for global hegemony. We fight against American imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, but we can not allow its substitution with the domination of social-imperialism, nor of any other power. In Afghanistan, the direct aggression is by Soviet social-imperialism that contends for hegemony with Yankee imperialism, China, as

well as with other Western powers, and there a struggle must be unleashed against social-imperialism as the principal enemy and to not permit either the domination of American imperialism or of other powers; the problem is that the struggle is not correctly unfolding due to lack of political leadership, of a Communist Party. In synthesis, there are two superpowers that are the principal enemies, with one being principal in each case, and we do not exempt the actions of the powers.

We consider Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thesis that three worlds are delineated just and correct and that it is connected with Lenin's thesis on the distribution of forces in the world based on the analysis of classes and contradictions. We reject the opportunist and revisionist distortion by Teng Hsiao-ping of the three worlds that tends toward following at the tail of the U.S. and selling out the revolution. From this point of departure, Chairman Gonzalo analyzes the current situation in which the three worlds are delineated and demonstrates that it is a reality. The first world is the two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR which contend for global hegemony and which can unleash an imperialist war. They are superpowers because they are economically, politically, and militarily more powerful than the other powers. The U.S. has an economy centered on the monopoly of non-state property; politically, it unfolds a bourgeois democracy with a growing restriction of rights. It is a reactionary liberalism; militarily, it is the most powerful in the West and has a longer process of development. The USSR is economically based on a state monopoly, with a politically fascist dictatorship of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie and is a high-level military power although its process of development is shorter. The U.S. seeks to maintain its dominions and also to expand them. The USSR aims more towards expansion because it is a new superpower and economically it is interested to capture Europe to improve its conditions. In synthesis, they are two superpowers which do not constitute a block but which have contradictions, clear mutual differences, and they move within the law of collusion and contention for the re-division of the world. The second world consists of the imperialist powers which are not superpowers, but have less economic, political, and military power such as Japan, Germany, France, Italy, etc. which have contradictions with the superpowers because they sustain, for example, the devaluation of the dollar, military restrictions, and political impositions; these imperialist powers want to take advantage of the contention between the superpowers in order for them to emerge as new superpowers, and they also unleash wars of aggression against the oppressed nations and furthermore, acute contradictions exist among them. The third world is composed of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They are colonies or semi-colonies where feudalism has not been destroyed, and on that basis a bureaucratic capitalism unfolds. They find themselves subject to one or another superpower or imperialist power. They have contradictions with imperialism, furthermore they fight against their own big bourgeoisie and landlords, both of which are at the service of and in collusion with imperialism, especially with the superpowers.

All this gives us the basis on which the Communists can establish the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. Chairman Mao Tse-tung had achieved

the establishment of the strategy and tactics of the world revolution but the Chinese revisionists concealed it. Therefore, it falls upon us to extract this from his own ideas, most especially if there are new situations, above all in perspective.

Our Party sustains the view that in the current world there are three fundamental contradictions: 1) The contradiction of the oppressed nations, on one side, against the superpowers and imperialist powers, on the other. Here the thesis that three worlds are delineated is contained, and we formulate it this way because the kernel of that contradiction lies with the superpowers but it is also a contradiction with the imperialist powers. This is the principal contradiction and its solution is the development and triumph of new democratic revolutions. 2) The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which has as its solution the socialist revolution and in perspective, the proletarian cultural revolution. 3) The inter-imperialist contradictions: Between the superpowers themselves, between the superpowers and the smaller imperialist powers and, finally, among the imperialist powers themselves, which tends towards war for global hegemony and imperialist wars of plunder which the proletariat must oppose with people's war and in perspective, world people's war. We do not list the contradiction socialism-capitalism because today it exists only at an ideological and political level, since socialism does not exist anywhere as a state; today there is no socialist system. It existed, and to say that it exists today it is to claim in essence that the USSR is socialist, which is revisionism.

The need to see the contradictions serves to analyze the world situation and to define its strategy and tactics and within this its strategic and conflicting zones. Today, the most incendiary conflicting points are: Southeast Asia where the struggle in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea are a focal point in the immense strategic region of Asia, a region where great masses are concentrated, for example in India. If they sufficiently developed Communist Parties, it would serve to powerfully advance the revolution. The Middle East, the great oil center, there is also an acute contest between the superpowers and powers bound to the issues of the Near East and to nationalist and even reactionary movements. Another area is South Africa, where there are guerrilla movements that are usurped by the superpowers or powers to convert them into occupation forces and dominate them. In Latin America there are the important struggles of Central America (Nicaragua and El Salvador) to the volatility of the Antilles (Haiti, etc.), and the People's War in Peru, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought people's war that struggles for an authentic democratic revolution without submitting to any superpower or power. In Europe, where persistent anti-imperialist military actions are developing, it is necessary to study their ideology and the politics that sustains them, the class which they serve, their links to the ideology of the proletariat, and their role within the world proletarian revolution, as well as their position on modern revisionism. These movements express the existence of an uneven revolutionary situation in development in the Old World. Any one of these points of conflict could provide the spark to an imperialist World War, a situation that will occur when the strategic superiority of one of the superpowers is defined. Therefore, it is increasingly urgent and peremptory to rely

upon Communist parties based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that are forged for and in people's war through their militarization. Strategically defining the zones of principal and secondary importance to make the world revolution is key to establishing the role that each region and each party should play in the world revolution.

For the Communist Parties, the problem is not to focus attention on the imperialist World War but onto people's war, since only from this shall proletarian-led power derive. We consider that while there is imperialism, there is a likelihood that imperialist World Wars will develop. What Chairman Mao said is certain, that either revolution will prevent war or World War will provoke revolution. In order for an imperialist World War to happen, the strategic superiority of one of the superpowers must be defined. According to the reactionary military theoreticians, this situation would unfold at the moment of the first use of atomic weapons, or an overwhelming atomic bombardment by both parties, and a second moment in which great contingents of millions will participate and subsequently, (since the objective is the re-division of the spoils, especially the oppressed nations) a conventional war to occupy territories. Then it will enter into a great and ferocious massacre which will have repercussions against the imperialists and will provide even greater reasons for the oppressed nations, the peoples of the world and the class to rise up in people's war. Thus, if imperialist world war presents itself, first, we are opposed to it; second, we do not fear it as we center on revolution; third, to focus on revolution means to wage people's war led by the proletariat through its Communist parties; and fourth, this people's war must be specified in each type of country according to the type of revolution. Therefore, the world people's war is the order of the day.

2.5 The International Communist Movement

2.5.1 The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

The history of the International Communist Movement is a glorious process of struggle through which the Communists in the world have fought, and continue to fight, to unite in order to attain their unalterable goal: a Communist society. In this heroic fight, three Internationals were formed.

The International Workers' Association, or First International, was founded by Marx and Engels in 1864. In hard struggle they opposed and crushed the anarchist positions of Bakunin and established that there is only one doctrine of the proletariat: Marxism. Lenin says that the role fulfilled by the First International was to lay down the ideological basis of the doctrine of the proletariat. This International split, and when this was blamed on Marx and Engels they answered that if such a division had not occurred, the International would have died in any case, killed by unity which put aside principles. The Second International was founded by Engels in 1889. It served to multiply organizations and parties, but with the death of Engels, the old-style revisionism emerged unchecked, which was confronted and crushed by Lenin. This International be-

came bankrupt in the First World War when its leadership, such as Kautsky and Bernstein, instead of fighting against the imperialist world war in order to transform it into revolution, supported that war of plunder and their own countries' bourgeoisie, turning into social-patriots. In 1919 Lenin organized the Third International, the Communist International, conceiving of it as a fighting machine that must assume the responsibility of the world revolution and the construction of the proletarian dictatorship. Two problems emerged in the Communist International during the 1920s which were to have great repercussions: The problem of Germany (or rather, the revolution in an advanced country), and the problem of China (or revolution in a backward country). Afterwards, the situation became more acute with the emergence and triumph of fascism and the question on how to conceive the United Front. There were the revisionist criteria of Thorez and Togliatti who sought to support rather than destroy the old order, focusing solely on the anti-fascist struggle. It is an urgent task for Communists, and for our Party, to evaluate the Communist International, especially its VII Congress linked to the Second World War, and the role of Comrade Stalin. In 1943 the International was dissolved, leaving only an Information Committee.

The struggle of Communists to unite at an international level is hard and complex. This was shown in the struggle against modern revisionism after World War II. Tito was condemned in 1948. The ideas of Browder also played a sinister role. The Workers' and Communist parties met in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 after the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1956, in which Khrushchev had already usurped the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR and attacked it under the pretext of combating Comrade Stalin. However, the prestige of the USSR was still very great throughout the world, and in such circumstances the meetings of 1957 and 1960 agreed on ambiguous positions, despite of the firm, principled positions upheld by the Communist Part of China (CPC) (especially those of Chairman Mao), and the Party of Labor of Albania. The positions of Chairman Mao caused the CPSU to alter some of its positions, but the positions of modern revisionism were systematized in 1961, when the CPSU held its twenty-second Congress.

Chairman Mao, leading the CPC, probed the essence of the new revisionism systematized in the "three peacefuls" and the "two wholes." With "peaceful co-existence," Khrushchev had twisted Lenin's thesis that distinguished between relationships among states to those within states to propose that the general line of the international Communist movement is "peaceful coexistence." For Khrushchev, the problem was to prevent war, because according to him, atomic weapons did not distinguish between exploiters and exploited and men had to fraternize in order to prevent the extinction of humanity. "Peaceful transition" proposes that revolution no longer required revolutionary violence but that one social system could be transformed into another through the "peaceful route": through elections or parliamentarism. The concept of "peaceful emulation" expressed the idea that in order to destroy the imperialist system, the socialist system had to emulate it in order to demonstrate to the imperialists that the socialist system is superior, and thus encourage the imperialists to become socialists. The "state of the whole people" was the revisionist thesis with which

Khrushchev intended to negate the class character of the state. It was specifically aimed against the dictatorship of the proletariat. The “party of the whole people” was another monstrosity which negated the class character of the Party as the party of the proletariat. Thus, Khrushchev maintained that the Twenty-second Congress of the CPSU was the new program of the Communists, and the Communist Manifesto was substituted by the bourgeois slogans of “liberty,” “equality,” and “fraternity”. The Manifesto is the program of the Communists, and its negation incited and sharpened the struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

On June 14, 1963, the “A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement” (also known as “the Chinese letter”) was published. It was followed by the circulation of the “Nine Commentaries,” in which Chairman Mao and the CPC brilliantly unmasked and crushed modern revisionism in all aspects.

We understand that Chairman Mao and the CPC felt that because the political and ideological base—which had to be Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought—had not yet been defined it was inconvenient to form a new Communist International in such circumstances. This was mainly due to the fact that the Party of Labor of Albania, led by Enver Hoxha, did not accept Mao Tse-tung Thought and aimed for an International based only on Marxism-Leninism, disregarding the new developments. In essence, Hoxha was opposed to Mao Tse-tung Thought.

The growing influence of Chairman Mao in the world unfolded with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The CPC centered on very urgent problems, such as recovering power in the People’s Republic of China from the usurpation of the revisionists Liu Shaochi and Teng Hsiao-ping, and on how to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus Chairman Mao, in the class struggle against revisionism at the national and international level, became the great teacher of the proletariat and the Great Leader of the world revolution. His thought developed into the third stage of Marxism. In that era, Communists referred to this development as “Mao Tse-tung Thought.” The Communist Party of Peru (PCP) adopted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as the basis of party unity at the Sixth National Conference in January 1969. This was achieved as a result of the struggle by Chairman Gonzalo and the Red Fraction of the Party that had been adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought since 1966. Chairman Gonzalo had already upheld the positions of Chairman Mao in 1962, and on the basis of that viewpoint went on to forge the Red Fraction of the PCP. We authentic Communists were waiting for the CPC to define Maoism as the third stage of Marxism, but with the death of Chairman Mao in September 1976, the Chinese revisionists pulled off a counter-revolutionary coup aimed at Chairman Mao and his thought. Thus, the unity of the Marxists encountered serious and complex problems, but the Communist Party of Peru remained firm and unshakable in the defense of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, immediately unmasking the counter-revolutionary coup and the revisionist usurpation in China. It was at that time that the Enlarged Political Bureau of the PCP in October 1976 declared, “To be a Marxist is to adhere to

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.”

With the death of Chairman Mao and the revisionist usurpation in China by Teng and his gang, the Communists were left scattered in the world without a center or base for world revolution; the counter-revolutionaries brandished their claws to negate Chairman Mao and the validity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, unleashing the triple revisionist assault of Teng Hsiao-ping (Chinese revisionism), Hoxha (Albanian revisionism), and Brezhnev (Russian revisionism). Facing this situation at the PCP's First National Conference in November 1979, Chairman Gonzalo called upon the whole party to defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought against the revisionist triple assault. The Party remained firm in these positions and carried forward an unalterable, principled position. In 1980 the PCP launched the People's War based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought; it is in the applying and developing the People's War that the PCP has advanced further in the comprehension of Maoism as the third stage of Marxism. Hence, at the Second National Conference held in May 1982 the Party agreed that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism was the third stage of Marxism. Thus, the PCP was the only party in the world in the vanguard of the defense of Maoism, and assumed the task of struggling for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of the world so that this ideology be the command and guide of the Peruvian and world revolutions.

The application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism must be specified in each revolution, so that it does not become a mechanical application. For this reason, the Peruvian Revolution has generated Chairman Gonzalo and Gonzalo Thought, which is the main principle in the basis of Party unity. Thus, each revolution must specify its guiding thought, without which there can be no application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, nor any development of the revolution.

In the Fall of 1980, 13 Communist parties and organizations signed a statement, “To the Marxist-Leninists, Workers, and the Oppressed of All Countries,” calling upon Communists to unite around Marxism-Leninism and to uphold Chairman Mao, but without considering Maoism as a new stage with universal validity. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP-USA) principally carried out this effort. In 1983 the RCP-USA contacted the PCP and invited it to sign the 1980 statement. The PCP did not agree to such a statement since Mao Tse-tung Thought was not considered therein; furthermore, we were already basing ourselves on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In March 1984, the Second Conference of these organizations was completed and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was founded which approved a joint declaration, which talks about uniting around Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. Our position on the incorporation of the PCP within RIM is condensed in a letter written to the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement dated October 1986: “We wish to reiterate two questions about this point. First, from the beginning of our ties, the origin of our differences was the substantive and decisive question of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the only, true and new stage in the development of the proletarian ideology having universal validity, with Maoism as the key to the question. Consequently, our disagreement with the expression ‘Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.’

Nevertheless, we have thought and still think that the resolution of this matter, which for us is indispensable as a point of departure, is complex, demands time, and especially developing revolution.”

“Second, in signing the Declaration derived from the Second Conference which founded the RIM, we did so with observations and even clear opposition, which was expressly set forth in brief. We reiterated these issues in meetings, reports, and communications which clearly indicate differences on the principle contradiction, the revolutionary situation of unequal development, on world war, and on some criteria on the role of the Movement, and other more important issues, such as the universal validity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and in particular the general validity of people’s war (the expression of proletarian military theory that our class has recently developed totally and completely with Chairman Mao Tse-tung), and our insistence in always raising the great slogan, ‘Proletarians of all countries, unite!’ Nevertheless, we thought and continue to think that the Declaration contains and continues to contain a relative basis of unity whose development and improvement will be demanded by the very advance of the Movement, as facts are plainly demonstrating already.”

“Today, the Declaration has been repudiated by some as opportunist. Others assert that it is insufficient to resolve the burning problems that the revolution demands, and therefore, we should move on to a new declaration. The PCP believes that the RIM faces problems on various levels: On the ideological level, it needs to advance towards the understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This advance is principal, and even political development hinges upon it. On the political level, it needs to advance in defining the fundamental contradictions, and the principal global contradiction, the question of the Third World War, that revolution is the principal tendency, and given an imperialist war transforming it into people’s war. In regards to construction, what political lines we must follow to achieve the formation of the International that we need, which must be the continuation of the glorious International Communist Movement. Concerning mass work, our points of departure are the slogans ‘The masses make history,’ ‘It’s right to rebel,’ and ‘The colossal garbage heap’ [of revisionism and opportunism that must be swept away—Trans.] and that the purpose of mass work is to initiate or develop people’s war. In regards to leadership, it is key, requiring time for its formation, development, and recognition of authority. In regards to two-line struggle, it is not being handled as it should be. These are problems of development, but if they are not addressed justly and correctly, they can cause phenomena of disarticulation, and these negative possibilities necessarily cause us concern. We believe that the Committee of the RIM aims to impose the denomination of ‘Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought,’ trying to frame us within the Declaration, and thus resolve the problems of leadership of the Committee, which gives reason to believe in the existence of hegemonic tendencies.”

Taking this situation into account, we reaffirmed ourselves at the Fourth National Conference of the PCP in October 1986 to unfold ourselves as a fraction within the International Communist Movement in order to place Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, as the command and guide of the world

revolution. We call to: “Uphold, Defend, and Apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Principally Maoism!” since only through this shall the international proletariat, through its Communist Parties, be able to lead the conquest of power and emancipate the oppressed so they can emancipate themselves as a class.

We are for the reconstitution of the Communist International, and we regard the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement as a step in that direction. It will serve this purpose as long as it bases itself upon and follows a just and correct ideological and political line.

The struggle to impose Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, as the command and guide of world revolution will be long, complex and difficult, but in the end, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of the world shall succeed. Marxism has not taken a step forward in its life without struggle.

GLORY TO THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

UPHOLD, DEFEND AND APPLY MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, GONZALO THOUGHT, PRINCIPALLY GONZALO THOUGHT!

Central Committee, Communist Party of Peru

Chapter 3

Line of the Democratic Revolution

3.1 Introduction

Upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, Chairman Gonzalo establishes that the Peruvian revolution in its historical course must first be a democratic revolution, then a socialist revolution which in turn must unfold cultural revolutions in order to reach Communism, all in an uninterrupted process carrying out People's War and specifying its character. To reach this conclusion, his point of departure was what Marx taught, that Germany needed to replay the peasant wars of the XVI century, that it would have to channel the democratic energy of the peasantry. Later, Lenin developed this point further, holding that since the bourgeoisie is a decrepit class and since the peasantry have raised the necessity of destroying feudalism, they could only concretize a democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. Afterwards, Chairman Mao established On New Democracy which forms part of the world proletarian revolution; it proposes a joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes which must be formed in opposition to the bourgeois dictatorship, which can only be fulfilled under the leadership of the proletariat.

He takes into account the specific conditions of Peru such as: In Peru's historical process there has not been a bourgeois revolution, since the bourgeoisie were incapable of leading it; therefore the land question and the national question are two pending problems to be solved; that we are in the era of imperialism and of the world proletarian revolution, therefore, the proletariat is the class that takes up the destruction of imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism, not for the benefit of the bourgeoisie but rather for the proletariat, the principally poor peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie; that the Peruvian proletariat has matured with a Communist Party of a new type capable of leading the revolution; and that the democratic revolution of the old type is no longer appropriate, but instead a bourgeois revolution of a new

type is needed; and that this type and all revolutions today can only be fulfilled through people's war, the principal form of struggle, and by the revolutionary armed forces, the principal form of organization.

Thus, he establishes the character of Peruvian society as semi-feudal and semi-colonial in which bureaucratic capitalism develops. He also sets the targets of the revolution, the tasks to undertake, and he defines the social classes and outlines the essence of the democratic revolution, how it shall be realized today and its perspectives.

3.2 The Character of Contemporary Peruvian Society

Basing himself on historical materialism, he analyzes the process of Peruvian history and shows that in the old society an agrarian order unfolded based on the ayllu, which was a communal agrarian order which was beginning to develop a form of slavery, the Incan empire erected through wars of domination. Later in the XVI Century, the Spanish brought a decrepit feudal system and imposed it by force of arms against the resistance of the natives, and Peru became feudal and colonial; afterwards, with independence, Spanish domination was broken, but the feudal system was not. The emancipators were landowners and the peasants were not able to conquer the land. The XIX Century expresses an intense struggle between England and France to dominate us; by the mid-century, the first sprouts of capitalism begin to develop on the existing feudal base. All this process in Peru is going to mean a change: The passage from feudalism to semi-feudalism and from colonialism to semi-colonialism.

Later, in characterizing contemporary Peruvian society, Chairman Gonzalo says: “. . . contemporary Peru is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society in which bureaucratic capitalism develops.” Although Mariátegui had defined this well in Point Three of the Program of the Constitution of the Party, it is in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally of Maoism, that Chairman Gonzalo has demonstrated how this semi-feudal and semi-colonial character maintains itself and develops new modalities, and in particular how bureaucratic capitalism has developed on this foundation throughout the entire process of contemporary society. This a question of transcendent importance in order to understand the character of society and of the Peruvian revolution.

Bureaucratic capitalism is a fundamental thesis of Chairman Mao's that it is not yet understood nor accepted by all the Marxists throughout the world, which for obvious historical reasons was not known to Mariátegui, and that Chairman Gonzalo applies to the concrete conditions of our country. He maintains that in order to analyze the contemporary social process, one must start from three intimately linked questions: The moments that bureaucratic capitalism is going through; the process of the proletariat shaped in its highest expression, the Communist Party; and the road that the revolution must follow. He teaches us that since 1895 three historical moments can be differentiated in contemporary

Peruvian society: 1st moment. The development of bureaucratic capitalism. The constitution of the PCP. Definition and outlining of the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside. 2nd moment. The deepening of bureaucratic capitalism. Reconstitution of the PCP. Establishment of the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside. 3rd moment. The general crisis of bureaucratic capitalism. The leadership of the PCP in the People's War. Application and development of the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside.

At the same time, he expounds that contemporary Peruvian society is in a generalized crisis, a serious and incurable illness that can only be transformed through the armed struggle. The Communist Party of Peru is leading the people in carrying this out, as there is no other solution.

Why is Peru semi-feudal? Chairman Gonzalo states:

"The decrepit semi-feudal system continues subsisting and marks the country from its deepest foundations to its most elaborate ideas. In essence, it persistently maintains the land question unresolved, which is the motor of the class struggle of the peasantry, especially of the poor peasants that are the immense majority." He stresses that the land question continues subsisting because the semi-feudal relationships of exploitation allow semi-feudalism to evolve, and it is the basic problem of society that is expressed in land, servitude, and gamonalismo¹. We must see these conditions in all their aspects, economic, political, and ideological, in both the base and superstructure. The peasantry constitutes about 60 percent of the population, which for centuries has worked the land, but it is tied to big property and to servitude. He teaches us that a great concentration of land exists in a few hands, with both associative and non-associative forms, and that the immense majority of the peasantry are the poor peasants who do not have land, or if they have it they are very few, thus giving rise to the minifundio [small landowner—Tr.] submitted to the voracity of the latifundio. [large landowner—Tr.]

This condition crushes the peasantry in a system of servitude that as Lenin taught presents itself in a thousand and one forms, but whose essence is personal subjugation. Thus we see forms centered around servile relationships such as unpaid work in the SAIS, CAPS, peasant groups, in Cooperación Popular, PAIT, PROEM, etc. Beyond this, it is known that in the countryside for every three peasants able to work only one works, and the State tries to channel the unused labor to benefit itself with unpaid labor. We can also observe, particularly in the Sierra region, an autarchic economy on the margin of the national economy.

¹"The term gamonalismo designates more than just a social and economic category: that of the latifundistas or large landowners. It signifies a whole phenomenon. Gamonalismo is represented not only by the gamonales but by a long hierarchy of officials, intermediaries, agents, parasites, etc. The literate Indian who enters the service of gamonalismo turns into an exploiter of his own race. The central factor of the phenomenon is the hegemony of the semi-feudal landed estate in the policy and mechanism of the government." J.C Mariátegui, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, p. 30. Quote added by translator.

Reaffirming himself in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Chairman Gonzalo upholds the principle that agrarian reform consists of the destruction of feudal landlord property; in the individual distribution of land to the peasantry under the slogan “land to the tiller,” which is achieved through the People’s War and the New Power, led by the Communist Party. This is equivalent to Lenin’s thesis that there are two roads in agriculture: The landlord’s road, which is reactionary, evolves feudalism and supports the old state, and the peasant’s road which is advanced, destroys feudalism and tends towards a new state.

Next, he accurately establishes the character and the results of the agrarian laws passed by the old State, proving the subsistence of semi-feudalism, whose existence today is often denied. He characterizes the Law of Bases of Pérez Godoy of 1962, the Law 15037 of 1964 and the Law 17716 of 1969 (essentially corporative that fomented big associative property) as being three laws of buying and selling, executed by the bureaucratic apparatus of the State to develop bureaucratic capitalism. He warns that the Law of Promoting Agriculture of 1980 treats the land question as resolved and at the same time advocates associative property and the return of the gamonales to invigorate bureaucratic capitalism, which is also under the control of the big bankers and has the direct participation of Yankee imperialism. This is the path that the fascist and corporatist Aprista government follows, retaking the fascist and corporative “agrarian reform” of Velasco, raising cries of “revolutionizing agriculture” to thus strengthen gamonalismo; that treats the land question as resolved and centers around productivity; that gives the law of communities and the law of peasant rondas in order to deepen bureaucratic capitalism and to spread it to every corner of the country; that calls the masses to corporativization, aiming at the peasant communities as the foundation of their corporative zeal, which equally serves the creation of the micro-regions, the regions, CORDES and other fascist and corporative creations. All of this signifies nothing except new modalities of concentration of the old latifundista property, still not destroyed, and it is the old landlord’s road followed in contemporary Peru that was promoted in the 1920s, deepened in the 1950s and especially in the 1960s, and which is still pursued today under new conditions.

This landlord’s road is expressed politically in the old State through gamonalismo; as Mariátegui says, gamonalismo does not only designate a social and economic category but an entire phenomenon represented not only by the gamonales, but which also encompasses a large hierarchy of officials, intermediaries, agents, parasites, etc., and that the central factor of this phenomenon is the hegemony of big semi-feudal property in politics and in the mechanism of the State, which should be attacked at its root. Chairman Gonzalo expressly emphasizes the manifestations of semi-feudalism in politics and in the mechanism of the State by conceiving that gamonalismo is the political manifestation of semi-feudalism upon which this regime of servitude is supported, in which bosses and lackeys, who change outfits according to the government in turn, represent the old State in the remotest villages of the country. This is the factor which the spearhead of the democratic revolution is targeted at, since this is an agrarian war.

Why is it semi-colonial? Chairman Gonzalo teaches us that the modern Peruvian economy was born subjugated to imperialism, the final phase of capitalism, which was masterfully characterized as monopolistic, parasitical and moribund. Imperialism, even though it consents to our political independence as long as it serves its interests, still controls the entire economic process of Peru: our natural wealth, export products, industry, banking and finances. In synthesis, it sucks the blood of our people, devours our energies of a nation in formation, and most strikingly today it exploits us and other oppressed nations with the external debt.

Chairman Gonzalo first reaffirms himself in Lenin's thesis, later accurately developed by Chairman Mao, to define the semi-colonial character of our society. In synthesis, Lenin established that there are many forms of imperialist domination, but two are typical: The colony, which is the complete domination by the imperialist country on the oppressed nation or nations, and an intermediate form. The semi-colony, in which the oppressed nation is politically independent but economically subjugated. It is an independent republic, but one that finds itself subjected to the ideological, political, economic, and military web of imperialism no matter if it has a government of its own. He rejects the term "neocolony" used by revisionism in the 1960s, whose basis is the conception that imperialism applies a softer form of domination and which led them to the characterization of a "dependent country." Later, applying Chairman Mao's thesis that a period of struggle was opening against the two superpowers that contend for the repartition of the world, and that one must specify who is the principal enemy of the moment, defined that the principal imperialism that dominates Peru is Yankee imperialism, but asserted that one must ward off Russian social-imperialism that penetrates the country more each day, as well as the actions of the imperialist powers that are not superpowers. Thus, the proletariat in leading the democratic revolution shall not be tied to any superpower or imperialist power and maintains its ideological, political, and organizational independence. In conclusion, he demonstrates that Peruvian society continues to be a nation in formation, and that its semi-colonial character continues, showing itself as such in all fields and under the new conditions.

Regarding bureaucratic capitalism, Chairman Gonzalo states that comprehending it is essential to the understanding of Peruvian society. Taking up Chairman Mao's thesis, he teaches us that it has five characteristics: 1) that bureaucratic capitalism is the capitalism that imperialism develops in the backward countries, which is comprised of the capital of large landowners, the big bankers, and the magnates of the big bourgeoisie; 2) it exploits the proletariat, the peasantry, and the petty bourgeoisie and constrains the middle bourgeoisie; 3) it is passing through a process in which bureaucratic capitalism is combined with the power of the State and becomes State monopoly capitalism, comprador and feudal, from which can be derived that in a first moment it unfolds as a non-State big monopoly capitalism and in a second moment, when it is combined with the power of the State, it unfolds as state monopoly capitalism; 4) it ripens the conditions for the democratic revolution as it reaches the apex of its development; and, 5) confiscating bureaucratic capital is key to reaching

the pinnacle of the democratic revolution and it is decisive to pass over to the socialist revolution.

In applying the above, he conceives that bureaucratic capitalism is the capitalism that imperialism generates in the backward countries, which is tied to a decrepit feudalism and subjugated to imperialism which is the last phase of capitalism. This system does not serve the majority of the people but only the imperialists, the big bourgeoisie, and the landowners. Mariátegui has established that the bourgeoisie, for example upon creating banks, generates a capital surrendered to imperialism and tied to feudalism. Chairman Gonzalo masterfully establishes that the capitalism that is unfolding in Peru is a bureaucratic capitalism hindered by the surviving shackles of semi-feudalism that bind it on the one hand, and on the other hand is subjugated to imperialism which does not permit the development of the national economy; it is, thus, a bureaucratic capitalism that oppresses and exploits the proletariat, the peasantry, and the petty bourgeoisie, and that constricts the middle bourgeoisie. Why? Because the capitalism that develops is a delayed process that only allows an economy to serve imperialist interests. It is a capitalism that represents the big bourgeoisie, the landowners and the rich peasants of the old type, the classes that constitute a minority but which exploit and oppress the large majority, the masses.

He analyzes the process that bureaucratic capitalism has followed in Peru, the first historical moment which develops from 1895 to the Second World War, in which, during the 1920s, the comprador bourgeoisie assumes control of the State, displacing the landlords but respecting their interests. The second moment is from the Second World War to 1980, a period of its deepening, during which a branch of the big bourgeoisie evolves into the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which began in 1939 during the first government of Prado when the participation of the State in the economic process begins. Subsequently, this participation has grown more and more, and is due to the fact that the big bourgeoisie, because of a lack of capital, is not capable of deepening bureaucratic capitalism. Thus a clash between both factions of the big bourgeoisie is generated, between the bureaucratic and the comprador bourgeoisie. In 1968, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie takes the leadership of the State through the armed forces by means of the military coup of Velasco, which in turn generates a great growth in the State economy. The number of State-owned companies, for example, increased from 18 to 180; therefore the State passes to become the motor of the economy led by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, but it is during this moment that the economy enters into a grave crisis. The third moment is from 1980 onward, in which bureaucratic capitalism enters into a general crisis and its final destruction, a moment which begins with the People's War. Since it is a capitalism that is born in critical condition, sick, rotten, tied to feudalism and subjugated to imperialism, at this time it enters into a general crisis, to its destruction, and no measure can save it. At best it shall lengthen its agony. On the other hand, like a beast in mortal agony, it will defend itself by seeking to crush the revolution.

If we see this process from the people's road, in the first moment the PCP was constituted with Mariátegui in 1928, and the history of the country was divided into two; in the second, the PCP was reconstituted as a Party of a

new type with Chairman Gonzalo and revisionism was purged; and in the third, the PCP entered to lead the People's War, a transcendental milestone which radically changed history by taking the qualitatively superior leap of making the conquest of power a reality by way of armed force and the People's War. All of this only proves the political aspect of bureaucratic capitalism that is rarely emphasized, but which Chairman Gonzalo considers as the key question: Bureaucratic capitalism ripens the conditions for revolution, and today as it enters into its final phase, it ripens the conditions for the development and victory of the revolution.

It is also very important to see how bureaucratic capitalism is shaped by non-State monopoly capitalism and by State monopoly capitalism, that is the reason why he differentiates between the two factions of the big bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic and the comprador, in order to avoid tailing behind one or the other, a problem that led our Party to 30 years of wrong tactics. It is important to understand it this way, since the confiscation of bureaucratic capitalism by the New Power leads to the completion of the democratic revolution and the advance into the socialist revolution. If only the State monopoly capitalism is targeted, the other part would remain free, the non-State monopoly capital, and the big comprador bourgeoisie would remain economically able to lift its head to snatch away the leadership of the revolution and to prevent its passage to the socialist revolution.

Furthermore, Chairman Gonzalo generalizes that bureaucratic capitalism is not a process peculiar to China or to Peru, but that it follows the belated conditions in which the various imperialists subjugate the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, at a time when these oppressed nations have not yet destroyed the vestiges of feudalism, much less developed capitalism.

In synthesis, the key question to understand the process of contemporary Peruvian society and the character of the revolution is this Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought thesis on bureaucratic capitalism, which is a contribution to the world revolution that we Marxist-Leninist-Maoists have firmly assumed with Gonzalo Thought.

What type of State is sustained by this semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, upon which bureaucratic capitalism is unfolding? Having analyzed contemporary Peruvian society and basing himself on the masterful Maoist thesis in "On New Democracy" which expounds that the many State systems in the world can be classified according to their class character into three fundamental types: 1) Republics under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which also include the old democratic States and may include the States under the joint dictatorship of landowners and the big bourgeoisie; 2) republics under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and 3) republics under the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes. Chairman Gonzalo establishes that the character of the old reactionary State in Peru is of the first type, a joint dictatorship of landowners and the big bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic or comprador bourgeoisie that in collusion and contention struggle for the leadership of the State. Since the historical tendency in Peru is that the bureaucratic bourgeoisie imposes itself, this necessarily implies a very acute and long struggle, especially since today the bureaucratic

bourgeoisie is in command of the old landlord-bureaucratic state.

At the same time he differentiates between the state system and the system of government. They are parts of a whole; the former being the place that classes occupy within the state and the latter is the form in which power is organized. Chairman Mao taught that the main thing is to define the class character of a state, since the forms of government that are introduced can be civilian or military, with elections or by decree, liberal-democratic or fascist, but they always represent the dictatorship of the reactionary classes. To not see the old State in this way is to fall into the trap of identifying a dictatorship with a military regime and to think that a civilian government is not a dictatorship, thus tailing behind one of the factions in the big bourgeoisie behind the tale of “defending democracy” or “avoiding military coups,” positions that instead of destroying the old State support it and defend it. Such is the case in Peru with the revisionists and opportunists of the United Left.

The old State is subordinated to imperialism, in our case principally Yankee imperialism, which is propped up by its spinal column, the reactionary armed forces, and counts on an ever-growing bureaucracy. The armed forces have the same character as the State that they support and defend.

Chairman Gonzalo tells us clearly:

“It is this social system that the ruling classes and their Yankee imperialist masters usufruct from and defend with blood and fire, through their landlord-bureaucratic State sustained by their reactionary armed forces; constantly exercising their class dictatorship (of the big bourgeoisie and landlords), either through a de facto military government . . . or through governments stemming from elections and so-called constitutional ones . . . ” and, “. . . this decrepit system of exploitation destroys and halts the powerful creative forces of the people, the only forces capable of the deepest revolutionary transformation . . . ”

3.3 Targets of the Democratic Revolution

Chairman Gonzalo teaches us that there are three targets of the democratic revolution: Imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism, with one of them being the principal target according to the moment in which the revolution takes place. Today, in the period of the agrarian war, the principal target is semi-feudalism.

Imperialism, mainly Yankee, because for us it is the principal imperialism that dominates and that tries to ensure its dominance more and drives home our situation as a semi-colonial country, but we must also ward off penetration by Russian social-imperialism and of the other imperialist powers. We must use the various factions of the old State to sharpen their contradictions and isolate the principal enemy in order to strike at it. Bureaucratic capitalism is the constant barrier of the democratic revolution; it acts to maintain semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism at the service of imperialism. And so is semi-feudalism that

subsists today under new modalities but which still constitutes the basic problem of the country.

3.4 Tasks of the Democratic Revolution

1. To destroy imperialist domination, principally Yankee imperialism in Peru's case, while warding off the actions of the other superpower, Russian social-imperialism, and of the other imperialist powers.
2. To destroy bureaucratic capitalism, confiscating both the big State and non-State monopoly capital.
3. To destroy the property of the feudal landlords, confiscating both the big associative and non-associative properties, with individual distribution of the land under the slogan "Land to the tiller," primarily and principally to the poor peasants.
4. To support middle capital, which is allowed to work while imposing conditions on it. All of this implies the collapse of the old State through the People's War with armed revolutionary force and the leadership of the Communist Party in building a new State.

3.5 Social Classes in the Democratic Revolution

Chairman Gonzalo defines the social classes which must be united according to the conditions of the revolution: the proletariat, the peasantry (principally the poor peasants), the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. The classes we aim against are: landlords of the old and the new mold, and the big bureaucratic bourgeoisie or comprador bourgeoisie.

Chairman Gonzalo tells us:

". . . the peasantry is the principal motive force . . . with a fundamental revindication of 'Land to the tiller' raised many times each century, which despite its courageous struggles has yet to achieve it"; ". . . the proletariat . . . the leading class of our revolution . . . that in the long, arduous struggle has torn only starvation wages and has conquered only crumbs from their exploiters, only to lose them through each economic crisis that society endures; a proletariat that debates within a sinister iron circle . . ."; "a petty bourgeoisie with broad layers, which corresponds to a backward country, that sees its dreams shattered in time to the inexorable pauperization that the prevailing social order imposes on them"; and, "a petty bourgeoisie, a national bourgeoisie that is weak and lacks

capital, which develops swaying and split between revolution and counterrevolution. . . .” “Four classes that historically make up the people and the motive forces of the revolution, but of them all it is principally the poor peasantry who are the main driving force.”

He gives particular importance to the scientific organization of poverty, a thesis that comes from Marx and that for us implies organizing the principally poor peasantry and the poorest masses of the cities into a Communist Party, a People’s Guerrilla Army and a New State that is concretized through People’s Committees. He establishes a relationship that to speak of the peasant question is to speak of the land question, and to speak of the land question is to speak of the military question, and to speak of the military question is to speak of the question of Power, of the New State which we shall reach through the democratic revolution led by the proletariat through its Party, the Communist Party. He establishes that in the People’s War, the peasant question is the base and the military question is the guide. Furthermore, without the peasantry in arms there is no hegemony in the Front. It is, then, of great significance to understand that the peasant question is basic and it sustains all of the actions in the democratic revolution. It is important even in the socialist revolution.

The proletariat is the leading class, and he teaches us that it is the class that guarantees the Communist course of the revolution, that united with the peasantry it makes up the worker-peasant alliance, the basis of the Front. It is a proletariat that is concentrated largely in the capital and is proportionally greater than in China, but in terms of percentage decreases day by day in Peru, a specific situation that presents itself as we apply the democratic revolution, for which we wage the People’s War in the cities as a complement. A class that has arrived today to the formation of a Communist Party, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought party that has generated a People’s Guerrilla Army which it leads absolutely and a New State which it leads in a joint dictatorship, a Party that through almost 20 years of reconstitution and seven in leadership of the People’s War has impressed a great historical leap upon the people. It is vital to understand its leading role in the democratic revolution, since it guarantees the correct course towards Communism. Without the leadership of the proletariat the democratic revolution would evolve into an armed action under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and would fall under the tutelage of a superpower or imperialist power.

To the above two classes are added the petty bourgeoisie, and taken together they are the solid trunk of the revolutionary Front, which is no more than a Front for the People’s War and a framework of the alliance of classes that makes up the New State, the People’s Committees in the countryside and the Revolutionary Defense Movement of the People in the cities.

Concerning the middle bourgeoisie, today it does not participate in the revolution but its interests are respected. It is not a target of the democratic revolution; it is a class that suffers ever-greater restrictions from the reactionaries but it is of dual character and in the course of the democratic revolution can join the side of the revolution at any moment. If the interests of the mid-

dle bourgeoisie are not taken into account then the revolution would change character; it would no longer be democratic but socialist.

From all this he derives that the New State that we are forming in the democratic revolution shall be a joint dictatorship, an alliance of four classes led by the proletariat through its Party, the Communist Party: A dictatorship of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and under certain conditions the national or middle bourgeoisie; a dictatorship that today is of three classes, since the middle bourgeoisie do not participate in the revolution, but their interest are respected. These classes make up the dictatorship of New Democracy in the state system, in a People's Assembly as a system of government.

3.6 Fundamental Contradictions in the Democratic Revolution

In the democratic revolution there exist three fundamental contradictions: The contradiction between the nation and imperialism, the contradiction between the people and bureaucratic capitalism, and the contradiction between the masses and feudalism. Depending on the periods of the revolution, any one of these can be the principal contradiction. Today, as we develop an agrarian war, if we carefully take note of the three, the principal contradiction is between the masses and feudalism. This has a process of development in the different phases of the war, thus in our case the principal contradiction of masses/feudalism has unfolded as masses/government, and later shall be between the new State-old State, and its perspective is Communist Party/reactionary armed forces.

3.7 Stages of the Revolution

Chairman Gonzalo teaches us that the democratic revolution is the indispensable first stage in the oppressed nations, which shall pass through various periods according to how such contradictions are resolved. He conceives of an unbreakable relationship and an uninterrupted road between the democratic revolution and the second stage, which is the socialist revolution, and its perspective is a series of cultural revolutions to arrive at Communism, serving the world revolution. As such, we have a maximum program and a minimum one, the minimum being the program of the democratic revolution that is specified in each period and which implies a new politics: The joint dictatorship of four classes. A new economy: Confiscation of big imperialist capital, of bureaucratic capitalism, and of the big feudal landlord property, with individual land distribution to the principally poor peasants. A new culture: National, or rather anti-imperialist, democratic, or rather for the people, and scientific, or based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. The maximum program implies keeping in mind that we, as Communists, must aim to eliminate the three inequalities between town and countryside, between intellectual and manual work, and between workers and peasants. Two programs for which we give our lives

against every kind of injury, taunt and abjectness. Only the Communists can fight to maintain the revolution on its course.

Thus, Chairman Gonzalo States:

What in essence is this democratic revolution? It is a peasant war led by the Communist Party, which intends to create a new State comprised of four classes to crush imperialism, the big bourgeoisie, and the landlords in order to fulfil its four tasks. The democratic revolution has a principal form of struggle: The People's War, and a principal form of organization: The armed force, which is the solution to the land question, the national question, and the question of the destruction of the landlord bureaucratic state and the reactionary armed forces, the spinal column that sustains it, in order to fulfill the political objective of building a new State, a State of new democracy, and to make the People's Republic of New Democracy, advancing immediately to the socialist revolution. In synthesis, the democratic revolution becomes concrete through a peasant war led by the Communist Party; any other modality is only a service to the landlord-bureaucratic state.

In synthesis, Chairman Gonzalo demonstrates the validity of the two stages of the revolution in the oppressed nations and establishes that the world proletarian revolution has three types of revolution. As such, by making the democratic revolution, the Communist Party of Peru is serving the world revolution and Chairman Gonzalo is contributing to the world revolution. We, who uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, assume the line on the democratic revolution established by Chairman Gonzalo.

3.8 How the Democratic Revolution is Being Applied Today

In over seven years of people's war in Peru, the justness and correctness of Gonzalo Thought is demonstrated and we see that the Communist Party of Peru, with the Great Leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, is leading the principally poor peasantry in arms, is forming a joint dictatorship of workers, peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie under the hegemony of the proletariat, is respecting the interests of the middle bourgeoisie, and is destroying thirteen centuries of the reactionary State. It is a dictatorship that marches within the People's Committees, today clandestine, which are expressions of the New State that exercises Power through People's Assemblies, in which everyone expresses opinions, chooses, judges, or sanctions by applying true democracy. They do not hesitate in using the dictatorship, using coercion in order to maintain their power and to defend it from the exploiting classes or their oppressors, gamonales or their lackeys, thus specifying a new politics and an advance in the taking of Power from below.

The very basis of this society, semi-feudalism, is being destroyed and new social relations of production are being introduced by applying a new economy, taking into account the agrarian tactic of combating the evolution of semi-feudalism by aiming at associative property and avoiding non-associative property, neutralizing the rich peasantry, winning over the middle peasantry and basing itself on the poor peasantry. The agrarian program of “Land to the tiller” by means of confiscation and individual distribution advances through a process: With plans of leveling, whose concrete objective is to destroy semi-feudal relations in order to disarticulate the productive process, directing the spearhead of the revolution at dislocating the power of the gamonales with armed actions; applying collective planting and crop harvesting, although we do not yet have power or an EGP that is sufficiently developed; all the peasants collectively work everyone’s land, always favoring the principally poor peasantry. In the event of a surplus, a form of tax is calculated and produce or seeds are distributed to the poorest and to the middle peasants. The lands of the rich peasants are not touched unless such land is needed, but conditions are imposed on them. This political policy has had highly positive results, it has benefitted the poorest, it has increased the quality of the products and above all it is defended better; the perspective of this policy is the invasion of lands and individual allotment. Also, particularly in new peasant zones, we have applied invasions of lands and individual allotment, lighting the struggle in the countryside and disturbing the plans of the old State, of each government in turn, and organized the armed defense in a specific opportunity. Today, we have generalized the land invasions throughout the country. Furthermore, the organization of production of an entire people is being achieved, for example with the exchange of produce or seeds, the collection of firewood or cochinitilla [a type of plant used in making dyes—Tr.], communal shops, trade, and mule driving. This process serves the actions in cities, the sabotages against demo-bourgeois or corporative-fascist state organizations, State or private and imperialist banks, centers of the imperialist superpowers or powers, industrial or “research” sites, businesses of bureaucratic capitalism, such as Centromin Peru. It also serves the selective annihilations, the agitation and propaganda campaigns and armed propaganda.

And on the basis of this new politics and new economy, a new culture is being erected that beats in the hearts of principally the poor peasants; basic education is a problem that deserves our fundamental attention and is unfolding under coeducation, education and work, with a basic program for the children, adults, and for the masses in general; it is truly important. The problems of health and recreation of the masses are also of vital importance. Thus, the masses are organized, forming their mobilization, politicization, organization and armament, aiming towards the armed sea of masses, based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, under the leadership of the Party, with the experience of the People’s War and above all and principally with the New Power, exercising it, conquering it, defending it and developing it, as People’s Committees, Support Bases and advancing the People’s Republic of New Democracy.

This is the democratic revolution that the Party is specifying for Peruvian

society, overthrowing imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism in the country through a unified People's War, principally in the countryside and with an urban complement, and it is not the "democratic revolution" falsely proclaimed by the current fascist and corporatist Apra government that negates the character of Peruvian society, classes and the class struggle, especially the landlord-bureaucratic dictatorial character of the old state, as well as the need for violence to topple it. It is a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought democratic revolution that constitutes an ardent and growing flame serving the world proletarian revolution which is guaranteed by the masterful leadership of Chairman Gonzalo.

**DOWN WITH THE LANDLORD-BUREAUCRATIC STATE!
FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF NEW DEMOCRACY!
LONG LIVE THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION!
Central Committee, Communist Party of Peru**

Chapter 4

Military Line

4.1 Introduction

Upholding, defending, and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, Chairman Gonzalo has established the military line of the Party. In the First Expanded National Conference of November, 1979, it was agreed upon as being central to the general political line and it is now being developed through the People's War.

Chairman Gonzalo has persistently integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete practice of the Peruvian revolution, combating and crushing revisionism and the right opportunist lines. In applying dialectical materialism to the question of war, the military line also expresses the philosophical thought of Chairman Gonzalo and summarizes the laws of war, of revolutionary war in general, and the specific laws of the revolutionary war in Peru. The military line is vital to our ideological, political, military, economic, and cultural work and permits us to differentiate between the proletarian military line and the bourgeois military line.

The military line consists of the laws that govern the People's War for the conquest of Power and its defense. It contains three elements:

1. People's war, specified in our case as unified people's war, with the countryside as principal and the city complementary.
2. Construction of the revolutionary armed forces, in our case specified as the People's Guerilla Army, which has the particularity of incorporating the militia in order to advance towards the sea of armed masses, and;
3. Strategy and tactics that are formed through the encirclement and annihilation campaigns and the counter-campaigns of encirclement and annihilation. In our case this is specified by applying political and military plans that have a political and military strategy developed in campaigns with specific objectives.

4.2 People's War

4.2.1 On the People's War in Peru

Chairman Gonzalo, reaffirming himself on the universal law of revolutionary violence, takes up the highest military theory of the proletariat established by Chairman Mao: People's war, which is universally valid and is applicable in all types of countries, in accordance with the conditions of each revolution. The world people's war is the principal form of struggle that the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world should launch to oppose imperialist world war. His point of departure is that people's war is a war of the masses and can only be accomplished by mobilizing the masses and relying on them. He says: "The masses give us everything, from the crusts of bread that are taken from their own mouths to their precious blood which stirs jointly with that of the combatants and militants, which nourishes the road of the People's War for the New Power." The masses should be organized with arms into the People's Guerrilla Army. In the rural Support Bases all the men and women of each People's Committee are organized militarily. In the cities, the People's Guerrilla Army also acts and accretes more and more of the masses into the various new organizations in and for the People's War. The Revolutionary Movement in Defense of the People is the concretization of the Front in the cities, and its objective is to mobilize the masses in resistance, to serve the war, and to serve the future insurrection.

He holds that in order to carry forward the People's War, we must take into account four fundamental questions:

1. The ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that must be specified in a guiding thought—therefore we base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, primarily the latter;
2. The need for the Communist Party of Peru that leads the People's War;
3. The People's War is specified as a peasant war that follows the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside; and
4. Support Bases or the New Power, the construction of the Support Bases, which is the essence of the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside.

He analyzes the historical process of our people and demonstrates that they have always struggled, that it

has been cradled and advanced through revolutionary violence. It is through this violence, in its diverse forms and degrees, that our people have conquered their revindications, rights, and freedoms, since nothing fell from the sky, nor was it handed out. 'Damn the words of traitors'; everything was won in fact through revolutionary violence, in ardent battles against reactionary violence; that is how the eight hour day was won, how our lands were conquered and defended, how our rights were won and tyrants were overthrown. Revolutionary violence is, therefore, the very essence of our historical process... it is

easy to understand that the development and victory of the Peruvian revolution, of our democratic revolution, the emancipation of the people and the class, will be achieved solely through the greatest revolutionary war of our people, raising the masses in arms through the People's War.

He draws the historical lesson that these political and military events have defined the major transformations in the country. He tells us that first comes the military deed and later political change. Thus he reaffirms that war is the continuation of politics by other means. He teaches us how the masses of our people have fought against the exploiters. Since the VII century, in which the Peruvian state emerged, the masses have combated oppression and exploitation. The Incan empire established its domination through wars of conquest which culminated in the battle of Yahuarpampa against the Chancas¹. Later, the empire further expanded through wars. This is a political and military fact.

The conquest by the Spanish crown was another political and military event that was imposed, crushing the resistance of the indigenous people and using the internal struggles of the conquered. Nevertheless, we should highlight among others the struggle of Manco Inca, who led a rebellion against the Spanish.

The imposition of the Vice-royalty was another political and military event that was used to crush the conquistadors themselves. To maintain itself it had to face large peasant uprisings such as the one led by Juan Santos Atahualpa, and in 1780 the powerful movement of Túpac Amaru that raised 100 thousand men, extending from Cusco and Puno into Bolivia, putting the domination of the Vice-royalty at serious risk, having repercussions in Argentina, Colombia, and Mexico and that shook up America. The movement was defeated, but it had shaken up and undermined the Vice-royalty, thus preparing the conditions for Emancipation. To see its class character, we should recall that Túpac Amaru was a cacique².

The Emancipation was another military and political event and has three moments: First, in the XVIII Century, peasant uprisings, Túpac Amaru for example; second, the uprisings in the cities, such as that of Francisco de Zela in Tacna and the guerrillas, highlighting those of Cangallo and Yauyos among many others; third, confrontations between large armies that complete the liberating exploits of San Martín and Bolívar in the battle of Ayacucho in 1824. It is important to understand that even though the Emancipation was led by the creoles, it had the merit of breaking the domination of the Spanish crown; that San Martín was a great military strategist and Bolívar proved to be both a political and military strategist. Both of them fought for the emancipation of several American countries without seeking personal gain, showing that to serve a great cause we must always put the general interest first and never the personal, and they did so without being Communists.

In the Republic the landlords remained in power but confronting the great peasant struggles with fire and blood, among them those of Atusparia and Uscho

¹Predominant cultural group in the region of Ayacucho and Apurímac.

²A cacique was a chief of the indias in the area of Cusco, appointed by the Viceroy.

Pedro, or that of Llacolla³ in Ocros. Here we have the dark chapter of the war with Chile where both countries faced each other manipulated by the interests of the English and the French that were seeking our wealth in guano and nitrates. This was a war that halted the incipient capitalist development of the country and revealed the dirty role of the dominant classes, part of which capitulated to Chile. But we must emphasize the heroic resistance of the masses against the invader in defense of the people and territorial integrity, a resistance that was especially strong in the mountainous Central and Southern regions of the country where guerrillas were formed; Cáceres⁴, who was a landowner-soldier, played an important role in that circumstance.

The war with Chile was waged from 1879 to 1883, and it led to the collapse of the Peruvian economy. Shortly thereafter, in 1895 it entered the beginning of bureaucratic capitalism that initiated the development of contemporary Peruvian society. As the XIX Century passed, Peru went from being a colony to a semi-colony and from feudal to semi-feudal. Bureaucratic capitalism bound to Yankee imperialism began to develop, and thus displaced the English. The modern proletariat emerged which changed the terms of the political struggle.

From this historical process the following lessons are drawn: That the people have always struggled, they are not peaceful and they apply revolutionary violence with the means they have at hand; that the peasant struggles are those which have most shaken the foundations of society, and these struggles have not triumphed because they lacked the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Communist Party; and that political and military events determine the major social changes.

From the standpoint of the military line, contemporary Peru has three moments linked to the appearance of the proletariat that founds its Party to take Power through revolutionary violence, specifying its road, which is synthesized in the process of the military line of the Party.

The first moment (1895 to 1945). The Communist Party of Peru is constituted and regarding the military line, Mariátegui establishes the "Indication and outline of the road." The heroic workers' struggles for better wages, the eight hour work day, for decent working conditions, the peasant movements of the southern Sierra for lands and the agricultural proletarian movements, and the movements to reform the university, leads to a complex sharpening of the class struggle in which the Peruvian proletariat matures and in which Mariátegui founds the Communist Party of Peru, on October 7, 1928, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Mariátegui indicated and outlined fundamental ideas on revolutionary violence. He said: "There is no revolution that is moderate, balanced, calm, placid." "Power is conquered through violence. . . it is preserved only through dictatorship." He conceived war as being protracted in nature: "A revolution can only be fulfilled after many years. Frequently it has alternating periods of predominance by the revolutionary forces or by the counterrevolutionary forces."

³Autsparia, Uscho Pedro, and Llacolla were leaders of rebellions in southern Peru.

⁴Andres A. Caceres organized a strong guerrilla movement against the invaders.

He established the relationship between politics and war, understanding that the revolution generates an army of a new type with its own tasks different from those of the exploiters; he also understood the role of the peasantry and the vital participation of the working class in a leading role, that the revolution will come from the Andes, that “with the defeat of the latifundista feudalism, urban capitalism will lack forces to resist the growing working class”; that in order to make revolution rifles, a program and doctrine are needed. He conceived the revolution as a total war in which there is a conjunction of political, social, military, economic and moral elements, and that each faction puts in tension and mobilizes all the resources that it can. He totally rejected the electoral road.

With the death of Mariátegui in April 1930, the Right led by Ravines is going to usurp the leadership of the Party and the questioning and negation of Mariátegui’s road occurs. They invoke insurrection in words but degenerate into electoralism. The so-called “Constitutional Congress” of the Party in 1942 sanctions the capitulationist tactics of the “National Union”, both in internal politics as well as internationally. The Party is influenced by Browderite ideas, a predecessor of modern revisionism, where there is a clear abandonment of revolutionary violence and an electoral tactic is promoted centering on the “National Democratic Front”. Nevertheless, the red line in the Party struggled to defend the Marxist-Leninist positions, although it was bitterly combated and the internal struggles were resolved through expulsions.

The second moment (1945 to 1980). The Communist Party of Peru is reconstituted, and with respect to the military line, Chairman Gonzalo establishes the “Definition and Foundations of the Road”. This second moment has two parts: The first, in the period from 1945 to 1963, is one of “New impulses for the development of the Party and the beginnings of the struggle against revisionism” and the second, from 1963 to 1980, is one of “Establishment of the general political line and reconstitution of the Party”.

In the first part of the second moment, by the mid-1950s, the struggle begins for reactivating the Party that had been left in disarray after Odría’s coup d’état. Afterwards, the Party commences the opening step in the struggle against revisionism. This process occurs in the midst of the repercussions of the Cuban revolution and principally because the unfolding of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism begins at the world level. The road to revolution begins to be discussed, the armed struggle is talked about again and in the IV Congress of the Party in 1962, it is agreed that in Peru the so-called “two roads” are viable: “The peaceful road and the violent one.” Also, “the revolution can follow the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside as well as from the city to the countryside.” But in spite of this empty talk, the Party in essence was hanging on to the old electoral strategy then taking the form of the so-called “National Liberation Front.” This was the revisionism of Khrushchev. At this time the political positions of Chairman Gonzalo begin to emerge, who laid the foundations of the red line which adhered to the positions of Chairman Mao in the struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

In the second part of the second moment, from 1963 to 1980, we have the “Establishment of the general political line and reconstitution of the Party”, this

task was carried forward by Chairman Gonzalo in constituting the red fraction of the Party in an intense struggle of more than fifteen years and through three political strategies:

From 1963 to 1969 he guided the red fraction under the political strategy of following the “Road of surrounding the cities from the countryside.” From 1969 to 1976 he led the Party with the political strategy of “Reconstitution of the Party for people’s war.” From 1976 to 1979 there was the political strategy of “Complete the Reconstitution and Establish Foundations” for the beginning of the armed struggle.

During the first strategic period of following the “Road of surrounding the cities from the countryside,” the Communists of Peru are profoundly stirred by the struggle between Marxism and revisionism, and Marxist positions soak into the organization. In the 1960s there is a great peasant movement that mobilized 300 to 500 thousand peasants which fought for land but that did not convert into an armed struggle due to revisionist leadership; a great movement of labor strikes occurs in the working class, and the university struggle is developed to a higher level. All these events had repercussions on the Party and Chairman Gonzalo would forge the red fraction in Ayacucho, with clear ideas that the Party must seize power, and that it must be based on Marxist theory. He unleashes a frontal struggle against revisionism that was centered in the Soviet Union, and adheres firmly to the positions of the Chinese Communist Party and principally with those of Chairman Mao. He expounds that: “The countryside is in a powerful revolutionary ferment”, “we must pay special attention to the countryside and to the poor peasants”, and that “our revolution will be from the countryside to the city”. In the IV National Conference of January 1964, he meets with the different bases of the Party to expel revisionism and its crusty representatives Jorge del Prado, Acosta and Juan Barrio. Thus our Party is going to be one of the first in breaking and expelling revisionism from its ranks.

Chairman Gonzalo began to consolidate [aboco a parar] the Party in the Regional Committee of Ayacucho; he put the center of Party work in the countryside; in the city he organized the poor masses in the Neighborhoods’ Federation, and reorganized the Revolutionary Student Front. But what is of transcendental importance is that despite the opposition of the new central leadership Chairman Gonzalo, by applying a Party agreement, launched the “Special Work”, which was the military work of the Regional Committees by giving them three functions: political, military, and logistical. Afterwards, in sharp two-line struggle against the positions of the central leadership that wanted to control the military work, he combated militarism, mercenaryism and foquismo. [This refers to the foco theory of Che Guerara—Trans.] In these circumstances the guerrillas of the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left—Trans.] develop, a position that expressed the struggle of our people from a petit-bourgeois outlook, which follows a militaristic line and sidesteps the Party. In spite of being out of step with the rise of the peasants, this movement showed the feasibility of armed struggle as a perspective, provided that it be led by a just and correct line under the leadership of the Party. For that reason, Chairman Gonzalo was opposed to dissolving the Party in order to tail the MIR and the ELN [National Liberation

Army—Trans.] in a supposed Front. At the September 1967 meeting of the Expanded Political Bureau, he expounded a Strategic Plan which contained a set of measures that the Central Committee should take for the construction of the three instruments, having as its principal task the forming of the armed forces that was agreed upon at the V National Conference of 1965. This occurs in the midst of a factional struggle where most notably the fractions of “Patria Roja” and the Right liquidationism of Paredes contend to corner the leadership of the Party. Paredes intended to replay the tactic of tailing a faction of the big bourgeoisie, while those of “Patria Roja” went on to plunge into Right opportunism.

During the second political strategy of “Reconstitute the Party for Peoples War,” Chairman Gonzalo will expound on the underlying revisionism within the Party and that it is necessary to reconstitute it on the Basis of Party Unity: Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, the thought of Mariátegui and the general political line. These positions were fought against by the aforementioned fractions. The mishandling of the two-line struggle by Paredes is going to lead to the fragmentation of the Party. Chairman Gonzalo understood the necessity of the reconstitution of the Party and the necessity to unleash an internal struggle to make it a reality by sweeping away revisionism, as evidenced by the editorials he wrote in *Bandera Roja* of December 1967, “Develop the Internal Struggle in Depth,” and of April 1968, “Deepen and Intensify the Internal Struggle in Revolutionary Practice.” He will work tirelessly for the channeling of revolutionary violence into people’s war, for the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside, thus accomplishing the principal task demanded by the Party: The construction of the revolutionary armed forces. He expounds that the indispensable foundation in this undertaking is the development of revolutionary peasant work, that without good work among the peasant masses, that is, work guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and led by the Communist Party, there cannot be a development of the armed forces nor of the People’s War. Afterward, he says that we must not only retake the continuing validity of Mariátegui’s thought, but we must also develop it. He establishes the Agrarian Program of the Party in May of 1969. In 1972 he establishes the Strategic Plan of the Regional Committee of Ayacucho. He defeats the Right liquidationism, and in the Party two fractions remain: The red fraction fundamentally in Ayacucho, led by Chairman Gonzalo, and the “Bolshevik” fraction, acting primarily in Lima. The so-called “bolsheviks” developed a Left liquidationist line, a form of revisionism that isolated the Party from the masses. Their conception was that it was impossible to fight under fascism, that having a correct line was enough. They had a military line that was opposed to people’s war. They were crushed in 1975 and their leaders fled.

During the third political strategy to “Complete the Reconstitution and to Establish Bases” to initiate the armed struggle, the problem was to finish, to consider the Reconstitution of the Party as complete, and to establish foundations to begin the armed struggle. This issue will be defined in the VII Plenum of April, 1977, in which all the Party worked under the slogan of “Construction serving the armed struggle”, in struggle against the seeds of a right opportunist

line, which sustained that Velasco had carried out the agrarian reform, that there was a need to organize the peasants around the Peasant Federation of Peru and that people's war needed to be waged for the "most deeply felt [mas sentidas] revindications of the masses", forgetting about the problems of land and of Power. In the cities, they developed "workerism", focusing the class in labor leaders [gremialismo] and opposed to the class playing its leading role. Once these positions were crushed, Chairman Gonzalo launched the "National Plan of Construction" in June of 1977; dozens of cadre were sent to the countryside in the interests of the strategic needs of the People's War and to build Regional Committees taking into account the future Support Bases. In the VIII Plenum of July of 1978, he establishes the "Outline for the Armed Struggle". In essence, he expounded that the People's War in Peru must be developed as a unified whole in both the countryside as well as in the city, with the countryside being the principal theater of armed actions, following the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside. Furthermore, it must take into account the historical social process of the country, especially the military aspect, the importance of the Sierra and principally from the Central and Southern part in our history, the importance of the Capital, and the need to place Peru within the context of Latin America, in South America particularly, and within the international context and the world revolution. All the Party entered into a general reorganization, placing the countryside as central to develop the principal form of struggle and organization. Thus, the basis of the construction of the three instruments of the revolution was laid down.

In synthesis, the entire process of Reconstitution left us with a Party of a new type prepared to initiate the People's War and to lead it until the conquest of power countrywide. In this process the historic contingent was forged, who with the ideology of the proletariat under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo was ready to assume the conquest of Power through the People's War.

The third moment (1980 to the present). The Party begins to lead the People's War. Its military line is formed with the "Application and development of the Road." This third moment has four milestones:

1) Definition. In essence, the Party takes the historic and transcendental agreement of initiating the People's War in Peru, which was defined in the IX Expanded Plenum of June, 1979. This agreement was achieved in the midst of three intense struggles: The first was against the right opportunist line that was opposed to initiating the armed struggle, negating the revolutionary situation, that the conditions didn't exist, and that there was "stability." They were expelled, and the Party agreed upon a new stage and a new goal. The second struggle was against a new Rightist line that considered that initiating the armed struggle was impossible, that it was a "dream", that there was no need of taking up that agreement because it was a matter of principle. The third struggle was with the divergences within the Left, one in which the nuances were discussed on how to develop the People's War. It was established that the proletarian position was Chairman Gonzalo's and therefore was the one which should be enforced; the entire Party made a commitment to be guided by the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo.

Concerning the construction of the armed forces, measures were taken to form military cadres, specific groups for action and to undermine the reactionary forces, aiming at soldiers. In strategy and tactics, the organic system was re-proposed.

2) Preparation. In this milestone event, the Program of the Party is sanctioned, along with the general political line of the Peruvian revolution and the Party statutes. Problems of political strategy related to revolutionary violence, the People's War and the Party, the Army and United Front are resolved. The following Decision is assumed: "Forge the First Company in Deeds! Let violence flourish realized in the initiation and development of the armed struggle; we open with lead and offer our blood to write the new chapter of the history of the Party and of our people forging the First Company in deeds (Peru, December 3, 1979)."

The Party prepared the armed struggle dealing with two problems: 1) Problems of Political Strategy that define both the content and the objectives of the People's War in perspective and in the short term, as well as the guidelines that the People's War should have, its military plans, the construction of the three instruments and their connection with the new Power; 2) The Initiation of the armed struggle. This decisive and paramount question had merited the most special attention from Chairman Gonzalo, who established the "Plan of Initiation" guided by the slogan "Initiate the armed struggle!" that was the condensation of the principal politics that had to be developed militarily. Its contents included: First, the political tasks to be fulfilled which are initiating the armed struggle, boycotting the elections, militarily promoting the armed struggle for the land and establishing the bases for the new conquests, especially the new Power. Second, forms of struggle: Guerrilla warfare, sabotage, propaganda and armed agitation, and selective annihilation. Third, organic and military forms: Armed detachments, with or without modern weapons. Fourth, a chronology, date of the initiation and duration of the Plan, and simultaneous actions for specific dates. Fifth, slogans: "Armed Struggle!", "A Workers' and Peasants' Government!", and "Down with the New Reactionary Government!"

The Preparation was carried out in struggle against the Rightist positions within the Party that were negating conditions, that the Party was not prepared or that the masses would not lend us support. The leader of these positions deserted and they were crushed.

3) Initiation. On May 17, 1980, the People's War in Peru began. It "was a defiant political blow of transcendental significance, deploying rebellious red flags and hoisting hammers and sickles, that proclaimed: 'It is right to rebel' and 'Power grows from the barrel of a gun.' It summoned the people, especially the poor peasantry, to stand up in arms, to light the bonfire and to shake the Andes, to write the new history in the fields and hidden features of our tumultuous landscape, to tear down the rotten walls of the oppressive order, to conquer the summits, to storm the heavens with guns to open the new dawn. The beginnings were modest, almost without modern weapons. Combat was given, it was advanced and it was built from the small to the large and from the weak material and initial fire came the great turbulent fire and mighty roar

that grows, sowing revolution and exploding into ever more impetuous People's War."

This third milestone lasted from May to December of 1980, resolving the problem of how to initiate the armed struggle, of crossing from the times of peace to the times of war. The militarization of the Party through actions and the masterful Plan of Initiation were key. This was how the new was born: The principal form of struggle, the armed struggle and the principal form of organization, the detachments and squads. The most outstanding actions in the field were the guerrilla actions of Ayrabamba and Aysarca [localities in Ayacucho—Trans.] and, in the city, setting fire to the Municipal Building of San Martín [a district in Lima—Trans.]. The boycott of the elections in the town of Chuschi was the action that initiated the beginning of the People's War. This plan was fulfilled, defeating the Rightist positions that were saying that the Plan was "Hoxhite" and that the actions were centered in the city. These arguments exaggerated appearances with reality and distorted their essence, since reactionary propaganda gave big headlines to the sabotages in the cities and minimized the actions in the countryside. It is a specificity of the People's War in Peru to make the countryside the principal theater of action and the cities a necessary complement.

4) Development of the guerrilla war. It has been fulfilled through three military plans: Deploy guerrilla warfare, Conquer Bases and Develop Bases.

Regarding the Deployment of guerrilla warfare. This was completed by a plan that lasted from May 1981 to December 1982 and had a pilot period in January 1981. The slogan "Open guerrilla zones in function of Support Bases" implied an ideological-political leap by putting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, guiding thought of Chairman Gonzalo as the basis of party unity. Militarily, guerrilla warfare opened like a fan throughout the country seeking to "Capture weapons and the means for war, shake up the countryside with armed actions" and "Strike to advance towards the Support Bases." These plans were partially completed with the latter, "Strike ", being the link with the subsequent plan. The razing of feudal production relations, aiming against gamonalismo as the spearhead, and fighting against the joint police operations was advanced. A multitude of assaults on police posts and selective annihilation against gamonal power were carried out, generating a great mass mobilization of peasant masses that incorporated themselves into the militia, giving rise to a power vacuum for the reactionaries. The People's Committees emerged, which grew and multiplied. This is how the Support Bases appeared and were specified.

We emphasize actions such as the assault on the city jail of Ayacucho where the First Company acted for the first time, harassing the city and freeing tens of prisoners of war; the assaults on the police posts of Vilcashuamán, of Totos, of San José de Secce; the sabotages to the power grid and communication lines; the razings like those of Pincos, Toxama, Allpachaca, Huayllapampa among others. In the cities there were the sabotages to bureaucratic capitalism and to imperialism, as well as support for strikes by armed actions.

Here the Rightist positions that were combated were those of personal power and fiefdoms and the retreats in actions. Deploying the guerrilla war gave us the

most important conquest: The new Power, the clandestine People's Committees that are the backbone of the Support Bases.

Facing the advance of the People's War, the reactionary government of Belaúnde from the very beginning launched the persecution, repression, torture, the imprisonment and death of the militants, combatants and the masses. They have mounted police operations independently and jointly with their police forces, Civil Guards, Republican Guards, Investigative Police, along with the counterinsurgency corps known as the "sinchis". They promulgated the D.L. [Legal Decree—Trans.] No. 046, a truly terrorist law that violates the most elementary principles of bourgeois criminal law. But the result of all their plans has been the most all-round failure; the masses rejected and resisted their aggression. The emergence of the new Power broke the reticence of the Belaúnde government, which from the beginning minimized the problem to maintain their bogus democratic facade and strengthened the class necessities of the two exploiters, the big bourgeoisie and landlords under the protection of principally Yankee imperialism. Belaunde then entrusted the armed forces (Army, Navy and Air Force), the backbone of the State, to reestablish public order with the support of the police forces, imposing a state of emergency under political-military control in the regions of Ayacucho, Apurímac and Huancavelica, from December of 1982 until today.

Chairman Gonzalo, with the development of the People's War and the counterrevolutionary response that implied a qualitative leap, outlined the Great Plan of Conquering Bases in the Expanded Central Committee from January to March 1983 where four political tasks were defined: The general reorganization of the Party, the creation of the People's Guerrilla Army and the Revolutionary Defense Front of the People and their concretization as People's Committees in the countryside and as the Revolutionary Defense Movement of the People in the cities and the Military Plan of Conquering Bases. Politically, the contradiction new State—old State was making headway under the slogan of "Defend, Develop and Build" the Support Bases. A sharp armed conflict developed in which the reactionaries struggled to reestablish the old Power and the revolution struggled to counter-reestablish the new Power. This is what we call the struggle between reestablishment and counter-reestablishment encompassing the years 1983 and 1984. Military plans were specified for the zones applying the tactics of encircling and striking the enemy's weak point. Two successful campaigns were completed in which the new Power was tempered passing its first test of fire; the Party was steeled and the People's Guerrilla Army was developed.

The reactionary armed forces pursued the counterrevolutionary war following the concepts of their Yankee imperialist master, the theory of counterrevolutionary war based on their experience in Vietnam and particularly drawn from the combat against the armed struggle in Latin America, especially in Central America. That is the basic theoretical source combined with the "anti-terrorist" experience of Israel and its counterpart in Argentina, along with advisors from the Federal Republic of Germany, Taiwan, Spain, etc. This combined with their experience of the few months of anti-guerrilla struggle of 1965 and the more limited experience of fighting in La Convención. The operations are under the

direction of the Joint Command of the Armed Forces that acts according to the will of the National Defense Council headed by the President, today under Alan García, who holds direct and inescapable responsibility. This counterrevolutionary strategy has been defeated many times. It has been crushed and defeated completely and thoroughly by people's war, showing to the world again and again the superiority of the strategy of the proletariat over that of imperialism.

Specific policies that were applied by the genocidal government: masses against masses; genocide, mass graves; disappearances of entire villages. In synthesis, they unleashed the white terror in the countryside, especially in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurímac. The result of this genocide is eight thousand seven hundred Peruvians dead. Of these, four thousand seven hundred of the murdered were the poorest and the most exploited, mainly peasants, shantytown and slum dwellers of the cities, along with four thousand disappeared. This genocide has not produced the result they wanted; it did not crush the People's War. On the contrary, "the People's War grows stronger, developing and striking powerful blows," proving what Chairman Mao taught, that repression is what incites the revolution.

Within the Plan of Conquering Bases is the "Plan of the Great Leap" that is subject to the specific political strategy of "Two Republics are expressed, two roads, twopoles" and the military strategy of "generalize the guerrilla warfare." Four successful campaigns were carried out under the political guidelines of: "Open our political space", "Against the general elections of 1985, disrupt, destabilize and impede them wherever feasible", "Against the ascension to power by the new Aprista government," and "Undermine the fascist and corporative Aprista assembly." The People's War developed in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica, and Apurímac and was expanded to Pasco, Huánuco and San Martín, covering an area from the department of Cajamarca, on the border with Ecuador in the Northwest, to Puno on the border with Bolivia in the Southeast of the country, striking and shaking-up the cities, especially in the capital. The People's War fundamentally occurs in the Sierra, the historical axis of Peruvian society and its most backward and poorest part, by transforming it into the grand theater of the revolutionary war. It advanced to the edge of the Jungle and to the headlands of the Coast. Thus, the People's War was not conceived in a single region but was developed simultaneously in several regions, although in unequal form, with a principal area that can vary as necessary. All this is within a strategically centralized and a tactically decentralized plan.

Among the most salient actions, we can see the blows against the anti-guerrilla bases in the department of Ayacucho; the destruction of the counter-subversive settlements [nucleamientos]; disruptions in the establishment of the local micro-regions; in Huancavelica the demolition of the electrical grid and the destruction of the highway system; the destruction of the agricultural cooperatives Cinto and Vichincha with cattle redistribution and appropriation of lands; breakthroughs in Apurímac. In the Central region, there were ambushes such as in Michivilca, sabotage to the substation of Centromín [state mining corporation—Trans.], sabotage to SAIS [state-run cooperative—Trans.] Túpac Amaru. In the North, land seizures under the slogan "Seize the Land!" that

mobilized 160 thousand peasants and confiscated 320 thousand hectares, mostly pastures, and 12 thousand head of livestock [reses]; sabotage to the oil pipeline “Norperuano”, and to the headquarters of APRA in the city of Trujillo. In the South, the land question was shaken up by the mobilization of more than 10 thousand peasants; in Huallaga, an assault on the police post of Aucayacu, destruction of the large [tealera] company, and the ambush of the Republican Guards; in Metropolitan Lima, sabotages against the embassy of Russian social-imperialists, against dozens of local offices of the APRA party, and against banks and factories, all leading to a state of emergency and [toque de queda] of the Capital under the responsibility of the Armed Forces in February of 1986.

Alan García Pérez has continued the counterrevolutionary politics of his predecessor and sought to crush the People’s War through genocides such as those of Accomarca, Llocllapampa, Umaru and Bellavista in the countryside. In the capital of the Republic, he has unleashed two genocides against the prisoners of war, the first on the 4th of October, 1985, where 30 militants and combatants were annihilated in the shining trench of combat of Lurigancho. That did not break the heroic resistance of the prisoners of war who, with their blood, formed the Day of the Prisoner of War. The second was on June 19 1986, where the most vile and despicable premeditated crime was committed with perfidy to crush the People’s War and to annihilate the prisoners of war, who with a ferocious resistance inflicted the most serious political, military, and moral defeat to the genocidal Aprista government. This highlighted and defined their dilemma of serving the bureaucratic faction of the big bourgeoisie, in order to develop fascism and corporativism, leaving García and the Aprista party forever bathed in the blood of the genocide. Thus the Day of Heroism was formed with the monumental trilogy of 250 dead in the shining trenches of combat of El Fronton, Lurigancho, and Callao.

We condemn and unmask opportunism and revisionism in its various incarnations: The pro-Russian, the pro-Chinese, the false Mariateguists, all those who have acted and continue to act as informers, tailing after the counterrevolution, negating and combating the People’s War and branding it as terrorism, repeating what Reagan, the Peruvian and world reactionaries say. Unable to prove their charges they simply hurl adjectives and condemn violence “whatever the source,” and continue with their old electoral positions with the aim of pigeonholing the people with parliamentary cretinism, sinking further each day into that lifeguard of the old order, their rotten parliament, their electoral farces, their constitution and their laws, living in quivering fear and reverential dread before the reactionary armed forces and the coup d’etat. We condemn the groveling attitude and capitulation of Barrantes Lingán and his stooges and cronies.

Since 1983, the political strategy of the Great Plan of Conquering Bases was completed through two campaigns of defending, developing and building Parts I and II, and the Plan for the Great Leap with its four campaigns up to December 1986, show us the advance of the People’s War, that we are solidly linked to the masses, contrary to everything they say, since the facts belie them irrefutably. The People’s War has conquered an area that extends itself through the Sierra,

the Jungle and the Coast, marching vigorously and strong, building the new and opening what is to be. The Support Bases which are the core of the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside have already been conquered.

Regarding the Great Plan of Developing Bases. This has a special position in the People's War since the essence of the People's War is to develop Support Bases; therefore the Great Plan of Developing Bases has to do with the construction of the new Power and its development, it has to do with the perspective that is being opened for the conquest of Power countrywide. The political strategy is to develop Support Bases and the military strategy is to develop the People's War serving the world revolution, a plan that is being fulfilled through a pilot plan.

The triumph of the revolution begets and crushes a powerful counterrevolution. Thus, we are entering decisive years in which APRA continues without having a strategic plan; they talk of a "new strategy" but there is no such thing. The only thing they can do is bestow stronger measures, more political, economic, and social laws, strengthening the military to facilitate the armed forces' fight against us, unleashing a new genocide under new conditions, for us as well as for them. For us, the genocide under way presents itself under new circumstances. We have passed through the genocide of 1983 and 1984 that demonstrated the great popular repudiation and the strengthening of the revolution. Reaction can only apply genocide, but that will fortify the People's War. There might be initial retreats or inflections, but we shall prevail by persisting in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, in our politics of the five developments, in the invincibility of the People's War and in the support of the people who make and shall make history always under the leadership of the Communist Party.

On the concrete situations and possibilities that are presented us in the new Great Plan of Developing Bases we must be aware of:

1. The appearance of armed groups such as the MRTA and the CRP [the short-lived People's Revolutionary Commando—Trans.] who have been recast, but who do not have a well-defined Marxist conception. Thus, they march to serve imperialism, social-imperialism, and the supposed dialogue with the fascists to whom they have already given unilateral truces
2. APRA has already begun to unfold fascism and corporativism. It faces serious and increasing difficulties, such as its growing and sinuous collusion and contention with the comprador bourgeoisie, among other even more important contradictions.
3. The class struggle sharpens and intensifies more, the masses begin to defend themselves and resist; given social explosions in the urban areas, they could be used by social-imperialism and the reactionaries in general, through their representatives.
4. A coup d'état is possible at any moment. García Pérez himself may promote a self-coup in order to preserve his political future.

5. In perspective, the reactionaries can also play with an Allende-type government, using the Aprista Barrantes or someone similar; within this possibility one must consider the sinister role of the United Left.
6. The Peruvian State has border problems that can be inflamed at any moment, as is shown by the experience of other Latin American countries. This problem must be seriously addressed.
7. The sending of Yankee troops is already a real fact and not simply a possibility. Their presence is linked to a similar presence in other countries, especially on the border and it must be seen in the context of military measures taken by Brazil.
8. The imperialist wars and their aggressions continue to increase. The World War for hegemony between the USA and the USSR continues being prepared through collusion and contention on a global scale. Consequently, the People's War is a peremptory necessity and the world people's war is an inevitable perspective. All these possibilities must be taken seriously into account to handle the People's War with politics in command, and particularly with an eye toward the conquest of power countrywide that may present itself and which must be taken up. For these reasons, we must be ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared.

The First Campaign of the Pilot Plan of the Great Plan of Developing Bases has meant the largest shake-up with greater national and international repercussions. The old State is fracturing more and more, which had never been shaken up this way by anyone in Peru. Now it is up to us to fulfil the historical and political necessity of "Finish by brilliantly establishing a historical milestone!" in the Second Campaign, understanding that the Pilot Plan is like the initial battle of the Great Plan of Developing Bases.

In conclusion, after close to eight years of People's War we have completed more than forty five thousand actions that reveal their high quality; the militarized Party has been tempered; the People's Guerrilla Army has been developed and has increased its belligerence; and we have hundreds of organizations of the new Power with the poorest masses increasingly in support of us. The People's War has raised the class struggle of our people to its highest form and that affects the struggle of the masses themselves, impelling them to incorporate themselves by leaps and bounds into the People's War. Thus, the "People's War is turning the country upside down, the 'old mole' [el topo viejo] is profoundly rooting up the entrails of the old society. No one can stop it, the future already dwells among us, the old and rotten society is sinking irrevocably, the revolution will prevail. Long Live the People's War!" Our task is to develop the People's War serving the world revolution under the banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

4.2.2 The Road of Surrounding the Cities from the Countryside and the Revolutionary Support Bases

Chairman Mao established the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside, with its heart in the Support Bases. He took into account that the powerful imperialists and their reactionary Chinese allies were entrenched in the principal cities, and if the revolution refused to capitulate and wanted to persevere in the struggle it had to convert the backwards rural zones into advanced and solid Support Bases, into great military, political, economic and cultural bulwarks of the revolution to fight against the fierce enemy that was assaulting the rural zones using the cities, and to carry the revolution forward step by step to a complete victory through a protracted war.

Based on this Maoist thesis, Chairman Gonzalo has established the carrying forward of a unified People's War where the countryside is the principal theater of armed actions: Since in our country we have an immense majority of peasant masses, that is where we must build the Support Bases.

As Chairman Mao said:

*the protracted revolutionary struggle in the revolutionary base areas consists mainly in peasant guerrilla warfare led by the Chinese Communist Party. Therefore, it is wrong to ignore the necessity of using rural districts as revolutionary base areas, to neglect painstaking work among the peasants, and to neglect guerrilla warfare.*⁵

Furthermore, Chairman Gonzalo specifies that in the cities armed actions should be carried forward as a complement, since international experience, as well as our own, demonstrates that this is feasible. He draws lessons, for example, from what happened to the guerrillas in the Philippines which recast themselves in the countryside and left the cities quiet, especially the capital, resulting in the isolation of the guerrillas. In Brazil, the revolutionaries also carried out armed actions in the countryside and city, only they neglected to specify which was principal. In Vietnam, important armed actions were carried out in the cities. Thus, taking into account the peculiarities of the cities in Latin America, where the percentage of the proletariat and of the poor masses in the cities is high, the masses are ready to develop actions complementing those in the countryside. In the cities, however, the New Power or Support Bases are not being built, rather the Front is solidified through the Revolutionary Defense Movement of the People (MRDP) with Resistance Centers that carry out the People's War and prepare the future insurrection, which will occur when the forces of the countryside assault the cities in combination with the insurrection from within.

The Support Bases are the strategic bases which the guerrilla forces rely on to fulfil their strategic tasks and to achieve the objective of preserving and increasing their forces as well as annihilating and throwing back the enemy. Without such strategic Bases there would be nothing to base ourselves on to carry out any one of our strategic tasks and to reach the war's objective.

⁵The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party December 1939, S.W. Vol. 2—Trans.

Chairman Mao expounded three reasons for the creation of Support Bases: To have armed forces, to defeat the enemy and to mobilize the masses. These were specified in our People's War in 1982, by applying the Plan of Deployment of the guerrilla war in the part 'Strike the enemy', aiming at destroying the old feudal relations of production. Police posts were assaulted, selective annihilation of feudal landlord power was applied, and the police forces abandoned the countryside and were regrouped in the provincial capitals. The authorities of the old Power massively resigned which created a power vacuum, while tens of thousands were mobilized. It is in these conditions that the Support Bases emerged and were specified in the clandestine People's Committees. Therefore, it is wrong to take the Chinese experience dogmatically since if the conditions were given and principles were in effect, we would have had sufficient reason to build the Support Bases. To agree upon this implied a struggle against Rightism which argued that we had not defeated large enemy forces, when the problem was that the enemy forces had abandoned the countryside as a consequence of the rout of their political and military plans.

Chairman Gonzalo has established a system of Support Bases surrounded by guerrilla zones, operational zones and points of action taking into account the political and social conditions, the tradition of struggle, the geographical characteristics and the development of the Party, the Army and of the masses.

It is fundamental to support the validity of the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside and its heart, the Support Bases, because with only wandering guerrillas of insurrection the People's Guerrilla Army would not have the Support Bases as a rearguard that sustains it, nor would the new Power be built. We are totally against focoism.

4.2.3 The Protracted War

The People's War is protracted because it derives from the correlation between the enemy's factors and our factors that are determined by the following four fundamental characteristics: The first is that Peru is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society in which a bureaucratic capitalism is unfolding; the second is that the enemy is strong; the third is that the People's Guerrilla Army is weak; and the fourth is that the Communist Party leads the People's War. From the first and fourth characteristics we can derive that the People's Guerrilla Army will not grow too rapidly and will not defeat its enemy soon. These peculiarities determine the protracted character of the war.

The enemy is strong and we are weak; in that fact resides the danger of our defeat. The enemy has a single advantage—the numerous contingents of its forces and the armaments they rely upon—but every other aspect constitutes their weak points. Their objective is to defend the old and rotten Power of the landlord-bureaucratic State. It has a bourgeois military line; it is a mercenary army. It does not have conscious discipline and its morale is low. It has profound contradictions between officers and soldiers, and it is discredited before the masses. Furthermore, the very foundation of the reactionary army is of worker and peasant origin, which can disintegrate during the course of an unjust war.

Apart from this, the Peruvian armed forces have never won a war and they are experts in defeat. Furthermore, they have repeatedly counted on and still count on the support of international reaction, but we count on the support of the oppressed nations, of the peoples of the world and the international proletariat, which are the new forces.

The People's Guerrilla Army has a single weak point, its insufficient development but the remaining aspects constitute valuable advantages: It carries forward a People's War to create a new Power; it has a proletarian military line, led absolutely by the Communist Party; it is based on class valor and revolutionary heroism and on a conscious discipline. Its morale is high and there is a close union between officers and soldiers and it is an army composed of the people themselves, mainly poor workers and peasants.

But the objective fact is that there is a large disparity between the forces of the enemy and our forces and for us to go from weak to strong requires a period of time, one in which the defects of the enemy are exposed and our advantages are developed. Therefore, we say that our army appears weak but is strong in essence and the enemy's army appears strong but is weak in essence. Thus, to go from weak to strong we must carry forward the protracted war and this has three stages: The first is the period of the strategic offensive of the enemy and the strategic defensive of our forces. The second will be the period of the strategic consolidation of the enemy and of our preparation for the counteroffensive. The third will be the period of our strategic counteroffensive and of the strategic withdrawal of the enemy.

Chairman Gonzalo thus teaches us that the People's War is protracted, long and ruthless but victorious and tells us that the length of its duration will be extended or shortened within its protracted character to the extent that we fight within the proletarian military line, since Rightism is the principal danger that can cause serious setbacks to the war.

Today, we find ourselves in the period of the strategic offensive of the enemy and of our own strategic defensive. We must strengthen the People's War by applying generalized guerrilla warfare, laying foundations for the next stage, paying whatever cost is necessary but fighting to minimize it.

4.2.4 Construction of the People's Guerrilla Army

To unleash the People's War we must count on the principal form of organization, which is the People's Guerrilla Army, since the backbone of the old State is the reactionary armed forces and to destroy the old State one must first destroy its reactionary army. The Party must count on a powerful army: "Without a people's army the people have nothing," as Chairman Mao taught us.

The construction of the Army is seen in the line of construction based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. In synthesis, Chairman Gonzalo has made a contribution by incorporating the militia into the People's Guerrilla Army. Its creation is a step toward the sea of armed masses and the solution of going from disorganized masses to masses who are militarily organized.

4.2.5 Strategy and Tactics

Chairman Gonzalo emphasizes seven points on strategy and tactics of Chairman Mao specifying some of them. We must pay close attention to these in order to lead the People's War.

1. On Strategy and Tactics. He starts from Chairman Mao's thesis that the task of strategy as a science is to study the laws of leading military operations that influence the situation of the war as a whole. The task of the science of campaigns and tactics is to study the laws of leading military operations of a partial character. He makes a strategic development of how to wage the war in the country as a whole and in each zone, taking into account its links to the international situation. He established for us the axes, sub-axes, directions of movement and lines of movements which permit us to maintain the strategic course of the war under any circumstances and to face all types of political and military operations that the counterrevolution launches. On this basis he established the National Military Plan that is strategically centralized and tactically decentralized, starting from the premise that all plans are ideological, that they must reflect both reality and the rugged paths which this reality will express. Taking up Stalin, he links strategy with tactics and establishes the strategic-operational Plans that are the concrete way that strategy is linked to tactical operations. As a result, each Committee must elaborate its strategic-operational plans within the strategic-operational Plan common to the entire Party.

The correct disposition emanates from the just decision of the commander; based on the indispensable recognition and careful study of the situation of the enemy, our situation and the interrelationship of both. That is, we must always keep in mind "the two hills"; we must be guided by a political strategy and by a military strategy.

For the elaboration of the Plans always take into account the following general features:

1. The international class struggle between revolution and counterrevolution; ideology; the international communist movement; the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement
2. The class struggle in the country; the counterrevolution; the political juncture; and the counter-subversive war.
3. The development of the People's War; its balance; laws and lessons.
4. The need for investigation.
5. The People's War and construction.
6. The People's War and the masses
7. The two-lined struggle
8. Programming and Chronology.

9. Attitude and slogans. "Rise above the difficulties and conquer greater victories!"

In almost eight years of People's War, we had four plans:

1. Plan of Initiation
2. Plan of of Deploying the People's War
3. Plan of Conquering Bases
4. Plan of Developing Bases

2. The basic principle of war. All the orienting principles of military operations originate with a single basic principle: Do everything possible to preserve our own forces and to annihilate the enemy's forces. All war imposes a price, sometimes it is extremely high. To conserve our own forces, we must annihilate those of the enemy; but to annihilate the enemy, we must pay a price in order to preserve the whole. Chairman Gonzalo teaches us that one must be prepared to pay the highest cost of the war, but we should fight so that it will always be the smallest possible cost. It is a contradiction and the problem resides in attitude and good planning; it is mainly a question of leadership. He forged us in the "challenge to death", in "revolutionary heroism" and in "conquer laurels in death." In war we always see the two aspects, the destructive and the constructive and the principal aspect is the second one.

3. Guerrilla tactics or basic tactics. "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." This basic tactic must be embodied and applied, maneuvering around the enemy and seeking his weak point to smash it.

4. Campaigns of "encirclement and annihilation" and the counter-campaigns, the principal form of the People's War. It is a law that the counterrevolution, in order to crush the revolution unleashes campaigns of "encirclement and annihilation" against each unit of the People's Guerrilla Army or against the Support Bases. The operations of the People's Guerrilla Army adopt the form of counter-campaigns and Chairman Mao has established nine steps to crush a campaign of "encirclement and annihilation":

1. The active defense
2. The preparation of a counter-campaign
3. The strategic withdrawal
4. The strategic counteroffensive
5. The initiation of the counteroffensive
6. The concentration of forces
7. Mobile warfare

8. The war of quick decision
9. The war of annihilation

Chairman Gonzalo, applying this law to the conditions of our People's War, has outlined the five parts of the campaign which permit us to defeat the political and military plans of the reactionaries. Each campaign has a specific political and military objective, fulfilled by the element of surprise, attacking them when we want, where we want and as we want. He also specified the five steps that must follow each military action always serving the political objective, opposing the criteria of action for action's sake. He stresses the importance of differentiating between the essence and the appearance of the enemy's movements. He has also established for us the four forms of struggle of the People's War:

1. Guerrilla action with its two forms, assaults and ambushes
2. Sabotage
3. Selective annihilation
4. Propaganda and armed agitation, as well as its diverse methods.

5. The strategic role of guerrilla warfare. Chairman Mao has raised guerrilla warfare to a strategic level. Prior to him, it was only considered as a tactical question that by itself did not decide the outcome of the war; but even though the guerrilla war does not decide the war's outcome because this requires conventional warfare, it fulfils a series of strategic tasks that carry forward to the favorable outcome of the war. We conceive of guerrilla war on a vast scale, a generalized guerrilla warfare that must support the protracted and bloody war. From there, we apply the six strategic problems of guerrilla warfare:

1. Initiative, flexibility and planning in the realization of offensive operations within the defensive war, battles of rapid decision within the protracted war and operations in the exterior lines within the war in the interior lines.
2. Coordination with the regular warfare.
3. Creation of Support Bases.
4. Strategic defense and strategic assault in the guerrilla war
5. Transformation of the guerrilla war into mobile warfare.
6. Relationships of command.

6. The ten military principles. In December 1947 Chairman Mao masterfully synthesized the just and correct strategic line followed in more than 20 years of people's war in 10 military principles. This is seen in his article: "The current situation and our tasks," third part. We apply these principles and it is very important to broaden their application.

7. Brilliant summary of strategy and tactics. Chairman Mao has summarized in a brilliant way the strategy and the tactics of people's war in the following phrase: "You fight your way and we'll fight ours: We fight when we can win and we retreat when we cannot."

*"In other words, you are supported by modern armament and we by the popular masses with a high level of revolutionary conscience; you fight to the fullest with your superiority, and we fight with ours. You have your combat methods and we have ours. When you want to assault us, you are not permitted to do so and cannot even find us. But when we attack you, we reach the target, we inflict accurate, sure blows and we annihilate it. When we can annihilate it, we do so with deliberate decision; when we can not annihilate it, neither do we allow ourselves to be annihilated by you. To not fight when there is a possibility of winning is opportunism. To persist in fighting when there is no possibility of winning is adventurism. All our strategic orientation and tactics are based on our will to fight. Our recognition of the need for retreating is based first of all on our recognition of the need for fighting. When we retreat, we always do so with an eye to future combat so that we may finally and thoroughly annihilate the enemy. Only by supporting ourselves in the broad popular masses can we bring about these strategies and tactics. And in applying them, we can put into full play the superiority of people's war and constrain the enemy to the passive position of being beaten, although they are superior in equipment and no matter what means they employ. We always preserve the initiative in our hands."*⁶

The application of this principle allows us to demonstrate the invincibility of the superior strategy of people's war, because the proletariat as the last class in history has created its own superior form of war and no other class, including the bourgeoisie with its greatest political and military strategists, are capable of defeating it. The reactionaries dream about elaborating "superior strategies" to people's war, but are condemned to failure since they are against history. Our People's War after nearly eight years blazes victoriously, demonstrating the invincibility of people's war.

The militants of the Communist Party of Peru assume completely and thoroughly the military line of the Party, established by Chairman Gonzalo, that based on the highest creation of the international proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, has specified our military line with Gonzalo Thought, endowing us with an invincible weapon, the unified People's War principally in the countryside together with the city as a complement. As the principal form of struggle we carry it forward, it is a bright torch before the world, proclaiming the universal validity of the forever living Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

⁶"Long Live the victory of the People's War!", September 1965.

LONG LIVE THE MILITARY LINE OF THE PARTY!

THE PEOPLE'S WAR IS INVINCIBLE!

Central Committee, Communist Party of Peru

Chapter 5

Line of the Construction of the Three Instruments

5.1 Introduction

Chairman Gonzalo establishes the line of construction of the three instruments of the revolution by upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism.

He teaches us that Marx said that the working class creates organizations in its image and likeness, that is, its own organizations. In the XIX century, with Marx and Engels, we started off endowed with a scientific conception, our own doctrine, our own objective, our common goal—how to take Power and the means to do it—revolutionary violence. All this was achieved in a very hard two-line struggle. Marx established that the proletariat cannot act as a class unless it constitutes itself as a political party different from and opposed to all the political parties created by the propertied classes. That since its appearance in a prolonged process, the proletariat has created its own forms of struggle and its own forms of organization. As a result, the Party is the highest form of organization, the army is the principal form of organization and the Front is the third instrument, and these three instruments are to seize Power by means of revolutionary violence. He tells us that by the end of the XIX century, Engels came to the conclusion that the class did not have either the proper organic forms or the proper military forms to seize Power and hold it, but he never said we should abandon the revolution, rather we should work for revolution, seeking a solution to these pending problems. This must be understood well since the revisionists twist it to peddle their opportunism.

In the XX century Lenin understood that the revolution was ripe and created the proletarian Party of a new type, molding the form of struggle—the insurrection, and the form of organization—the detachments, which were mobile forms and superior to the barricades of the previous century, which were fixed forms. Lenin expounded the need to create new, clandestine organizations,

since the step to revolutionary actions signified the dissolution of the legal organizations by the police and that step was only possible if it was taken by going over the old leaders, going over the old Party, destroying it. The Party should take as example the modern army, with its own discipline and its one will, and be flexible.

With Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the class understands the need to build the three instruments of the revolution: the Party, Army and United Front in an interrelated way. This resolves the construction of the three instruments in a backward, semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, through the People's War. Concretely, it resolves the issue of building the Party around the gun and that it is the heroic combatant who is leading its own construction, the Army and the Front.

Chairman Gonzalo expounds the militarization of the Communist Parties and the concentric construction of the three instruments. The militarization of the Communist Parties is the political directive with a strategic content, since it is "the set of transformations, changes and readjustments it needs to lead the People's War as the principal form of struggle that will generate the new State." Therefore, the militarization of the Communist Parties is key for the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and the cultural revolutions.

He defines the principle of construction: "On the ideological-political base, to simultaneously build the organizational forms in the midst of the class struggle and the two-line struggle, all of these within and as a function of the armed struggle for the conquest of Power."

In addition, he links the entire process of construction with the fluidity of people's war, starting from Chairman Mao's thesis that "the mobility of military operations and the variability of our territory provide all works of construction with . . . a variable character."

Hence, to understand the line of construction, we must start from the form of struggle and the forms of organization; from the principle of construction and construction linked to the fluidity of people's war which is the main form of struggle in today's world.

5.2 On the Construction of the Party

– Character of the Party. We base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, principally Gonzalo Thought, on the ideology of the proletariat, which is the highest expression of humanity, the only true, scientific and invincible ideology. We struggle for the Communist Programme whose essence is to organize and lead the class struggle of the proletariat so it can conquer political Power, realize the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and the cultural revolution on the way to Communism, the unwavering goal toward which we march. We rely on the general political line of the revolution, those are the laws governing the class struggle for the taking of Power, established by Chairman Gonzalo with its five elements:

1. The international line

2. The democratic revolution
3. The military line
4. The line of the construction of the three instruments of revolution
5. The mass line

The military line is the center of the general political line. We forge ourselves in proletarian internationalism as we conceive our revolution to be part of the world proletarian revolution. And we maintain ideological, political and organizational independence supported by our own efforts and by the masses.

It is a Party of the new type which generated the Great Leader of the Peruvian revolution, Chairman Gonzalo, the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, who leads the Party. He is the guarantee of the triumph of the revolution who will carry us to Communism.

– The militarization of the Communist Party and concentric construction. Chairman Gonzalo expounded the thesis that the Communist Parties of the world should militarize themselves for three reasons:

First, because we are in the strategic offensive of the world revolution, we live during the sweeping away of imperialism and reaction from the face of the Earth within the next 50 to 100 years, a time marked by violence in which all kinds of wars take place. We see how reaction is militarizing itself more and more, militarizing the old States, their economies, developing wars of aggression, trafficking with the struggles of the peoples and aiming toward a world war, but since revolution is the principal tendency in the world, the task of the Communist Parties is to uphold revolution shaping the principal form of struggle: People’s war to oppose the world counterrevolutionary war with world revolutionary war.

Second, because capitalist restoration must be prevented. When the bourgeoisie loses Power, it introduces itself inside the Party, uses the army and seeks to usurp Power and destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat to restore capitalism. Therefore, the Communist Parties must militarize themselves and exercise the all-round dictatorship of the three instruments, forging themselves in people’s war and empower the armed organization of the masses, the people’s militia, so as to engulf the army. For this reason, Chairman Gonzalo tells us to “forge all militants as Communists, first and foremost, as fighters and as administrators”; for that reason every militant is forged in the People’s War and remains alert against any attempt at capitalist restoration.

Third, because we march toward a militarized society. By militarizing the Party, we complete a step toward the militarization of society which is the strategic perspective to guarantee the dictatorship of the proletariat. The militarized society is the sea of armed masses which Marx and Engels spoke of, that guards the conquest of power and defends it once conquered. We take the experience of the Chinese Revolution, of the anti-Japanese base at Yen-an, which was a militarized society where everything grew out of the barrels of guns: Party, Army,

State, new politics, new economics, new culture. And in that way we develop war communism.

In the First National Conference (November 1979), Chairman Gonzalo expounded the thesis of the necessity of militarizing the Communist Party of Peru; afterward, in the first months of 1980 when the Party was preparing to launch the People's War, he proposed to develop the militarization of the Party through actions, basing himself on what the great Lenin said about reducing the nonmilitary work in order to center it on the military; that the times of peace were ending and we were entering into the times of war, so that all forces should be militarized. Thus taking the Party as the axis of everything, build the Army around it and with these instruments, with the masses in the People's War, build the new State around both. That the militarization of the Party can only be carried forward through concrete actions of the class struggle, concrete military-type actions; this does not mean we will only carry out various types of military actions exclusively (guerrilla actions, sabotages, selective annihilation, armed propaganda and agitation) but that we must carry out mainly these forms so as to provide incentive and development to the class struggle, teaching with deeds, with these types of actions as the principal form of struggle in the People's War.

The militarization of the Party has its antecedents in Lenin and Chairman Mao, but it is a new problem developed by Chairman Gonzalo taking into account the new circumstance of the class struggle and we must see that new problems will arise which will be resolved through experience. These will necessarily imply a process of struggle between the old and the new that will develop it further, with war being the highest form of resolving contradictions, of empowering the faculties people have to find solutions. It is the militarization of the Party which has enabled us to initiate and develop the People's War. We consider that this experience has universal validity, and for that reason it is a requirement and necessary for the Communist Parties of the world to militarize themselves.

The concentric construction of the three instruments is the organic fulfillment of the militarization of the Party and in synthesis it is summarized in what Chairman Gonzalo teaches: "The Party is the axis of everything, it leads the three instruments in an all-round way, its own construction, it absolutely leads the army and the new State as a joint dictatorship aiming toward the dictatorship of the proletariat."

– The six aspects of the construction of the Party. Ideological construction. The militants are forged on the basis of Party unity with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, mainly Gonzalo Thought. We say Marxism-Leninism-Maoism because it is the universal ideology of the proletariat which is the last class in history, an ideology that must be applied to the concrete conditions of each revolution and generate its guiding thought. In our case, the Peruvian revolution has generated Gonzalo Thought because Chairman Gonzalo is the highest expression of the fusion of the universal ideology with the concrete practice of the Peruvian revolution.

Political construction. The Militants are forged in the Programme and

Statutes; the general political line and the military line as its center, specific lines; general policy, specific policies and the Party's military plans. Politics must always be in command and that is our strong point.

Organic construction. The organic follows the political and taking into account that line alone is not enough; the organic apparatuses must be built while seeing the organic structure, the organic system and the Party work. In its organic structure, the Party is based on democratic centralism, principally centralism. Two armed Party networks are established, the territorial network which encompasses one jurisdiction and the mobile network whose structure is deployed. The organic system is the distribution of forces in function of the principal and secondary points wherever the revolution is acting. Party work is the relationship between secret work, which is principal, and open work; the importance of the five necessities: Democratic centralism, clandestinity, discipline, vigilance and secrecy, particularly democratic centralism.

Leadership. We are fully conscious that no class in history has ever achieved the installation of its rule unless it has promoted its political leaders, its vanguard representatives, capable of organizing the movement and leading it. The Peruvian proletariat in the midst of the class struggle has generated the leadership of the revolution and its highest expression: The Great Leadership of Chairman Gonzalo who handles revolutionary theory and has a knowledge of history and a profound understanding of the practical movement; who through hard two-line struggle has defeated revisionism, the right and left liquidationism, the right opportunist line and rightism. He has reconstituted the Party, leads it in the People's War and has become the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, a great political and military strategist, a philosopher, a teacher of Communists, and the center of Party unity. Reaction has two principles to destroy the revolution: Annihilate its leadership and isolate the guerrilla from the masses; but in synthesis its problem is to annihilate the leadership, because that is what enables us to maintain our course and realize it. Our Party has defined that leadership is key and it is the duty of all militants to constantly work to defend and preserve the leadership of the Party and very especially the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, our Great Leadership, against any attack inside or outside the Party and to subject ourselves to his personal leadership and command by raising the slogans of "Learn From Chairman Gonzalo" and "Embody Gonzalo Thought."

We base ourselves on the collective leadership and individual leadership and we are mindful of the role of leaders and how through the People's War, through the renewal of leadership, the leadership of the revolution is coalescing and being tempered. We maintain the principle that the leadership never dies.

We who follow Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, subject ourselves to Chairman Gonzalo and embody Gonzalo Thought.

Two-line struggle. The Party is a contradiction where the class struggle expresses itself as the two-line struggle between the right and the left. It is the two-line struggle that propels the development of the Party, its just and correct handling requires that the left must impose itself. We fight conciliation because it nourishes the right; and the principle of criticism and self-criticism

should be practiced by all the militants, cadres, leaders, combatants, masses too; assuming the philosophy of the struggle and going against the current, keeping in mind that the Central Committee is the vortex of the storm, since there the class struggle expresses itself the sharpest. The just and correct handling that Chairman Gonzalo makes of the two-line struggle has served to maintain the unity of the Party and the development of the People's War. In general revisionism is held to be the principal danger, although within the Party it continues to unfold against rightist criteria, opinions, attitudes and positions as a struggle amongst the people. It is necessary to organize the two-line struggle to impose the Party line, through a plan to develop it in an organized manner.

Mass work. We apply the principle: "The masses make history." The Party leads the struggle of the masses in function of Power, which is the principal revindication; we develop the mass work in and for the People's War basing ourselves on the basic masses, workers and principally poor peasants, in the petty bourgeoisie and we neutralize or win over the middle bourgeoisie, according to the conditions. We subject ourselves to the law of the incorporation of the masses and the only Marxist tactic of "going to the deepest and most profound masses," educating them in revolutionary violence and in the implacable struggle against revisionism. The mass work of the Party is done through the People's Army and the masses are mobilized, politicized, organized and armed as the new Power in the countryside and in the People's Defense Revolutionary Movement (MRDP) in the cities.

In synthesis, it is through the hard struggle and the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo that we have a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Party of the new type which leads the People's War and has opened up the perspective of the conquest of Power countrywide serving the world revolution.

5.3 On the Construction of the People's Guerrilla Army

– Character of the army. The People's Guerrilla Army is an army of a new type which fulfills the political tasks of the revolution established by the Party. It applies the Maoist principle: "The Party rules the gun and we will never allow the gun rule to rule the Party." It fulfills three tasks: Fighting, which is the principal task, as it corresponds to the principal form of organization. Mobilizing, which is very important and by which the mass work of the Party is fulfilled, politicizing the masses, mobilizing, organizing and arming the masses. Producing, applying the principle of self-reliance, trying not to be a burden on the masses. Fundamentally it is a peasant army, absolutely led by the Party. Chairman Gonzalo teaches us: "The iron legions of the People's Guerrilla Army sustain themselves on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, guiding Thought, which is the basis of its invincibility; they are forged in the hard life, the sacrifice and the challenging to death, which elevate them to revolutionary heroism."

– The people's guerrilla army. Marx set forth that the proletariat needed its

own army and the thesis of the general arming of the people. Lenin created the Red Army and established the thesis of the people's militia with the functions of the police, army and administration. Chairman Mao developed the construction of the revolutionary armed forces with the immense participation of the masses. The People's War materializes its mass character in three great coordinations.

Basing himself on these Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theses and taking into account the specific situation of the People's War, Chairman Gonzalo proposed the formation of the People's Guerrilla Army. Since the Preparation of the People's War, Chairman Gonzalo conceived of the necessity of building the principal form of organization to carry forward the People's War, defeat the enemy and build the new State. On December 3, 1979, the formation of the "First Company of the First Division of the Red Army" was agreed upon. In 1980, with the Initiation, the squads and detachments were formed and we proposed to cross over from unorganized masses to militarily organized masses.

In 1983, we needed to take a leap forward in the construction of the revolutionary armed forces, and we faced a large growth of the people's militias, which demonstrated how the masses wanted to fight; furthermore, that year the reactionary armed forces had entered the fight against us. Thus, in the Expanded Central Committee (CCA) in March of that year, Chairman Gonzalo proposed the formation of the People's Guerrilla Army. Why an Army? Because it was a political necessity to confront the enemy and develop the People's War. All the Party agreed to this amidst the two-line struggle against the rightism opposed to incorporating the militias into the Army. Why guerrilla? Because it applies guerrilla warfare in the milestone of "Develop guerrilla warfare"; it is not a regular army, rather a guerrilla army but its characteristics enable it, if needed, to develop itself as some sort of regular army. Why people's? Because it is made up of the masses of people, by the peasants, principally the poor ones; it serves the people, since it represents the interests of the people. A very important situation is how Chairman Gonzalo conceived of the People's Guerrilla Army by incorporating the people's militias, made up of three forces: Principal ones, local ones and base ones, which act mainly in the countryside and in the city as complementary; that is a great step toward the sea of armed masses.

– The construction of the People's Guerrilla Army. The formation of the army is based on men and not on weapons; our army is made up of peasants, principally the poor, proletarians and petty bourgeoisie; it wrests weapons away from the enemy and also uses all sorts of elementary weapons. Our slogan is, "Conquer Weapons!" from the enemy by paying whatever cost is necessary. The formation of the People's Army must be distinguished from its construction.

The ideological-political construction is primary, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. It is based on the political and military lines of the Party, all its political and mass work being under the Party's leadership. The Party is organized at all levels of the army; the double command is applied: Political and military, and the two-line struggle develops between the proletarian military line and the bourgeois military line. In addition the revolutionary armed requires the formation of three Departments: Political, Military and Logistical.

Military construction is important. Armed with the theory and practice of people's war, the military line and the Party's military plans, it is organized into squads, companies and battalions in the countryside and in special detachments and people's militias in the cities. This construction is also based on the two-line struggle. The three forces: principal, local and base which play a specific role as the support for the new State. "Develop the companies, strengthen the platoons aiming at battalions!" is still a valid slogan.

Instruction is necessary and indispensable. It aims at increasing bellicosity; rehearsal cannot be sidestepped and leadership qualities [don de mando] are the key to action. Training specializes; it elevates the forms of struggle. The organization of courage has a class character and strengthens bellicosity because it we fight with absolute unselfishness and full conviction of the justness of our cause.

In synthesis, Chairman Gonzalo has created the People's Guerrilla Army as an army of the new type, he has established the line of its construction based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought so it can fulfill the specific tasks of the revolution. It is an example before the world and serves the world revolution.

5.4 On the Construction of the New State

– Character of the new State. Power is the central task of the revolution and the Front is the third instrument. By applying the masterful thesis of Chairman Mao in "On New Democracy," Chairman Gonzalo teaches us our conception of a joint dictatorship which forms the People's Republic of New Democracy. Starting from the link between State/Front, the Revolutionary Front for the Defense of the People is materialized beginning with the People's Committees in the countryside, and in the cities it is simply the Revolutionary Movement for the Defense of the People (MRDP). We build the new State in the countryside until Power is finally extended throughout the country.

As a state system, it is a joint dictatorship of workers, peasants, principally poor ones, and the petty bourgeoisie, and it respects the interests of the middle bourgeoisie, all under the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Party which applies its hegemony through this worker-peasant alliance. As a system of government it functions through the People's Assemblies.

– The new State and the fluidity of war. The construction of the new State follows the fluidity of the People's War, it can expand or contract, disappear in one place and appear in another. It is fluid. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Our democratic Republic of workers and peasants is a State, but currently it is not so in the full sense of the word . . . our Power is still very far from having the complete form of a State . . . our territory is still very small and the enemy constantly dreams of annihilating us."

Always keep in mind the system of Support Bases, of guerrilla zones, of zones of operations and points of actions, because those constitute the environment in which the new State develops and are key to maintaining the strategic course;

within this environment the People's Guerrilla Army, under the leadership of the Party, moves as its spinal column.

– The construction of the new State. “Strengthen the People's Committees, develop the Bases and make advances in the People's Republic of New Democracy!” That is the slogan which continues to guide its construction.

We struggle for Power for the proletariat and for the people and not for personal power. We are against errantry (roving rebel bands) [errantismo] and the sidestepping of the Support Bases.

The new State is built amidst the People's War and follows a process of specific development, being built in our case in the countryside first, until the cities are surrounded, and it is formed throughout the entire country. This is a process in which the old State is being destroyed and the contradiction old State-new State is being expressed. This causes all the political and military plans of reaction to fail and incorporates the masses into the struggle.

At the Expanded National Conference of November 1979, Chairman Gonzalo established the relationship between Front-New State applying Chairman Mao's theory.

In the First Military School of April 1980, he told us:

“. . . In our minds, in our hearts, in our wills goes embedded [invívito] the seed [germen] the people's power, we carry it within us . . . Comrades, let us not forget the people's power, the State of the working class; the State of workers and peasants marches with us, we carry it on the muzzles of our rifles, it nests in our minds, it palpitates in our hands and will always be with us burning in our hearts. Let us never forget that, it is the first thing we must keep in our minds. Comrades, it will be born fragile, weak because it will be new, but its destiny is to develop itself through change, through variation, through fragility, like a tender sapling. Let the roots we plant from the initiation be the future of a healthy and vigorous State. All that, comrades, begins to be born out of the most modest and simple actions which we shall start tomorrow.”

In 1980, the Committees of Distribution emerge, the seed [germen] of the new State; in 1982, the first People's Committees emerge, which will multiply toward the end of that year, forcing reaction to order their armed forces to enter the fight against the People's War, since the reactionary Power saw itself threatened. In 1983, we agreed upon the Great Plan to Conquer Bases, one of whose tasks was the formation of the Organizing Committee of the People's Republic of New Democracy. Starting from there, we have followed the struggle between the reestablishment of the old Power by the enemy and the counter-reestablishment of the new Power, applying defense, development and construction.

Thus the new Power passing through the blood bath develops the People's Committees, which are being tempered in hard battles against the enemy, watered by the blood of the masses of peasants, of the fighters and of militants.

At the Expanded Central Committee of March 1983, Chairman Gonzalo further develops the line of construction of the Front/New State. He expounds

the levels in which the new State is being organized: People's Committees, Support Bases and People's Republic of New Democracy. The functions of the Support Bases and of the Organizing Committee of the People's Republic of New Democracy are that of leadership, planning and organization; each Base must elaborate its own specific Plan.

He establishes that the People's Committees are materializations of the new State. They are Committees of the United Front; led by Commissars who assume their State functions by commissioning [por encargo], elected by the Assemblies of Representatives and subject to recall [remoción]. They are, up to now, clandestine; they march forward with Commissions [con Comisiones], led by the Party applying the rule of the "three thirds": One third of them are Communists, one third are peasants and one third are progressives, and are sustained by the Army. They apply people's dictatorship, enforcement and security, exercising violence firmly and resolutely so as to defend the new Power against its enemies and to protect the rights of the people.

The set of People's Committees constitutes a Support Base and the set of Support Bases is the ring that arms the People's Republic of New Democracy, today in formation. We have gone from Conquering Bases to Developing Bases, which is the current political strategy. We have to plant the new Power more and more for which we have to apply the five established forms, especially today when the conditions point toward the perspective of conquering Power throughout the country.

In synthesis, Chairman Gonzalo has established the line of construction of the new State and two republics, two roads, two axes are counterpoised. We have advanced in establishing new social relations of production and the People's Republic of New Democracy in formation shines defiantly against the old State and opens up the perspective of conquering total Power. This example encourages the revolutionaries of the world, most especially the international proletariat.

As followers of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, we assume the line of construction of the three instruments of the revolution, of the Communist Party of Peru, the highest form of organization and the first political society; of the People's Guerrilla Army, principal form of organization; and of the Front/New State, central task of the revolution. These are the Instruments which are being built in our homeland in the din of the People's War, crossing the river of blood in which with Communists, combatants and masses heroically give their lives to materialize the just and correct political line established by Chairman Gonzalo, and that those who survive will carry the flag of continuing it in the service of our goal, Communism.

**LONG LIVE THE MILITARIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF PERU!**

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S GUERRILLA ARMY!

**LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF NEW DEMOC-
RACY IN FORMATION!**

**FOR THE CONCENTRIC CONSTRUCTION OF THE THREE
INSTRUMENTS!**

Central Committee, Communist Party of Peru

Chapter 6

Mass Line

6.1 Introduction

Upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Chairman Gonzalo has established the mass line of the Party. He begins by reaffirming himself in the proletarian conception that we must have in order to judge the problem of the masses. He expounds the political role the masses play in the struggle for power by way of the People's War and that the struggle for revindications must serve this end. He outlines which masses we should go to, principally to the basic masses, the workers and peasants and the many fronts of struggle according to their specific demands and grievances. We must apply the only Marxist tactic of going to the deepest and most profound masses, educating them in revolutionary violence and in the struggle against opportunism. He specifies that the mass work of the Party that leads the People's War is carried out through the people's army, and he indicates the importance of the generated organisms, as one of the forms of organizing the masses. We must do mass work within and for the People's War.

6.2 Reaffirmation of the Principal that "The Masses make History"

Chairman Gonzalo reaffirms himself on the powerful Marxist principle: "The masses make history" and teaches us to forge our Communist conception in struggle against the bourgeois conception which is centered around the individual as the axis of history.

He states:

"The masses are the very light of the world . . . they are its fiber, the inexhaustible heartbeat of history . . . when they speak everything trembles, the old order begins to shake, the high summits bow down, the

stars change their course because the masses make everything possible and are capable of anything."

This reaffirmation is of great importance because it is part of the proletarian conception. It upholds the mass line and is applicable to everything, it allows judgment on everything from international questions to specific policies, because it is an ideological problem. No historic event, no movement of change, no revolution can be made without the participation of the masses. This applies to the Party because it has a mass character and it cannot be unlinked from them, otherwise it would be extinguished or diluted. The masses, in order to guarantee the course of their struggle, must be led by the Party. The Party has masses: The militants, who as Communists must necessarily embody this principle and overthrow that rotten individualism which is not a proletarian conception through a constant struggle. It can be observed how our process of the People's War powerfully aids this transformation. Furthermore, one principle of leadership is "from the masses to the masses." This also applies to the People's War because it is a war of the masses; they are the very source of it. It is with this Marxist conception that we make the People's War.

He particularly highlights the rebellion of the masses as the makers of history, telling us:

"Since ancient times the masses live subject to oppression and exploitation, but they have always rebelled. This is a long and inexhaustible history . . . From the beginning, since the masses have fought their oppressors they have always clamored for organizing their rebellion, their arming, their uprising, that it be led, that it be conducted. It has always been this way and it shall continue to be so. Even after there is another world it shall continue to be this way only in another form."
"The masses clamor to organize the rebellion, and therefore the Party, its leaders, cadre and militants today have a peremptory obligation, a destiny: To organize the disorganized power of the masses, and this can only be done with arms in hand. We must arm the masses bit by bit, part by part, until the general arming of the people. When this goal is reached, there shall be no exploitation on Earth."

Here he expresses his absolute conviction in the masses, in their historical and political necessity to rebel, to arm themselves, their demand that they be led and organized. He summons the Communist Parties to fulfil the demand that comes from Marx and Engels who taught us that there are two powers on the Earth: The armed force of the reactionaries and the disorganized masses. Chairman Gonzalo propounds that if we organize this power, what is only potential shall become deeds, and what is a possibility shall become a reality. Everything is a house of cards if it is not based on the masses. Concretely, the problem is to go from the state of disorganized masses to masses that are militarily organized.

We should organize the masses with arms in hand because they clamor to organize the rebellion. As such, we must apply People's War which is the principal form of struggle, and organize the masses for the seizure of power led by the Party. This is clearly in keeping with the principal contradiction in the

world today, with the strategic offensive of the world revolution, and with the principal tendency in today's world: revolution. Furthermore, the mass line aims at materializing what Marx indicated, the general arming of the people with the goal of guaranteeing the triumph of the revolution and preventing capitalist restoration. This is a thought of great perspectives that shall carry us up to Communism: Only by organizing this sea of armed masses shall it be possible to defend what is conquered and develop the democratic, socialist and cultural revolutions.

He refutes those who propound that the masses don't want to make revolution or that the masses will not support the People's War. He teaches us that the problem is not with the masses because they are ready to rebel, but rather it is with the Communist Parties who must assume their obligation to lead them and rise up in arms. He differentiates from those positions that today are based on "the accumulation of forces," which propose parsimoniously accumulating the masses by way of the so-called "democratic spaces" or the use of legality. Such an accumulation of forces doesn't correspond to the current moment of the international and national class struggle, it doesn't fit in the type of democratic revolution we are unfolding and which shall have other characteristics within the socialist revolution, since we are living in a revolutionary situation of unequal development in the world. He is opposed to and condemns the opportunist positions of making the masses tail after the big bourgeoisie, either on an electoral path or by armed actions under the command of a super power or power.

Thus, he upholds the great slogan of Chairman Mao: "It is right to rebel," and conceives that the problem of the masses today is that the Communist Parties must mobilize, politicize, organize and arm the masses to seize power, specifying people's war.

He specifies the necessity of the scientific organization of poverty. Chairman Gonzalo stresses that those most disposed to rebel, who clamor most to organize the rebellion are the poorest masses, and we must pay particular attention to the revolutionary and scientific organization of the masses. This is not against class criteria because as he shows, poverty has its origin in exploitation, in the class struggle: "Misery exists next to fabulous wealth; even the Utopians knew that both are linked: A colossal and challenging wealth next to a revealing and clamorous poverty. This is because exploitation exists."

This thesis is connected to Marx who discovered the revolutionary potential of poverty and the need to scientifically organize it for the revolution. Marx taught us that the proletariat does not have property and is the creative class, the only class that shall destroy property and thus destroy itself as a class. This thesis is tied to Lenin, who taught us that social revolution does not arise from programs but from the fact that millions of people say we prefer to die fighting for revolution rather than live as victims of hunger. And it is also tied to Chairman Mao, who conceived that poverty shall propel the yearning for change, for action, for revolution, that it is a blank piece of paper on which the newest and most beautiful words can be written.

He takes into account the specific conditions of our society, and teaches us that in Peru, to speak about the masses is to speak of the peasant masses, the

poor peasants; that the 1920s, 1940s and 1960s demonstrate that the peasant struggles shake the very foundation of the State, but that they lack a guide: The ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. They lack a motor: The People's War and the just and correct leadership of the Communist Party. The peasants' struggles were not able to take the correct path to power, and the blood they shed was used to fetter them and mold them to the old order. These were unforgettable bloodbaths which left extraordinary lessons. The 1980s show that the true mobilization of the armed peasant masses organized in the Communist Party and People's Guerrilla Army has begun, and that they are giving their precious blood for the new power that is blossoming and developing through the People's War.

This is particularity strategic because it permits the understanding that revolution in the world is defined on the side of the poorest, who constitute the majority and who are the most disposed to rebel. In each revolution we must go to the poorest applying the three requirements that the scientific organization of poverty demands: Ideology, people's war and a Communist Party.

In this regard, Chairman Gonzalo says:

“Poverty is a driving force of the revolution. The poorest are the most revolutionary; poverty is the most beautiful song; . . . poverty is not a disgrace, it is an honor, our mountains with their masses are the source of our revolution, who with their hands led by the Communist Party shall build a new world. Our guide: Ideology. Our motor: The armed struggle. Our leadership: The Communist Party.”

6.3 The Principal Aspect of Mass Work is Political Power, but the Struggle for Revindications is Necessary

Basing himself on Chairman Mao, who generalized revolutionary violence as the universal law for the conquest of power and who established that the principal form of struggle is the armed struggle and the principal form of organization is the armed forces, and that before the outbreak of a war all the struggles and organizations should serve to prepare it, Chairman Gonzalo teaches us that in mass work the struggle for power and the struggle for revindications are two sides of the same coin, with the struggle for Power being the first and foremost demand of the masses.

Organize the masses so that they can go beyond what is permitted by the existing legal order, so that they struggle to destroy the old order and not to maintain it. This is accomplished by use of the three instruments of the revolution: The Party where the few converge, the Army with more participants, and new State/Front which is the base which progressively accumulates the masses through leaps. In the countryside this is achieved through People's Committees and in the cities through the People's Revolutionary Defense Movement. In this

way the tradition of electoral fronts, which the revisionists and opportunists apply to channel the struggle of the peasantry and to divert the masses in the cities from not seizing power through war, is destroyed.

To center on political Power also demands the organization of the masses in diverse new forms of struggle, because war imposes changes on the struggle and organization of the masses. As Lenin taught us, in revolutionary epochs, new organizations must be formed and go against the old leaders who seek to sell-out the revolution in order to accommodate themselves within the reactionary system. For that reason, the old forms of struggle and organization of the masses cannot be used.

The struggle for power as the principal aspect does not mean that from the beginning we are going to incorporate the masses all at once. Chairman Mao teaches us that developing Support Bases and armed forces is what generates the high tide of the revolution. This has to do with the law of incorporation of the masses into the revolution, which was established by the Party in the Second Plenum of 1980, an incorporation that shall be through progressive leaps; with more people's war shall come a greater incorporation of the masses. Thus, the People's War is a political event that continues to pound ideas into the heads of men through powerful actions, who shall bit by bit come to understand their only true path, thereby developing their political consciousness. The People's War summons all the revolutionaries and opens a trail as it develops.

The masses are avid for politics and it is incumbent upon Communists to organize and lead them. The masses have concrete problems everywhere and we must worry about them and attend to them. Mass work is done within the class struggle and not on its margins. If we do not do mass work, the reactionaries and revisionists shall utilize it for their own ends, whether it is to develop fascism and to corporativize them or hand over their struggles to another imperialist master. These are two wills that are distinct and opposed.

The masses seek the voice of those who affirm and not those who doubt. In our Party, in the Initiation, Chairman Gonzalo demanded that no one must ever doubt the masses, fighting those who are blind and deaf to the voice of the masses, listening to their faintest rumor and attending to their daily, concrete problems. The masses must never be fooled, they must never be forced, they must know the risks which they may face. They must be summoned to the long, bloody struggle for power, but with this goal they shall understand that it shall be a necessary and victorious struggle.

Therefore the struggle for power is principal but it cannot be separated from the struggle for economic and political demands, they are two sides of the same coin, and the latter struggle is necessary.

How do we conceive the struggle for revindications? We are accused of not having a specific line for the economic and political struggle of the masses. The fact is that we apply it in another way, in other forms, with different politics opposed to those applied by the opportunists and revisionists, a new and different way from the traditional forms. Chairman Gonzalo teaches us that the struggle for economic and political demands is one side of a coin, which has the struggle for political power on the other side. It is completely wrong

to separate them—to talk only about the struggle for economic and political demands is revisionism. In specifying Marx’s thesis to our society he tells us:

“The crisis presents us with two problems: First, how to defend what has been won, since in crises the gains are lost, and more would be lost if they were not defended. This is the necessity of the struggle for revindications . . . , an economic and political struggle . . . , furthermore, it forges the class and the workers in their struggle for power. Second, how to end the crises? They cannot be ended unless the predominant social order is ended . . . [there is a] necessity for revolutionary struggle which serving the seizure of power by armed struggle under the leadership of its Party . . . one cannot be separated from the other. The relationship of both problems materializes in developing the struggle for demands as a function of political power.”

To carry forward the struggle for revindications the union is used, along with the strike which is the principal form of the economic struggle of the proletariat. These are developed into guerrilla warfare which educates the class in the struggle for power. This elevates the class through concrete armed actions which strengthens this form of struggle, giving it a higher quality.

In sum, the struggle for revindications must be developed serving the conquest of power. This is a political principle of doing mass work.

6.4 What Masses do we go to?

We must start from the class criteria to resolve to what masses do we go. It is very important to make sure that the masses are organized according to the common interests of the classes they belong to. Chairman Gonzalo teaches us that this approach is essential to combat those who pretend to separate masses from classes with tales of “unity,” betraying the true interests of the masses by trafficking with their struggles. Also because it allows us to understand that the masses are always an arena of struggle where the bourgeoisie and proletariat clash to lead them. However, only the Communist Party is capable of leading the masses because it is the only one that can represent them and struggle for their interests. Those who talk about “mass democracy” or who create open mass organisms as if they were a form of Power without violence are merely upholding bourgeois positions that negate the leadership of the proletariat and its dictatorship.

Starting from a class criteria has to do with the character of the revolution, with the classes that make up the people who should be united under the leadership of the proletariat. In our case of the democratic revolution, the proletariat leads, the peasantry is principal, the petty bourgeoisie is a firm ally and the middle bourgeoisie has a dual character. The basic masses which we must go to are the proletariat and the peasantry, principally the poor peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and also the middle bourgeoisie.

Keeping in mind the specific revindications of the masses, we should differentiate between those sectors of the masses which suffer more oppression with

the goal of organizing them so that they shall struggle to achieve conquests and resolve their specific contradiction. This refers to the mass fronts in which we must work. These are: The workers, the proletariat, the leading class of all revolutions, a class whose principal and decisive political objective is the conquest of Power through the People's War to emancipate itself, emancipate the other classes and finally to destroy itself as a class. Its specific revindications are the seizing of conquests and rights like increased wages, a shorter work day and better working conditions. Towards this end, the workers' movement, its struggles, mobilizations, marches, agitation, and strikes must be developed with armed actions. "Worry about the fundamental problems of the class and also of the workers, their general and concrete problems which they fight for daily."

The peasants are the principal force, especially the poor peasants, who struggle for the conquest of land through armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. Not seeing it this way leads to the "land grabs" [toma de tierras] and conforming to the old order. Further develop the peasant movement applying the "three withs": Live with, work with and struggle with them, thus forging peasants with a proletarian mentality.

Women which make up half the world and develop the women's movement for the emancipation of women, a task which is the work of women themselves but under the leadership of the Party. We must combat the bourgeois thesis of women's liberation. Women struggle against the constant increase in the cost of living which effects the physical integrity of the class and the people, mobilize the working, peasant and intellectual women, etc.

The intellectuals so that they may fulfill their role as revolutionary intellectuals serving the proletariat and peasantry within the People's War. Among them are the secondary school students, university students and professionals, etc. See their specific revindications, that they should defend what is conquered, aiming at a new national, scientific and mass culture, making them conscious that they can only achieve this with the revolution.

Mobilize the poor masses in the cities, in the shantytowns and slums against hunger and misery, so that they fight for the revolution's programme, summon them to the People's War so that they may seize their conquests and rights which are trampled on more each day. Do not allow that they be struck with impunity and teach them how to defend themselves, so that they can resist the enemy's aggression using all the available means at their disposal. Apply "Combat and Resist!," which is the common slogan for the class.

Mobilize the youth so that they directly participate in the front lines of the combat trenches of the People's War. Let young workers, peasants and students develop their struggles for a new world, their right to be educated, against unemployment and other ills that wrack them.

Make the children active participants in the People's War. They can carry out many tasks which will help them understand the necessity of transforming the world. They are the future and in the end they shall live in the new world. Change their ideology so that they adopt the proletariat's ideology.

6.5 Persist in the only Marxist-Leninist Tactic

Starting from Engel's thesis: "In a country with such an old political and workers' movement, there is always a colossal heap of garbage inherited by tradition that must be cleaned step by step." Lenin established: "The only Marxist line in the world proletarian movement consists in explaining to the masses that the split with opportunism is inevitable and indispensable, educating them for the revolution through a merciless struggle against it." Chairman Mao indicated that a period of struggle against imperialism and revisionism was opening, with revisionism being one of the principal sources of imperialist wars and a danger within the Party for Communists in general. Chairman Gonzalo calls for persisting in the only Marxist tactic which implies four issues:

1. Sweep away the colossal heap of garbage that is revisionism and opportunism, principally electoralism. None of these revisionists and opportunists, nor any of their kin, can represent, much less defend, the masses. Now as before they only defend the exploiters in turn, yesterday they were merely a caboose for the fascist and corporative Aprista government, sinisterly dragging along the union organizations dependant on them. All these political and union organizations and their leaders do not represent the people but that crust of the labor aristocracy. The union bureaucracy and the bourgeois workers' parties that always try to swerve the masses from their revolutionary path and are no more than part of that colossal heap of garbage which must be gradually swept away as Engels said.
2. Go to the deepest and most profound masses which constitute the majority, which in our country are the workers and principally poor peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and also keep the national bourgeoisie in mind. Of these, the most important are the workers and principally poor peasantry, and we must go mainly to them in both the countryside and city. We must propel their movement, lead it, mobilize them for Power so as to topple and overthrow the old State. This is the principle tactical question. Thus, among the masses it is necessary to distinguish the superficial scum which is the crust that serves the bourgeoisie from the immense majority of deep and profound masses which shall emerge more and more until the sweeping away of the decrepit Peruvian state, even more so when a People's War starts to crumble the old Peruvian state.
3. The masses must be educated in the People's War, in its theory and practice. Thus, educating them in the peace of bayonets is to allow them to be slaughtered. The masses should no longer shed their blood with impunity only to be betrayed by their false leaders, for capitulation—rather this precious blood should serve the conquest of Power for the class and the people.
4. It is necessary to struggle implacably against revisionism and opportunism, combating it as a dangerous cancer inside and outside the Party and among the very masses themselves, or else they will not solidify their revolutionary

path. This is a struggle which we have been unleashing since the reconstitution of the Party and which today in open people's war is more urgent and implacable because of the increasingly treacherous way they act against us, the people and the revolution, all the more so if social-imperialism is operating behind them within their policy of collusion and contention with Yankee imperialism for global hegemony. This is applicable to revisionism and opportunism of all sorts no matter who their representatives are.

Regarding these four issues just laid out, Chairman Gonzalo tells us the following:

“Rise above this miasma, this superficial revisionism, opportunism and electoralism which rides on the back of the masses. The main thing is that below this the colossal and self-impelled masses agitate, upon which we operate with the most powerful instrument of the rebellion which exists on the Earth: Armed action. We are the cry that says: ‘It is right to rebel.’”

6.6 The Organization of the Masses

Chairman Gonzalo starting from the ideological and political bases and simultaneously with the organizational construction, established the forms of struggle and the forms of organizing the masses. He teaches us the process in which the mass work of the Party developed:

In the Constitution. He tells us that Mariátegui outlined the bases for the mass work of the Party and determined specific lines by unleashing the two-line struggle against anarchism which sidestepped the necessity of the Party and also against Apra which negated the Marxist-Leninist conception and the capacity of the class to constitute itself into a Communist Party, through its work in the Front.

In the 1930s with Mariátegui's death, his line was abandoned. The work is centered around the masses, putting them at the tail of the big bourgeoisie, deviating them towards “frontism,” elections and revisionism which weighs down on the efforts of the red line to oppose them. These erroneous tactics last more than 30 years.

In the Reconstitution. Chairman Gonzalo establishes the mass line of the Party and the organic forms. This is in a period of over 15 years of hard two-line struggle which achieves partial leaps. In the first political strategy of the Reconstruction he develops the initiation of the mass work of the Party, all the militants in Ayacucho did peasant work and with the civil construction workers, for example, also with the intellectuals and poor masses in the slums. He supported the land seizures and carried out peasant events, the most transcendental being the I Regional Convention of Peasants of Ayacucho where the agrarian program was established. He led the historic struggles of June 20, 21 and 22 in 1969 in Ayacucho and Huanta, mobilizing the masses of secondary school students, parents and families against Decree 006 of General Velasco which was

defeated. He organized the People's Defense Front of Ayacucho, reorganized the Revolutionary Student Front (FER), created the Popular Feminine Movement (MFP), the Center for Mariátegui's Intellectual Work (CETIM), the Revolutionary Secondary School Student Front (FRES) and above all the Poor Peasants' Movement (MCP). Thus, he established new politics in mass work, new forms of struggle and new organic forms.

In the two-line struggle, Chairman Gonzalo fought against revisionism which led the masses towards electoralism and against revolutionary violence in order to preserve the old order. He fought against Patria Roja, a form of revisionism which trafficked, as it does today, with the slogan "power grows from a barrel of a gun," negating semi-feudalism, centering on the petty-bourgeoisie, especially students and teachers. He also defeated the right liquidationism that diluted the Party's leadership among the masses, preaching legalism and saying everything could be done through the Peasant Confederation of Peru (CCP), that the peasants didn't understand confiscation but they did understand expropriation, and that the fascist and corporative measures of the Velasco government should be deepened.

In the second political strategy of the Reconstitution, he established the Generated Organisms agreed upon in the Third Plenum of 1973: "The movements themselves as organizations generated by the proletariat in the different fronts of work have three characteristics: 1) adherence to Mariátegui, 2) mass organizations and 3) bound by democratic centralism." He founded the character, content and role of the Generated Organisms applying Lenin's thesis on a clandestine Party and points of Party support in the masses, learning from the Chinese experience in open and secret work. He specified the necessity, in order to develop the Reconstitution of the Party, of opening the Party to the masses more. In order to reach agreement upon and carry out this policy he had to defeat the left liquidationism that began from the notion that fascism sweeps everything away, aiming at the Party's extinction by isolating it from the masses; it deprecated the peasantry and proletariat and preached that "line is enough."

With the defeat of the left liquidationist line the ties with the masses grew and People's Schools begin to be formed, schools which politicized the masses with the conception and line of the Party, which played an important role in the agitation and propaganda by linking the struggle for revindications with the struggle for political Power. They completed a systematic and planned study based on outlines, [en base a esquemas] unleashing the two-line struggle and developing the mass work.

The advance of the work of the Generated Organisms led to Chairman Gonzalo proposing their development into one torrent, under the political guide of initiating the armed struggle. This led to the forming of zonal work. The Metropolitan Coordination was established for the cities, applying Lenin's thesis for open work and Chairman Mao's thesis for work in the cities, so that the struggle of the masses should be developed in a reasonable, advantageous and precise way. Their application allowed us to keep the Party clandestine, entrenched in the masses, moving in a good number of activists, distribute

propaganda in a short time and facilitated agitation and mobilization under a centralized Party plan.

All of this is what we call “the three little feet” for mass work in the cities: Generated Organisms, People’s Schools and the Metropolitan Coordination. For the countryside the first two forms were applied.

In the third political strategy of the Reconstitution, the Party broadly developed its mass work in the zones of the Sierra, linking itself with the peasants, primarily the poor peasants. In the cities it linked itself with the proletariat and masses in the slums and shantytowns. The generated organisms have played a good role within the culmination of the reconstitution and laying foundations for the armed struggle. The specific lines were developed even further, so that the Classist Movement of Workers and Laborers (MOTC) proposed the 15 basic theses for the workers’ movement; the Poor Peasant Movement (MCP) politicized the peasants with the agrarian program specified for new conditions; in the Shantytown Classist Movement (MCB) the List of denunciations and demands of the people was published; the Student Revolutionary Front (FER) further developed the thesis of the Defense of the University against corporativism; the Revolutionary Secondary School Student Front (FRES) impelled the struggle of students for people’s education; the Popular Feminine Movement (MFP) raised the thesis of women’s Emancipation, impelling the mobilization of working women, peasant women, shantytown dwellers and students. Furthermore, there was participation in the United Syndicate of Peruvian Educational Workers (SUTEP) which led to its specific class line being adopted in the 1970s. The National Federation of Peruvian University Teachers (FENTUP) was also formed. All of this work entered into a broad ideological-political mobilization to initiate the People’s War.

In synthesis, all the mass work of the Party in the Reconstitution was to prepare the initiation of the People’s War. As Chairman Mao taught us, before initiating the war, everything is preparation for it, and once it has begun everything serves to develop it. Chairman Gonzalo has applied and firmly developed this principle.

In the leadership of the People’s War there was a great leap in the mass work of the Party, a qualitative leap, which shaped the principal form of struggle—the People’s War, and the principal form of organization—The People’s Guerrilla Army. This highest task was carried forward through the militarization of the Party, and with respect to the mass work this means that all the mass work is done through the People’s Guerrilla Army, which as an army of a new type fulfils three tasks: Combat, mobilize and produce. We conceive that the second task of the army implies mobilizing, politicizing, organizing and arming the masses, a task which is not counterposed to fighting, which is the principal task, because the principle of concentrating for combat and dispersing for mobilization is applied. In addition, the masses are educated in the war. This is a principle which governs the three forces: Principal ones, local ones and base forces in which various degrees of actions are specified.

For the mobilization of masses, the Party through the EGP carries forward the People’s Schools, forms the Generated Organisms and the support groups.

This is a policy that is applied one way in the countryside, because that is where the New Power is being formed, and in another way in the cities. In the cities, the Revolutionary Defense Movement of the People was formed, aiming at the future insurrection.

In the countryside, where we have power, Support Bases and People's Committees, we see to it that all the masses engage in armed participation, organized in the Party, Army and Front/State. If all the masses are not organized the New Power will not be able to sustain itself for long. Amorphous masses or power without masses organized under the leadership of the Party is not enough.

In the cities, the mass work is carried out by the Army as well, and the main thing is the struggle for power through the People's War, with the struggle for revindications serving political power as a necessary complement. Obviously, this happens through many armed actions with the goal of materializing the new forms of organization. We formed the Peoples's Revolutionary Defense Movement (MRDP), which attracts masses from the workers, peasants, shanty towns and petty bourgeoisie, neutralizing the middle bourgeoisie, aiming toward the democratic forces which support the People's War. The objective is to lead the masses towards resistance and to the elevation of their struggles into People's War, to hinder, undermine and upset the old State and serve the future insurrection, preparing the cities with People's War specified as complementary. We use the double policy of developing our own forms, which is principal, and penetrating all types of organizations. We apply Combat and Resist! Regarding the Generated Organisms, in the People's War they have expressed a development and their characters have been varied. They continue being mass organizations of the Party and today: 1) They are guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought; 2) They are governed by democratic centralism, and 3) They serve the development of the People's War. In the countryside, the Generated Organisms are militarized; in the cities many degrees of militarization can be applied. Today, we have the following: MOTC, MCP, MCB, MFP, MJP [proletarian youth movement—Trans.], MIP. [proletarian intellectual movement—Trans.] Peru People's Aid is also important which has upsurged in the People's War as part of the struggle for prisoners of war and disappeared. For the Party's overseas work the Peru People's Movement (MPP) has been formed with its specific tasks.

Today, after nearly eight years of People's War the Party has made a great leap in its mass work, proving that it is just and correct to develop mass work within and for the People's War. As a result of its application our people are learning each day that the class struggle necessarily leads to the struggle for Power; their growing participation in the People's War is very expressive of this, and even if not everyone reaches an understanding of it, they see in it the concrete hope of their emancipation. They are developing their struggles with new forms of struggle and organization, and the class struggle in Peru has been elevated to its principal form: The People's War. The masses are organized in People's War and are the base and sustenance of it. They are organized in a Communist Party, in the People's Guerrilla Army and principally in the New Power, the principal conquest of the People's War in which the workers,

peasants and petty-bourgeoisie participate, exercising political power like never before in history.

These are qualitative leaps which give rise to conditions for a new chapter in mass work within and for the People's War towards the conquest of power countrywide.

Those who uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, assume the embodiment of the mass line of the Party, giving up our lives so that the Party seizes Power countrywide and serves the world revolution.

EMBODY THE MASS LINE OF THE PARTY!

ORGANIZE THE CLAMOR OF TH PEOPLE FOR THEIR RE-BELLION!

MAKE THE GREAT LEAP IN THE INCORPORATION OF THE MASSES WITHIN AND FOR THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

Central Committee, Communist Party of Peru