

**Two Important Documents
of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Peru**

Develop Guerrilla Warfare

**Don't Vote!
Instead, Expand the
Guerrilla War to Seize
Power for the People!**

Publisher's Note

This booklet contains English translations of two important documents issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru. The first of these, *Develop Guerilla Warfare*, was issued by the Central Committee nearly two years after the initiation of the armed struggle in May, 1980. It is a document developed of the richness of this experience of people's war and is an historic document of continuing importance in understanding the struggle in Peru. The second document, "Don't Vote! Instead, Expand the Guerilla War to Seize Power for the People", was issued in February of 1985, in relation to the then approaching Peruvian elections, but its significance is definitely not limited to that time and place.

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**Develop
Guerrilla Warfare**



*"He who is not afraid of death
by a thousand cuts
dares to unhorse the emperor."*

I. The Armed Struggle Blazes Victoriously

The Communist Party of Peru — the organized vanguard of the proletariat founded by Mariátegui, reconstituted through more than fifteen years of stubborn struggle as a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party of a new type, and assuming its historic and inevitable role of fighting for the state power of the proletariat and the people — set burning the invincible and ever-growing flames of armed struggle, of guerrilla warfare, in our country in May of 1980. This struggle is linked up with and rooted more deeply every day in the class struggle in our land which will sooner or later become a raging hurricane of armed battle to demolish the old, rotten prevailing order, and to bring to life a really free, sovereign country that provides for the well-being of the millions of exploited and oppressed.

In twenty-one months the Party has vigorously initiated and developed the only means for our people's and nation's emancipation: the armed struggle, the guerrilla war which blazes victoriously in the two thousand nine hundred armed actions that have swept the land in all but four departments* — that stirs the jungle, the coast, and the highlands most of all, that shakes the city and especially the countryside, whose struggle is served by the former. And so it is, since the mountain region and the countryside are the powerful and natural support for any possible revolutionary war in our country. Thus, this is a peasant war that is being led by the Party. It is converting the

*Department — a political land division much like states. Each of Peru's twenty-five Departments is divided into provinces and has a capital city.

countryside into an armed bastion of the revolution, concentrated in base areas — in bases of the New State of workers and peasants — isolating the reactionaries and their imperialist masters in the cities, where the proletariat and the masses, by burning the soles of the enemy's bloody paws mainly through armed actions that serve the struggle in the countryside, the center of the storm, prepare conditions for the final assault on the cities and the total, complete and thorough defeat of the reactionary order and the army that maintains it. This road, the only road to revolution, is now open; this is the road on which more and more of the proletariat and the masses, our people, are moving towards their own armed emancipation, by their own hands, since: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."

Two thousand nine hundred actions! Actions that began with the boycott of the general elections of 1980, realized in Chuschi and many other places; striking with agitation and armed propaganda through the seizure of radio stations, leaflets, and posters; and direct actions that sow panic among the reactionaries and arouse the enthusiasm of the people with our rallying cries of "Armed struggle," "Government of workers and peasants," and "Down with the reactionary government." This showed a new world to win through the hammers and sickles that light the hills, and through the unfading red flags that dominate the heights proclaiming "It's right to rebel!"

These actions are armed mobilizations that arouse the peasants, teach the people, and alarm the reactionaries — such as the actions in Miraflores* and San Isidro. Sabotage weakens and undermines the social and economic system of the ruling exploiters, as in demolishing microwave and electrical towers and producing blackouts in wide areas in the center and north of the country, including in the capital itself. Fires have hit ENCI in Huacho, San Martín de Porres, Fiat, Toyota, Hindú-Hogar in Lima, and in the cane plantations of the north. Repeated actions have been taken against banks throughout the country, and against reactionary companies like Bata, Hartinger, Centromin, etc., or against renowned elitist colleges, which are concentrated and humiliating expressions of a fiercely reactionary, foreign education.

Overwhelming actions that rock the semifeudal foundations of the state, unleashing armed vindicating actions against landlords of the

new and old type — like in Airabamba, Aisarca, Uрпиhuata, Palermo, Toxama, and Pincos, among others — real rejoicing of the peasants witnessing a vibrant reemergence of their hopes and combativity which has never languished. To this list could be added the very important seizure of cities like Acosvinchos, Vinchos, Cayara, Pomatambo, and Occroro, which intensely and profoundly stir the countryside by advancing the participation of the masses in the armed struggle.

Solid actions have hit directly against Yankee imperialism, the principal imperialist power on our soil — like the attack against Southern in the south of the country, the series of actions against U.S. companies or those connected with them in the capital, and, especially, the resounding blow against the U.S. embassy and the symbolic blasting of Kennedy's statue in Miraflores — as well as the blows at the Chinese embassy assessed Deng Xiaoping and his lackeys, that sinister guardian of revisionism, that notorious chum and accomplice of Yankee imperialism, and vile traitor to the international communist movement and principally to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Vitally important actions have been carried out against the state, its repressive apparatus and forces, especially the police. Many actions have been conducted against the courts, government offices, labor recruitment headquarters, tax offices, voter registration offices, city halls and ministries, and a great number of the offices of Acción Popular all over the country, including their central headquarters in Lima, and even the National Parliament and local offices of the GC, GR, and PIP throughout the country,* as well as the punishment meted out to known agents of repression like those in Arequipa and Huaraz among others, and against certain arrogant landlords and petty landowners known to be enemies of the people and murderers of combatants. Above all, the very important and audacious assaults on police stations and outposts like those of Ocobamba, Luricocha, La Ramada, Quinua, Tápuç, Yauli, Tambo, Quicapata, Totos, Yanahorco, Acchi, and in Puno and Tacna, whose effectiveness was highly expressed in the recent assault on San José de Secce; in the disarming of police in Lima and especially Ayacucho; and in the important raid on the naval air base at Callao which they have unsuccessfully tried to cover up. All these actions have hit powerfully at the reactionary armed forces, their personnel contingents who, as mere cannonfodder, are being used for interests other than their own; actions that have allowed us to take

*The Guardia Civil, Guardia Republicana, and Policía de Investigaciones del Perú: three different police agencies — *Trans.*

*A wealthy suburb of Lima.

arms from the enemy — the main source of our weapons — and, most importantly, have delivered powerful blows to the morale of the reactionary state apparatus and their forces.

Also there has been a brilliant and successful application of the policy of breakouts — the concentrated expression of which is the March 2 [1982] assault on the Public Jail of Ayacucho. This was an heroic action that marks an historic milestone in our armed struggle and in the annals of the Peruvian revolution: freeing our comrades and fighters from the dungeons of the reactionary Peruvian state. With the audacity, strength, and blood of the people's soldiers, our guerrilla war has been strengthened and has taken a great leap in its development. But even while we celebrate this undeniable victory, we protest, denounce, and condemn the despicable murder and massacre of three of our brave comrades by the police who, rabid in their defeat and sinister hatred, carried out a vile, cowardly murder in the Regional Hospital of that city [Ayacucho], and attempted to execute two other sons of the people (who were saved by other patients and employees who snatched them from the claws of the henchmen). The five were recovering in that hospital under police custody. The people will not allow this detestable murder to go unpunished! We are fighters and we know that the armed struggle demands its measure of blood and, as the people and the proletariat have taught us and as the revolution demands; we offer our lives — our practice proves it. But in our revolutionary war, we apply and will continue to apply a policy towards prisoners which corresponds to the laws of war, and as we do we demand be done. Thus the tortures, the rapes, the crimes against and murders of the sons and daughters of the people, and especially of our fighters, will be punished as the justice of the people demands, and we, their soldiers, will carry them out no matter how long it takes. Peruvian reaction and its government, led by Belaúnde and his gang, using its police forces, have mounted a new campaign against us. Basing ourselves on our just and revolutionary war, we will only say that, this campaign, like the previous ones, will fail. And finally, we can say that the demagogue Belaúnde has already directly received our reply: On the 10th of March we rocked his "Government Palace" with a dynamite blast so that he might continue to hear the voice of the armed people.

These twenty-nine hundred actions clearly prove the combativeness and aggressiveness of our nascent revolutionary armed force, which embraces Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and is led wholly by the Party. Armed actions that take place in the countryside and in the cities, mainly in the former, are armed struggle that assumes diverse

forms of action but whose axis is the guerrilla war — which all the other actions serve. These armed actions are fueled by and based on our people's class struggle and thrive solely on the inexhaustible energy of the people themselves, especially the workers and peasants.

Successful armed actions, increasing and offering a bright future, have until now yielded four great victories. First, the tempering of the Party — leaders, cadres, militants, and fighters, together in the struggle, become forged in the only definitive revolutionary crucible: the armed struggle. But though this is already a great victory, we must add to this another of obvious and clear consequence: the formation and construction of an armed force led by the Party which surges into the life-giving flames of guerrilla warfare as the principal instrument for completing the political tasks of the Peruvian revolution and which, under proletarian leadership, has established an armed force that is developing as an arm of the New State of workers and peasants. A third victory is to be found in the continually increasing quantity and growing quality attained by our armed actions — actions that have taken on a mass character both in their number and in the ability of the nation's sons and daughters to carry them out, as well as in the increasing quality shown by the higher level that has been achieved. And, finally, there is a fourth victory which because of its importance is principal: the emergence and development of guerrilla zones within whose boundaries, because of the vigorous and growing tide of armed struggle, we can establish our future base areas — those advanced revolutionary bastions that are the legacy of the military thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung — base areas that are the very essence of the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside, the very essence of people's war.

Because of all this, we say to our class, the proletariat, and to the people of our country, especially to our indomitable peasantry, **THE ARMED STRUGGLE BLAZES VICTORIOUSLY**. Through its initial flames signaling the great blaze to come, the masses themselves will take their own destiny in their triumphant, creative, and sure hands — the source of all history and every revolution.

II. Counterrevolutionary Action Kindles Our Struggle

And what has been the reactionary response? What has been the reaction of the democratic government, as it calls itself, that self-

proclaimed upholder of constitutional order and of sacred human rights? It has responded in the manner that its reactionary character and logic demands. Since the beginning it has hurled persecution, repression, torture, jail, and murder against us revolutionary militants and fighters. Belaúnde's phoney democratic, hypocritical, demagogic government has set loose its forces of repression, mainly its police, to drown in blood our nascent armed revolution.

Trampling on the most basic, universally recognized rights set forth in their much-bragged-about constitution of 1979, the reactionary Belaúnde government and their so-called forces of order have brutally broken into and looted whatever homes they've wanted; they have persecuted, arrested, and jailed whomever their arrogance and abuse has led them to; they have burned, robbed, raped, and murdered with impunity the sons and daughters of the people in accord with their basest instincts; they have gorged their dark, reactionary zeal on savage beatings of the masses, mainly the peasants, in a stupid attempt to intimidate them and drive them away from the armed struggle; they have generalized the use of torture, trying to crush the will and extract false confessions, despicably and perversely humiliating people so as to bend the revolutionary morale and destroy fighters; they have used rapes as an infamous, vile, and abusive means to force submission and to tarnish the pure, resolute, and firm spirit of the daughters of the people; they have denied all rights and guarantees to prisoners, forcing them to endure continuous persecutions even behind bars in filthy dungeons, and they have extended their harassment and repression to include the prisoners' families. Thus the persecution and repression of the armed struggle and the people unfolds as a treacherous farce on the most basic rights and as a real and sinister plan to crush the people through counterrevolutionary violence. But all this has failed to produce its dark, hoped-for ends, for the sons and daughters of the people, the class, and of the Party, hold their heads high, victorious and firm in their war trenches wherever that may be.

The despicable Belaúnde government has also appealed to the legislature, promulgating D.L. No. 46, a real terroristic law raised like a club against the armed struggle and the people. This neanderthal decree violates the most elementary principles of the bourgeoisie's own criminal law, and establishes punishment of unusual proportions. And if they have not yet instituted the death penalty that they so eagerly and cunningly seek, it is because the present constitution prohibits it and they have not yet found the conditions to modify it. The whole

reaction, especially its errand boys and media hacks, all in the name of "order" and "social peace," call for the "drastic application of the law." Thus the so-called autonomous judicial power has put in motion its sinister intrigue; oppressive laws, judges, trials, and prisons; utilizing contrived evidence, accelerated procedures, twisting laws and selling the principles that they claim to safeguard. They have begun to swing their rotten club on the sons and daughters of the masses, imposing monstrous punishments that even some reactionaries have criticized for being vile and counterproductive. Blind and dumb reactionary justice has been put in motion, as it must, in defense of the dying, exploitative, and repressive order. But in so doing, it cannot but reveal its profoundly counterrevolutionary essence, and expose even more the dark nature of the legal system and the sacrosanct judicial power. But even this old legal butchery cannot bend the sons and daughters of the people who proudly defy it in the revolution.

But beyond persecution and repression, torture and jail, legal club and judicial machinery, and the actions of their police bloodhounds of the security and intelligence units — some of whose henchmen the people have and will keep clearly in mind — the government has mounted independent police operations and joint actions with the police forces of the GC, GR, and PIP and their corresponding anti-subversive Sinchi and Dircote units in particular. They have mounted two large operations up till now: the first in January 1981 and the second, of a larger magnitude and importance, in October of the same year, where they declared a state of emergency in five provinces in the department of Ayacucho in order to give themselves more freedom of action and broader impunity, counting upon the support and advice of the armed forces.

What has been the result of the well-publicized October operation? Categorical failure; it was even ended quietly without fanfare or glory and without even the merest public report summing up the results of the vast police mobilization which obviously entailed enormous expenses. That the "definitive operation," as it was called, was an anticlimax and more noise than substance is easily proven. It failed in its deftly understood objectives: to eradicate the armed struggle, destroy the armed organizations of the people, and annihilate the Party in the affected region. That none of this was achieved is testified to when one remembers that on December 10, in the midst of the still-operative state of emergency, an assault was carried out against the police outpost of Totos, and other actions immediately followed in the Ayacuchan region culminating in the resounding action at San José de

Secce.

What did the antsubversive operation reveal? Plainly and simply that the masses reject and resist aggression; that reactionary brutality, arrogance, and violence did not dishearten them, but rather it so aroused their just class anger that they even confront with their bare hands the armed aggressors protected by their cumbersome state. It shows that the people support and protect the armed struggle, the guerrilla warfare that they sustain and defend with their lives, and that their understanding, heart, and will, go out to the guerrilla war because it advances and serves their liberation. The police operations and all the repressive actions only confirm that the war is gaining in strength and developing, and that if we pay with our sweat, suffering, and blood, this is no more than our quota for having risen in arms in a just and necessary rebellion for the class and the people. It is proven that we learn warfare through waging warfare, and that we have advanced and will advance further as we follow the leadership of the Party more closely and better, whose just and correct ideological and political line is expressed and molded in irrefutable deeds like those that mark the past twenty-one months of vigorous revolutionary armed struggle.

And what is the essence of the government's political and military position with regard to the guerrillas? It is to combat them as "terrorists." But in this, Peruvian reactionaries, their state, and their Belaúndist government are only following the model set down by their Yankee imperialist masters on how to counter the armed struggle. It is known to all that U.S. President Reagan, his Secretary of State Haig, and their followers put the brand of "terrorism" on revolutionary wars now being waged in the world. With this they try to discredit armed action, playing on the masses' correct rejection of the old individualist, anarchist, dead-end terrorism long condemned by Marxism, lumping together the defense of property and so-called "social peace" along with what they claim is the defense of life — all with the idea of winning the masses to their side or at least neutralizing them.

This method of branding the armed struggle as "terrorism" is nothing but the demagogic and reactionary position of Yankee imperialism, raised up in order to oppose the armed revolution, seeking to cover it in a cloak of slander while they mount the bloodiest repression and genocide. Further, they use this rotten maneuver in their contention for world hegemony with Russian social-imperialism, trying to link revolutionary action, through so-called "terrorism," to the social-imperialist superpower. In this way they seek also to discredit genuine

revolution, which can in no way be compared with the sinister center of contemporary revisionism which has converted Lenin's and Stalin's homeland into the hegemonic superpower of today.

As should be expected, the Peruvian reaction, their Belaúndist government, and their media hacks can do nothing else but apply at all cost the orders and directives of their master, imperialism. But it is not they alone who condemn our armed struggle as "terrorism." Also jumping on this bandwagon are the opportunists manipulated by the hardened revisionist Jorge Del Prado and his clique, who obediently follow the baton of the Russian imperialist boss and worldwide puppeteer Brezhnev. And it is only natural that these enemies of the revolution act this way since they cannot remain with their arms crossed while their position over the masses, as old-time sellouts in the service of the collusion and contention between social-imperialism and Yankee imperialism, is being undermined. In this same chorus we find "Patria Roja," which calls furiously to the self-proclaimed "left" to unleash a holy war against the supposed "terrorism," and in their role in an ominous division of labor calls for waging an ideological/political struggle against "terrorism," leaving the task of physical repression to the government. Yesterday's enemies of Deng Xiaoping, and today his admirers, they must attack us for fighting Yankee imperialism, the partner of their new revisionist boss, and even more so, for applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which they yesterday invoked, and today reject. Nevertheless, others have united with this chorus of clowns, still dazzled by the so-called "democratic opening" and "parliamentary road," who've yet to realize that the world has smashed their dreams into smithereens, and who continue to be deluded by parliamentary cretinism while they daydream of the '85 elections.

But in the end, while some here and others there added up may seem to be a lot, they are nothing but representatives of a thin film floating on the fathomless sea of the masses of our country. And we must keep in mind that for Marxism, there is only one tactic with regard to the masses — to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the broad masses, who ascend from the depths, and the filthy, decaying scum that floats unsteadily on the waves as a fragile base for bureaucratic trade unionism and counterfeit proletarian parties, truly "bourgeois workers' parties." This tactic impels us to educate the masses, theoretically and practically in revolutionary violence and in the consequent resolute and firm struggle against opportunism.

To one and all who claim to be Marxists and revolutionary fighters, whether they lead, go along with, or embrace the imperialist perver-

sion of labeling the armed struggle that emerges from the very heart of the class struggle of our people as "terrorism," we reprint these paragraphs from the great Lenin:

"And so matters are moving ahead! Despite the incredible and utterly indescribable difficulties, headway is being made in the matter of getting armed. Individual terrorism, bred of intellectualist impotence, is gradually becoming a thing of the past. . . . military operations *together with the people* are now commencing. It is by engaging in such operations that the pioneers of armed struggle become fused with the masses not merely in word but in deed, assume leadership of the combat squads and contingents of the proletariat, train in the crucible of civil war *dozens of popular leaders* who, tomorrow, on the day of the workers' uprising, will be able to help with their experience and their heroic courage thousands and tens of thousands of workers. . . .

"Long live the pioneers of the people's revolutionary army!

"It is no longer a plot against some detested individual, no act of vengeance or desperation, no mere 'intimidation' — no, it was a well-thought-out and prepared commencement of operations by a contingent of the revolutionary army, planned with due regard for the correlation of forces. . . ."

"Fortunately, the time has passed when revolution was 'made' by individual revolutionary terrorists, because the people were not revolutionary. The bomb has ceased to be the weapon of the solitary 'bomb thrower,' and is becoming *an essential weapon of the people.*" . . .

"We went from experience to experience, we sought to create a willful army marching blindly, groping our way, searching for the path to fulfill the task in that situation. And the task was clear. At present we are still very far off from having freed ourselves from these difficulties. At first we acted in a completely abstract way, like revolutionaries who make speeches but who completely ignore ways to overcome problems. Naturally, many people accuse us, and all the socialists and social democrats continue to accuse us even today, of having started something without knowing how to carry it through to the end. But these are no more than ridiculous accusations of the living dead. How could it be possible to launch into making the greatest of revolutions knowing beforehand how to carry it to the end! No, our decisions could only arise out of the experience of the masses."

In conclusion, while the initiated armed struggle develops as fiery guerrilla warfare with brilliant prospects, the counterrevolution, following its reactionary logic, fights and attacks us. And there are

those who, serving distant revisionist masters, join the chorus, while others follow in this same vein or approach this path. And even as the people support and encourage us, further strengthening our forces, there are those who want to smother our revolutionary advances under the ragged cloak of "terrorism," since we are the advancing armed revolution. There are those who call us "Sendero Tenebroso," the gloomy path, while trying to perpetuate the shadows that begin to recede from the brilliant light of our actions guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. There are those who call us "unpatriotic" while continuing to sell the country to imperialism. There are those who call us "infantile" without any proof whatsoever and without even seeing that even if such was the case, the genuine struggle of the class and the people teaches and matures while opportunist senility rots and is a disease that contaminates without regard to age. There are those who brand us as "provocateurs" without ever noticing in their blindness that they are persistently provoking the righteous anger of the people for their frustrated and unrepentant promotion of mass capitulation. And finally, there are those who call us "adventurists" without noticing in their political stupidity that they are just the same old political swindlers and petty professional social climbers. Nevertheless, they are totally and completely right about one thing: we have no love for parliamentary cretinism and we do not worship electoral opportunism. We are simply and plainly Marxist-Leninist-Maoists.

Chairman Mao Tsetung has taught us: "It is a good thing to be attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the enemy. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black without a single virtue. It demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, but achieved a great deal in our work."

For all that has been said, we reaffirm roundly that COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ACTION KINDLES OUR STRUGGLE!

III. The Crisis of the Reactionary Order Becomes More Pronounced and the People Call for Armed Revolution

What is the current situation of the reactionary forces? The former military government, which lasted twelve years, came to power with

two goals to achieve: (1) to strengthen bureaucratic capitalism, and (2) to reorganize Peruvian society. To complete the first task, it took as the principal lever the functions of the state-controlled economy. In order to fulfill the second, the government was guided by a fascist political outlook and promoted the reorganization of society along corporate lines. In its first phase it made advances in obtaining its objectives, but the economic crisis generated by this, and especially the persistent struggle of the masses, forced the military government to restate its objectives and limit itself to a general readjustment in order to later proceed with corporate reorganization and to constitutionalize those changes that they had set out from the beginning, and, moreover, to proceed to a future transfer of state power. Nevertheless, the deepening of the economic crisis and the intensification of the class struggle cut short their goals, and the new constitution — representing the third reorganization of the Peruvian state in this century — did not achieve the molding of a corporate Peruvian society. It only allowed for the strengthening of executive power at the expense of the parliament, and a greater participation of the armed forces in the running of the state. As a corollary to the military measures, two elections were held, the elections for the constituent assembly and the general elections of 1980. In both, voter turnout declined, part of a trend common throughout Latin America, showing a loss of faith in elections and government.

Under these conditions Belaúnde took over the government, and today, more than one and a half years since his term began, the economic crisis continues, the longed-for resurgence of the economy is nowhere in sight, a persistent, growing inflation continues to pound any economic advance, and the budget deficits, the very basis of the government's measures, increase uncontrollably, gravely threatening an increasingly battered Peruvian economy. Imperialist domination sinks its fangs deeper into our country, seizing ever more of our natural resources, especially oil, extending its grip into the peasant areas, and broadening its control over the country's commerce and finance. The so-called "agrarian reform" has been concluded. The electoral opportunists join the chorus of those claiming that the land problem is ended and resolved. They try to sell the peasants on the botched "farming and cattle-raising programs" at the same time as they advocate the development of the "associative property" to cover the return of the big landowners to promote bureaucrat capitalism in agriculture under the control of the big banks and with the direct participation of Yankee imperialism. The proletariat and workers are burdened with growing

unemployment and declining real wages while working conditions deteriorate and prior gains are negated or threatened every day, such as the right to strike. The petty bourgeoisie suffers increasing pauperization, the intellectuals in particular are thwarted and the people in general confront the urgent problem of hunger while the new reactionary government tries to subjugate them even more. The national bourgeoisie and medium-sized capitalists see growing restrictions on their businesses, suffering also the consequences of the government's intensified undermining of national industry. Meanwhile, in the very bosom of the big bourgeoisie, a sharp struggle — between the bureaucratic and comprador factions, and even within these factions — is taking place over who will reap the most benefits.

In sum, then, guided by an orientation that sees developing big monopoly — mainly Yankee capital — as the motor of economic development, the present government aims at further developing the subjugating semifeudal structure, that still rules the country, for the direct benefit of the old and new-type landowners and the old type rich peasants. The current government undermines the basic industrial structure of the country in order to orient it even more toward extraction production, particularly mining and petroleum. And now, it transfers and seeks to auction off the state enterprises — those which the former government had concentrated in the hands of the state at the cost of a staggering public debt placed on the backs of the people — thus preparing a succulent offering to the insatiable appetite of big, particularly imperialist, capital. The current reactionary government, whose head, prime mover, and most responsible representative is Belaúnde, is as servile as any before it in its eagerness to build up bureaucratic capital (big monopoly capital, vassal to the feudal landowners and subjugated to imperialism) principally to the benefit of big monopoly capital, especially big banking and finance capital under the asphyxiating and ever widening expansion of North American imperialism. But even if this is the outline and scheme of the government, the same complex conflict of interests among the exploiters, the persistent and deepening crisis, and even more, the class struggle which grows more polarized day by day, does not allow the government to overcome its present difficulties, a crucial matter in order to organize and work out a coherent plan based on the clear and defined program that the ruling order loudly demands.

On the political plane, the government continues to face a complex and entangled turning point of the class struggle which generates the introduction of a new constitution, the consolidation of a bureaucracy

totally devoted to it, and a regrouping of reactionary political forces placed in hibernation during the previous twelve years, and, principally, generates the need to rein in the masses who have been drowning in years of stifling crisis that propels them one more time into action to defend their own vital interests — masses trained in the long harsh years of a demagogic government pretending to be “revolutionary” and aided (as always!) by the same opportunists, and who have seen their most basic needs mocked. All this has created an already quite complicated political situation for the reactionary rulers. Nevertheless, the reality is sharper still. In a year and a half the decrepitude of the democratic/bourgeois order has become abundantly clear to the people, who see the contrast in a hypocritical invocation of human rights and liberties alongside their brutal negation. The obsolete parliamentary institutions are coming apart like an empty barrel rolling downhill, sinking in the pompous and sterile rhetoric of the anointed “fathers of the country,” while basic legislative functions give in to the arrogant invasion of jurisdiction by the Executive. And an arthritic and anemic so-called judicial power carries out its functions, compelled only by the mountains of pending proceedings, crooked dealings and servile subjugation to whatever arrogant authority is in charge, and in constant violation of its own reactionary laws — directed, as always, against the people and which, especially today, feeds on revolutionary fighters. And then there is also the so-called autonomous electoral power that routinely rigs elections, covering up its crudest manipulations. Added to this is the sharp contention and division between the reactionary parties that are repeatedly revealed in public scandals and which find expression in all kinds of lawless proceedings. Thus the reactionary political system clearly reveals the frailty and rottenness that it attempts to hide behind the mask of democracy and its phony concern for the masses (who are needed only for occasional voting and for demagogic drum beating). In this way, as Marxism teaches, the armed forces and the police, mainly the former, are ever more the true backbone of the reactionary state and their true bastion; hence their growing importance and growing interference in the running of the state. Nevertheless, we can never forget that an armed force, in essence, strategically is only as strong as the social order it defends, no matter how heavily armed it may be tactically.

The ruling, exploitative, oppressive order is also in an ideological crisis despite its hypocritical handwringing over the so-called “moral crisis of the people,” which is nothing but the destruction of old principles shattered by the blows of acute economic crisis and the political

feebleness of the reaction. And, this is precisely what is principal, the crisis of bourgeois-democratic principles and the social order that, superceded by historical development, by the class struggle, by the vigorous rise of the proletariat and the popular masses, and the great radical transforming process that has put the stamp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism the world over, is left more exposed in the light of day not only in the historical sense, but also in the sense that every day its political decrepitude grows more pronounced. Every day witnesses a decline in the influence of bourgeois-democratic principles which, in centuries past were revolutionary, have for decades been reactionary. That their hold on people is waning can be seen from the results of the last election. Belaúnde took office with 46 percent of the votes and felt exalted to the heavens, the holder of absolute power, the unchallenged voice above the class struggle and contentions. Nevertheless, a year and a half has been enough to smash his electoral sand castle, dissolving it like rotten foam, with his fictitious “great authority” cast among the pounding waves and swirling vortexes, totally in ruins.

Finally, we should speak, though it be in passing, on the question of Ecuador. Ecuador's questioning of the Río Protocol of 1942 goes back many years. This situation has become aggravated in recent years as proven by the border incident of the Cordillera del Cóndor of January 1981. But the present Peruvian government and Belaúnde who heads and leads it (even more, being the person who directly conducts international politics and who consequently is principally responsible) has been dealing with this delicate and important problem in a totally erroneous and irresponsible way; instead of looking for a means to clarify the border question, they adopt an alarmingly superficial and frivolous attitude: if the Ecuadoran question is not treated justly and correctly, it could create grave and serious problems of vast consequences. This will obviously not be felt directly by anyone but the people, who with their own blood and efforts have given us the territory which makes up our country. Here too the reactionary politics and measures of the Belaúndist government are evident, since no one can fail to see that the many conflicts in our Latin American countries and the many wars our people have had to confront all derive from the union of interests of the imperialists, in contention with those of its agents and internal partners who govern our republics. And this is a greater worry today when the Latin American scene reveals various potential conflicts unfolding in the stirred-up climate of contention between the superpowers in their pursuit of world domination.

In sum, we see the sharpening crisis of the reactionary order as it

faces its own grave prospects in 1982.

And what is the present situation of the people? A peasantry with a centuries-old fundamental goal, "Land to the tiller," whom despite its undaunted struggle, has yet to achieve its goal. This is a peasantry whom they have tried to deceive with three supposed agrarian reform laws in the past twenty years. And yet, after the bombastic demagoguery has died down, the peasant is left with the same old unsatisfied thirst for land. A proletariat, whose long, vigorous struggle has yielded only a few miserable wage and other concessions from its exploiters — only to lose them in each economic crisis society endures. This is a proletariat who struggles inside a vicious circle and who once again today is involved in the unending battle over wages, hours, and working conditions. A petty bourgeoisie — making up a broad strata characteristic of a backward country — that sees its dreams ruined by the relentless impoverishment to which the ruling order subjects it. There is a middle bourgeoisie, a national bourgeoisie that is weak and lacks capital, that totters between revolution and counterrevolution, while each new crisis crushes it nearly to the point of suffocation. These are the four classes that historically make up the people of our land. Of them, it is the peasantry which is the principal motive force, as much as it is the proletariat that rises and develops as the class leading our revolution. United, they make up the worker-peasant alliance, the only possible solid base for any possible revolutionary front. The petty bourgeoisie unites with them, and together, the three, under the leadership of the proletariat, are the pillar of the revolutionary front, which is nothing if it is not a front for the armed struggle and the class framework for the New State. This solid union, this solid front, is held together so long as the proletariat firmly retains its hegemony, bases itself on the worker-peasant alliance — forged and developed in the furnace of the armed struggle, of guerrilla warfare. It is this front of classes that the national bourgeoisie will sometimes join (and sometimes leave) depending on the raging winds of the class struggle.

And the Peruvian people, this immense majority, these masses that are the true makers of history, these powerful productive forces, are constrained by the persistent decrepitude of the exploitative social relations that impose unemployment and under-employment on 56.3 per cent of the "economically active population" (according to the government's own statistics), and in the countryside, two of every three peasants are underemployed. Thus the decrepit system of exploitation destroys and holds back the powerful creative forces of the people, the only forces capable of the thorough revolutionary transformation for

which our country has cried out for so long. The reactionaries defend this evil destructive system with blood and fire to the benefit of the landlords, of the old and new type, of big comprador or bureaucratic bourgeoisie and their masters, Yankee imperialism, which for every dollar it invests extracts five. This rotten, bloody system is held together by the oppression imposed by the old reactionary landlord-bureaucratic state, through its state apparatus, its bureaucracy, its armed forces, its judiciary, its jails, and its ancient and scheming repression, but principally through the armed forces and their repressive actions which are the real backbone of the ruling-class dictatorship that dominates and increases its profits extracted from the sweat, toil, and blood of our people.

If you're talking about exploitation and oppression, you're talking about the state; if you're talking about the state, you're talking about classes; if you're talking about classes you're talking about class struggle; if you're talking about class struggle, you're talking about mass struggle; and, as time has shown over and over again, if you're talking about mass struggle you're talking about rebellion, armed struggle, guerrilla warfare — as our own situation proves today. Our people, like all the peoples of the world, have their own proud history of struggle etched with their blood and heroism. The most earthshaking, turbulent, and splendid battles have been those waged untiringly by the peasantry, especially the poor peasants, throughout the centuries. It is sufficient here to remember that our republican emancipation was won as a result of the great armed peasant actions of the 18th century, and our own 20th century has been marked by big peasant struggles in the '20s and '60s. These and the powerful struggle of '63 are sources of extraordinary experiences, to which it is necessary to add the armed struggle led by MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria]* back in 1965 — a struggle which left us invaluable lessons which every revolutionary must know about. Nevertheless, it is with the appearance of Marxism and the Communist Party that the peasant struggle acquired its full revolutionary expression. With the leadership of the proletariat, through its Party, the peasantry has met with and is following the real road to the overthrow of the present exploiting order — that is, people's war, the highest expression of proletarian military thought established by Mao Tsetung.

Thus our people, like all people, have been nurtured and have advanced in the course of revolutionary violence. It is here, in its diverse

*Movement of the Revolutionary Left