

**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, Urpihuata, 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 Occro, 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, Tápu, 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.*

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

forms and gradations that our people have won demands, rights and liberties. None of this fell from the skies, nor was it given; "despite what traitors might say." In the final analysis all was conquered and defended with revolutionary violence in fierce contention with reactionary violence. That is how the 8-hour day was won, how territory was won and held, and how rights were won and tyrants overthrown. Revolutionary violence is the essence of our historical process and, if the freedom of the republic was won with arms on the battlefield, it is easy to understand that the development and triumph of the Peruvian revolution, of our democratic revolution, of the emancipation of the people and the class, will be won only through the most splendid revolutionary war of our people, rising in arms en masse through people's war.

And today, our heroic people, inheritors of such a rich history and following the glorious path, wage battles against the new reactionary government, wage battle in the countryside against the big and small landlords, the social base of reactionary state power in agriculture; wage battle in the factories and mines against their exploiters and oppressors, wage battle in the countless barrios, striking out against hunger and misery; wage battle in the universities and colleges for their need to learn and become educated; wage battles in the small and medium-sized cities against a suffocating centralism; wage battle in education, science, and culture for the undeniable right to nourish the spirit and enjoy peace of mind; wage battle in the streets for the right to earn a living; wage battle for rights and liberties already won — the freedom to think, the freedoms of speech, of organization, of assembly, of striking, and numerous other victories wrenched through their struggle and toil which, despite being stamped into law and in the National Constitution, are trampled on, questioned, and denied twenty-four hours a day by the arrogant and abusive actions of those in power, and by whatever highly placed social climber is in a position of authority (as is the natural order of things among those who run the state). If our people are more conscious than yesterday, more politicized than yesterday, and more organized, firm, and decisive than yesterday, it is because of the enormous presence of the proletariat guided by unconquerable Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that arms their minds and fists. Our heroic fighting people enter into battle even when this means taking on clubs, bombs, bullets, and fierce battalions of reaction. They do it in certainty that struggle tempers, mobilizes, organizes, politicizes, and arms and prepares them for the great battles to come. And if our people are learning anything, today more than yesterday, it is that the class strug-

gle necessarily leads to the struggle for power, and that this can only be won through violent revolution which for us means revolutionary war, armed struggle — the guerrilla warfare of people's war. Only in this way can power be seized by the class and people. And only in this way can the New State arise and the dictatorship of the proletariat be established, so as to carry out the great and complete transformation of society so that, finally, the brilliant, resolute light of communism will shine in our own land. This spirit already dwells among the people. This is clearly shown in the countryside and in the cities where the people begin to once again use violence to repel reactionary violence in defense of their rights. And, more important and demonstrative still is the greater support the people give the armed struggle, the guerrilla war, led by the Party. Though they may not yet understand it in its total depth and scope (that requires its continued development), with the wisdom of collective action the people are fully capable of seeing that these flames of today begin to presage the armed bonfires to come, and in this the real hopes for inexorable emancipation is bellowed and welded.

This is, according to our Marxist-Leninist-Maoist way of seeing things, the situation of the reaction and of the people. In this contradictory situation we see the two concrete aspects and specifics of today's revolutionary situation. So we can see clearly the revolutionary situation manifesting itself and how Lenin understood it: those on-top can no longer continue ruling as they did yesterday, and those on the bottom are no longer willing to live as they have until now. In the reaction we can see the lack of a precise and defined acceptable program capable of welding the reaction and the erratic jumble of moves and countermoves that betray the lack of a fixed course, the understandable result of the lack of a unified program and much less an accepted one. Among the people we can see the firm and decisive move toward armed revolution, their will for revolutionary transformation — although with some limitations, sometimes only expressing itself in the desire to overthrow the decrepit ruling system. But still, if this was all there was to it, it is enough and it is basic to a sound and correct evaluation — to finding the correct course, since it is a sound and true testament that the armed struggle itself, through its accomplishments, will open even wider the road of armed struggle and, likewise, bring home forcefully the correctness of this road in human minds, and thus the masses become more and more part of this great road of people's war.

Such are the concrete issues of the developing revolutionary situation. We have reached this point due to two factors: (1) The polariza-

tion of the class struggle, and (2) the armed struggle that is sprung from the very heart of this class struggle in the country and is unfolding as guerrilla warfare. The polarization of the class struggle and its further development as armed struggle has intensified the preexisting revolutionary situation. Thus, today, and in perspective, we can see that as the developing revolutionary situation heats up it will further stimulate the class struggle and both will strongly impel the further advance of the armed struggle. This is, in synthesis, the current situation of both the people and the reaction. The latter proposes, through the Belaúndist government, a "social pact" or "reconciliation." This is nothing but a rehash of the position of the previous government, but the people's point of view is one: support the armed struggle.

Thus, the class struggle is polarized and will continue to be polarized around: reconciliation vs. support for the armed struggle. Reconciliation is the black flag of the reaction; support for the armed struggle is the red flag of the people. Reconciliation is the flag of reaction bent on binding the people's hands and feet, and, in more limited terms, to weld together the contending factions in the reactionary camp. To achieve this the reactionaries will resort to whatever means, including repression, with the objective of maintaining their dominance. In the last resort they increase the use of armed force, since that is the card reaction keeps up its sleeve for the opportune moment. Support for the armed struggle is the red flag of the people and must be their necessary perspective since, for the people, reconciliation is capitulation. The road for our people begins to manifest itself with greater clarity and determination: supporting and building the armed struggle is the only historic road that corresponds to the path of the people — there is no other. Supporting the armed struggle today means simply to develop guerrilla warfare.

For all that has been said we conclude: **THE CRISIS OF THE REACTIONARY ORDER DEEPENS AND THE PEOPLE CRY OUT FOR ARMED REVOLUTION.**

IV. Develop Guerrilla Warfare

Chairman Mao has written:

"The central task and highest form of revolution is the seizure of power by means of armed struggle, that is, the settlement of the issue through war. This revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle is a universal truth applicable in China as in all countries."

And later he says:

"Before the outbreak of war, all organizations and struggles have as their goal preparing for it. . . . After the outbreak of war, all organizations and struggles must be coordinated directly or indirectly with the war effort."

The Communist Party of Peru, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party of a new type, loyal to its principles and program, conscious of its historic mission as the organized vanguard of the Peruvian proletariat, has assumed its responsibility to launch the armed struggle to fight for the seizure of power by the working class and the people, and is developing guerrilla warfare, learning from advances and setbacks, fanning more widely the living flames of armed conflict and rooting them more deeply among the poor peasants, principally, and will lead in building revolutionary base areas that will finally give concrete form to the triumphant road of people's war.

Previously the Party had to be reconstituted, following the expulsion of Del Prado and Co. — standard-bearers of revisionism in the Party's ranks. In the IV National Conference of January 1964, we entered the long and complex process of reconstitution, agreed to later by the VI Conference of January 1969 in which the Party threw off the weight of revisionism and became a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party of a new type. With the completion of this arduous and glorious task the 9th Plenary Session of the Central Committee in 1979 approved the launching of the armed struggle.

Once this historic mandate was completed, in May 1980, the armed struggle was initiated with the proclamation of the two basic slogans: "Armed Struggle!" and "Workers' and Peasants' Government!" Thus our actions were initiated, unfolding as guerrilla warfare, and now, in accord with the Central Committee of January 1981, we are further developing the guerrilla warfare.

The armed struggle initiated and led resolutely by the Party is the continuation of the class struggle of the Peruvian people; it is the armed continuation of its political struggle and is profoundly linked to and indissolubly united with the masses, mainly the poor peasants. The masses are our only base and support, the source of our strength and vigor. We are firm practitioners of the great principle of relying on our own strength, as we are firm followers of proletarian internationalism, unfurling that immortal call of Marx and Engels, "Workers of All Countries Unite!," and as communists we always raise highest the three great banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism — Marx, Lenin, Mao — which demands that we be irreconcilable enemies of revi-

sionism and all forms of opportunism. In waging the revolution in our country we are serving the world proletarian revolution which will not rest until communism shines over the face of the earth.

The revolutionary reality of our country shows that in fact the armed struggle burns victoriously, that the counterrevolutionary actions kindle our struggle, that the reactionary order sinks in crisis, and the people call for armed revolution. Thus our heroic people are faced with the pressing historic necessity to support the armed struggle, which today means developing guerrilla warfare.

The Communist Party of Peru, the Party founded by Mariátegui, the Party reconstituted as a Party of a new Marxist-Leninist-Maoist type, has begun the armed struggle in our country and has, through twenty-one months of the enrichment of combative life, developed it as guerrilla warfare. The Communist Party of Peru, which has raised to the heavens the red flags of rebellion to serve the working class and the people in their emancipation, calls on the Peruvian proletariat, and especially the poor peasantry and broad masses throughout the country, to take our historic destiny in our hands and overthrow the existing decadent, reactionary ruling order and build the new revolutionary social order that the people demand and cry out for.

Peruvian people! Proletarians, peasants, workers, women, youth, and intellectuals, support the armed struggle! Support the development of the guerrilla warfare!

Peruvian people!: your vigorous voice, like furious thunder, has begun to be expressed in the vibrant and purifying language of revolutionary violence, in armed struggle. Through guerrilla actions, through guerrilla warfare, you are creating milestones in your new history, your definitive history. We have embarked on a great road, a long and arduous one, but victory will be decisive, since "except for state power, all is but illusion!"

DEVELOP GUERRILLA WARFARE!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU
Peru, March '82

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

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

Communist Party of Peru

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

Chairman Mao

I. THE GENERAL CRISIS OF PERUVIAN SOCIETY

Contemporary Peruvian society is in general crisis. This society, whose trajectory began towards the end of the last century, is gravely ill and incurable. It can only be transformed through the armed struggle which the Communist Party of Peru is leading the Peruvian people in doing today. There is no other solution.

The fact is that Peru today is a semifeudal and semicolonial society in which a bureaucratic capitalism is developing, a belated capitalism linked to the landlords' interests and which, consequently, in no way seeks the destruction of semifeudal conditions but at most its evolution. More importantly, it is a capitalism completely subjugated to imperialism — in our case principally Yankee imperialism — and therefore does not develop the potentially great productive forces of our country. Furthermore, it wastes, shackles, or destroys the productive forces and in no way develops a national economy; on the contrary, it is completely at the service of imperialism's increasing exploitation and is totally against the national interests of the majority, of the most basic and most urgent needs of our masses.

Thus the modern Peruvian economy was born retarded and ill at its roots. It is intrinsically linked to the rotten semifeudal system which, in spite of the government's bragged-about agrarian laws, cunningly called "agrarian reform", continues to exist and characterizes the country from its most basic foundations to its most elaborate ideas. This situation maintains the great land problem — the motive force of the peasants' class struggle, especially the poor peasantry which is the immense majority. Furthermore, the Peruvian economy is subjugated at its roots by imperialism — the final stage of capitalism, precisely characterized as monopolistic, parasitic, and moribund — an imperialism which consents to our political independence only so long as it serves its interests. Imperialism controls the entire Peruvian economic process: our natural wealth, export products, industry, banking and finance. In sum, it sucks the blood of our people, devours the energies of our national development, and today, especially, it squeezes us through external debt — just as it does other oppressed nations. Therefore, the modern Peruvian economy — bureaucratic capitalism — is intrinsically linked to its half-buried, semifeudal cadaver and subjugated to moribund imperialism, which lives ever more off the blood of the oppressed, reaped from exploitation guaranteed by its own weapons and those of its lackeys, while the domination of the world is disputed in a never ending crisis and contention waged primarily by the two superpowers — the United States and the social-imperialist Soviet Union. In conclusion, we are in the midst of the general crisis of Peruvian society. This crisis, including the crisis of bureaucratic capitalism which has entered into its final stage, has fully matured the conditions for the development and triumph of the revolution — thus the general crisis that plagues the old society encompasses the revolution in its entirety and in all its manifestations.

This is our reality, this is the foundation on which Peruvian society rests and the material roots of our problems and the misfortunes of our people. This is the social system that the ruling classes and their Yankee imperialist masters are faithful to and defend with blood and fire, through their bureaucratic-landlord state based on their reactionary armed forces; constantly exercising their class dictatorship (of the big bourgeoisie and landlords), whether it be through de facto military governments like the many we have had — for example, Velasco and Morales Bermúdez, to mention just the most recent ones — or through governments born out of elections and called constitutional like Belaúnde's government today.

Thus the governments in Peru — civilian or military — are the rul-

ing cliques — elected or not — which exercise dictatorship over the people, over the proletariat, the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and even over the national or middle bourgeoisie itself, in the service of the big bourgeoisie (especially big bankers today), of the landlords (manifesting itself today primarily in the authority of the landlord to exercise power in the countryside), in the service of the ruling classes and Yankee imperialism, and totally against the people's interests and those of the nation. And this neither needs much historic recounting nor examples, since the proof is right in front of our eyes — Belaúnde's government and his gang, a system born of elections from the voting booths, from the "sacrosanct electoral system." This is the government that more than any other has sold the country to imperialism and sunk Peruvian society in its most serious crisis in modern history; it has submerged the people in the most implacable hunger, it has persecuted, jailed, tortured, and assassinated the people, even committing massacres and genocide because the people, along with the Communist Party, have dared to rise up in arms proclaiming "It's right to rebel" — the irrevocable right of every people drowned in exploitation and oppression, the irrevocable right of every people and class that refuse to be enslaved.

This is the reality of the country, of Peruvian society and the performance of the present government. And this will remain the same so long as we don't overthrow the present order by force of revolutionary arms through people's war. The history of the world as well as of our country has proven this, and what's more, it is right in front of our eyes: the reactionary government of Belaúnde and his sinister gang that starves and murders people will go down in history as the government of famine and genocide.

II. TO VOTE IS TO ENDORSE THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AND ELECT ANOTHER GOVERNMENT THAT WILL BRING MORE HUNGER AND MORE GENOCIDE

What are the conditions in which the new general elections are taking place?

Economically, all agree that the country is suffering the gravest crisis in at least the last hundred years. What's more, the future is bleak. In the year 2000 the economy would barely be meeting its 1976

levels; that is, a quarter of a century would have been lost to this much-publicized economic development. And the problem does not end there. Since World War 2 the country has regularly suffered a crisis in the second half of each decade, each one worse than the previous one, and the next one is already rearing its head. The reactionary economists themselves paint a bleak picture for the coming years. Furthermore, reliance on highly glorified foreign capital is impeded by the present external debt and the impossibility of paying even the interest on it. At the same time, internal savings are reduced, industrial production is in recession, agriculture is in crisis, the prices of our export commodities continue to decline, foreign markets are shrinking, etc. In sum, it is a bleak panorama with no real solution in sight whatsoever, much less one that would satisfy the increasing basic needs of the masses, which are delayed more each day, offering only more unemployment, longer working days just to survive, lower wages and salaries, fewer rights, and more cutbacks of past gains and benefits. Thus, there is an ominous economic perspective in store for the rotten Peruvian society and more exploitation and oppression for the people.

Politically, the '79 constitution, just like with the rest of its type, denies every right it recognizes. Furthermore it didn't even satisfy the factions of the reactionary camp, much less the people. That's why modifying it is, and will continue to be, an arena of contention. The present constitution gives direct participation to its armed forces and police in every aspect of social life, fortifying its predominance, and at the same time it strengthens the powers of the Executive and organizes the most repressive police system of our history. Despite all its filthy demagogy, in comparison with all previous constitutional charters the present constitution is the crudest, most violent and bloody collision with our conditions. This is shown by the contrast between the so-called "right to life"* and the sinister genocide being carried out with cruelty and impunity in the Ayacuchan region by the armed forces directed by Belaúnde himself.

And how do the sanctified bourgeois-democratic institutions work? Parliament abdicated its legislative functions, turning them over to the Executive. The courts, incapable of prosecuting thousands of accused, much less applying their own laws, even agree and protect the plan to annihilate prisoners of war in the known concentration camps like "El Frontón" and in the secret ones like those in Totos, "Los Cabitos," the Stadium in Huanta, etc., in complicity with the

*This has no relation to the reactionary "right to life" movement in the U.S.

Public Ministry. The Executive has become the real legislative power, with the most basic laws of the land in the hands of rancid bureaucrats and technocrats trained and advised by imperialism; with super-ministers who, like the old autocrats, do as they please; with broad and repressive powers used daily, from the gavels, bombs, bullets, etc., to the state of emergency decree used even to confront a strike; and let's not forget the much called-for implementation of a state of siege. Finally the reactionary armed forces and police have shown all their antipeople hatred and brutality that is characteristic of their actions, they have shown clearly that they "authorize" any mistreatment and even the unpunished assassination of any son and daughter of the people. And those armed forces which call themselves "protective institutions" — as if the Peruvian people were solely made up of children — and who are as specialized in being defeated by foreigners as they are experienced in smashing our disarmed people through blood and fire, today manifest more clearly the reactionary interests which they defend and all the class hatred contained in their intervention against the victorious armed struggle. Their leadership — the Joint Command, the National Defense Council, and headed up by Belaúnde himself — in its futile and desperate attempt to isolate the masses from the armed revolution, has found no solution other than the monstrous and infamous genocide which the fraudulent Peruvian democracy and that false democrat and cunning demagogue Belaúnde have revealed to our people and to the whole world with their sinister antiguerrilla actions.

Thus, on top of these ominous economic perspectives, old and reactionary institutions are erected that only survive by the force of inertia and the arms that sustain them, always spilling more blood and bathing in the incendiary blood of the disarmed and cruelly oppressed people who have begun to say, enough! — a people who every day believes less in the old state and expects less from the government. In conclusion, the loss of prestige, the disorder, the chaos on top of corruption, and the most shameless wantonness all work to corrode the landlord-bureaucratic state. Thus a few demagogues of poorly concealed interests and uncontrollable ambitions are once again frivolously and happily competing with one another for the government — with verbal skirmishes and perhaps with one or another conflict. They are, Alva Orlandini, Bedoya Reyes, Morales Bermúdez, and Alan García, candidates of Acción Popular, Democratic Convergence, Democratic Front of National Unity, and APRA, respectively. All are well-known defenders of the existing order. And among them is also that devious and opportunistic Barrantes Lingán — false Mariáteguist and real loyal

defender and supporter of the ruling system — representing the so-called United Left, an organization which was organized by its leaders as the most blatant expression of the old road of electoral opportunism and parliamentary cretinism in the country.

But the oppressive legacy does not end there. The class struggle of our people has developed into armed struggle against the old social order, the old state, and its reactionary armed forces and police. The revolutionary war is now entering its fifth year, two of those against the old armed forces themselves. This historic fact has radically changed the conditions: it has shown how through armed struggle the old rotten system can be overthrown piece by piece and a New Power built for the people, for the oppressed. This new and irreversible process will continue to increasingly unfold as the main problem of the Peruvian state because it will be its negation, its destruction. It is against this process that the state will have to increasingly concern itself in defense of the exploiting classes and their imperialist master. The people, the masses — mainly the peasantry — will increasingly join the advancing peasant war, since as Lenin said: "In the West, tens of millions of people are suffering the torments of starvation. It is this that makes social revolution inevitable, for social revolution stems not from programmes but from the fact that tens of millions of people say: 'Rather than live and starve, we prefer to die for the revolution.' "

Therefore, we must ask, what are the implications of the elections? Do the people need to go to the ballot boxes? Is it worthwhile for the people to vote? Looking at Peru's own experience, what revolutionary transformations have the people won through elections or in parliamentary activities? Everything won by the people has been wrenched in the course of the people's struggle. As a result of these struggles laws were enacted. From the beginning the state started cutting back and initiating a process to reduce the effect of these laws or do away with them entirely — the history of labor legislation is proof enough. The victory of political rights has followed a similar course. All of this clearly has been won short of seizing power since, for a revolutionary, power can only be seized through revolutionary violence. In Peru this can only mean armed struggle from the countryside to the city. But, furthermore, let us ask ourselves what benefits have the people really won by their participation in the Constituent Assembly and in the 1980 general elections: in the first case, simply to serve the third restructuring of the reactionary Peruvian state in this century, and the results are already known. In the second case, the emergence of Belaúnde's government, one of the biggest sellouts of our history and which has

drowned our people in the darkest and bloodiest famine and genocide.

Furthermore, looking at the prospects, what can the people, the masses, expect from participating in the general elections of 1985, when in fact, simply and concretely: To vote is to endorse the social system and elect another government that will bring more hunger and more genocide! It will aid the landlord-bureaucratic state to replace — according to its laws and conditions — their authorities who will exercise their class dictatorship against the people, and aid them in maintaining the semifeudal and semicolonial character of the society, in whose womb bureaucratic capitalism is developing, in the service of the ruling classes and its principal master, Yankee imperialism. To vote is to aid in the establishment of a government that will bring more hunger, since this is determined by the needs and the class character of the state of which it is a part. To vote is to aid in the establishment of a more genocidal regime, since this too is determined by the needs of the old state to defend its decrepit society in the face of the developing people's struggle and, most of all, in the face of the armed struggle which is advancing and with arms is destroying the old and building the new: the forms of the New Power, of the New Society, supported by the people rising in arms.

The people cannot serve their exploiters and oppressors, cannot help them solve their problems, cannot endorse their social system — to say nothing of electing another government that will bring more hunger and cause more genocide. This is not the road the people should take, and it does not serve the interests of the people. The only thing left to do is NOT VOTE! That is the only true popular response in the face of the elections of the reactionary state that brings hunger and genocide.

III. EXPAND THE GUERRILLA WAR TO SEIZE POWER FOR THE PEOPLE!

The Communist Party of Peru, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party, a communist party reconstituted combating revisionism — including internally — a party of a new type to seize power for the proletariat and the people, assumed its role of going over to the armed struggle on May 17, 1980. Thus the class struggle of the Peruvian proletariat and people has taken a leap in its long journey. The political struggle continues as a revolutionary war, taking armed struggle as its main form

and the revolutionary armed force as its principal form of organization. Thus our party has left behind historical baggage, more than 50 years old, and has overcome the dark and rotten electoralism imposed on the masses. With dynamite and bullets it began to write genuine popular liberation, armed and united from the beginning with the popular masses — principally the peasantry — who have always supported the most heroic actions of the Peruvian revolution, and do so today more than ever as the armed struggle has concretized the centuries-old hope in an unextinguishable bonfire.

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

The Peruvian state, the old state, has acted according to these laws. First they mobilized their police forces — GC, GR, PIP,* — and its special forces — Sinchis, the self-proclaimed "Llapan Atic," Dircote,** etc. They carried out their well-known persecutions, tortures, jailings, and assassinations with the brutality and cruelty that is their nature. Then they started their patrols, searches, and raids in the countryside and cities — mainly in the countryside — basing themselves on the reactionary law of "burn all, kill all, loot all." These armed forces, at the height of their actions, were able at most to launch three campaigns (in January and October 1981 and March 1982) which were highly advertised and overstated in the press. Despite having direction and support from the armed forces, these campaigns ended in total failure, suffering humiliating defeats at the hands of the revolutionary armed forces — a fact that even the reactionary press could not deny. Thus the police forces were used like cannonfodder and guinea pigs caught in the contradictions in the reactionary camp.

Despite the clamor demanding their participation in the antiguerrilla struggle, the armed forces of the Peruvian state did not directly intervene until late 1982, due to the opposition of Belaúnde who feared that the military would use their intervention as a pretext to launch a coup d'etat against him or take over bit by bit. The military sent in the three branches of the armed forces — the Army, the Navy, and the Air

Force — with the Army as the main force and with the intention of sharing responsibility, since none of these branches wants to take full responsibility for the inevitable loss of prestige that their counter-revolutionary work carries with it. From the beginning the self-proclaimed "protective institutions of the country" used armed thugs (groups of landlords, landowners, and their lackeys) to camouflage themselves, including dressing like peasants and civil guards, to commit atrocities and massacres in the vain attempt to separate us from the masses. They carried out numerous cowardly and bloody massacres like those in Huambo, Huaychao, Iquicha, Sacsamarca, etc. (among them the massacre of the journalists*). These actions were all approved by the National Defense Council with the express authorization and congratulations of Belaúnde himself. Further, with the failure of their sinister plans at the hands of the powerful blows of the revolutionary forces, and due to the necessities of the municipal elections of November 1983, the armed forces resorted to widespread massacres. Thus in less than two months around the city of Ayacucho more than 800 people turned up brutally massacred and people began to disappear. These were vile, ignominious, and unpunished assassinations.

July 1984 brought important state measures, although they were not public — which is yet another violation of their judicial system. The Joint Command was granted the right to intervene in any and every part of the country to combat the guerrillas and, on their decision and request, to create political-military commandos and establish emergency zones. Thus the country is at the whim of the Joint Command, and the Executive gives the armed forces *carte blanche* to use their loyalty as they see fit. This is the state of so-called Peruvian democracy today. It is under this authority that they carry out new plans, preplanned destruction and, under death threats, forcefully push together sectors of the population to simulate a supposed struggle amongst peasants, when in fact it's simply and clearly a copy of the "strategic hamlets" used in Vietnam, or the "peasant organizations" formed in nearby Guatemala under Yankee supervision. The war has been intensified and broadened, especially in the arena where the armed forces have to confront a genuine peasant war led by the Communist Party and despite the sinister genocide caused by their pigheaded plans to isolate the guerrillas from the masses. Therefore,

*Guardia Civil, Guardia Republicana, Policía de Investigaciones del Perú.

**Anti-"terrorist" police.

*This refers to the massacre that was highly publicized in the U.S. press, most prominently in the *New York Times Magazine* in an article written by the renowned journalist Mario Vargas Llosa who was appointed by a presidential committee to investigate the massacre.

they can't proclaim victory, and recently the War Minister himself talked of the necessity of taking time and having patience in combating the guerrillas, of the need for stronger measures and the support of all Peruvians. This was a clear confession of the difficulties they have in confronting an armed struggle which follows the principles of people's war. Such reactionary difficulties are even manifested in the uneasiness of the Pope who, while in Ayacucho — in that Papal meeting basically of repressive forces, preceded by more than a month of intense persecution and raids — blessed the criminal weapons, consecrated the graves of infamy, sanctified the counterrevolutionary war, blessed the genocidal armed forces and police — principally its bloody chiefs — exonerated, and what's more, supported Belaúnde's government and called on him to annihilate us as soon as possible. And in a bombastic tone he threatened us to change our course, to abandon the revolution, to in fact submit ourselves to the ruling order, to betray the people. To this "communiqué" we have given our immediate, firm, and complete answer with the big blackout on February 4 that completely covered all of Lima and the whole central region of the country.

What has the armed struggle achieved in almost five years? 1980 could be called the beginning; '81 and '82, the beginning of developing the guerrilla warfare and the formation of the first People's Committees — embryonic forms of the New State. From then to the present, the war has concentrated on reestablishment/counterestablishment — that is, on the counterrevolutionary war to destroy the New Power, and the revolutionary war to defend it, develop it, and build it by destroying little by little the old rotten and reactionary order. In almost five years (up to the beginning in '85) we have carried out more than 20,000 actions. The Party has multiplied its membership many times over and has prestige as never before, both inside and outside the country. We have built a People's Guerrilla Army made up of thousands of combatants and, more importantly, hundreds of People's Committees have been formed. We are pushing forward the building of base areas and advancing the formation of the New Democratic People's Republic — thus, the New Power has arisen and is developing by exercising real state functions.

In sum, the Communist Party of Peru leads a successful and growing armed struggle, following the standards of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the only true communist ideology; armed struggle serving a democratic revolution — according to Chairman Mao's New Democracy — with the aim of doing away with imperialist domination, the subsisting feudal landlord property, and confiscating the resources of

bureaucratic capitalism; armed struggle which serves the world revolution and receives the support of proletarian internationalism, principally from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in which our Party is a participant. We base ourselves on the masses of the country who support us, principally the poor peasantry. We are not linked and will not be linked to any superpower nor any other power, since we firmly serve the revolution guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the guiding thought which is the application of Marxism to our conditions. And today our immediate goal is: Expand the guerrilla war to seize power for the people!

**LONG LIVE THE ARMED STRUGGLE! DON'T VOTE!
LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!
LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO!
GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!**

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU**

February 1985

The Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru

Those of us who live in the U.S.A., the country that is most responsible for the misery and poverty of the Peruvian people, have a special duty to refute the slanders and attacks upon the Peruvian revolution and its leadership, the Communist Party of Peru.

The Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru exists exactly for this purpose. We want to popularize the development of revolutionary struggle there and disseminate the truth of what is really happening. We have a slide show with presentation and music, books and information, and we are available for forums, panel discussions and radio shows. We also have buttons, posters, and are preparing a t-shirt for the near future.

We encourage all progressive and revolutionary-minded people to join the Committee and/or contact us to arrange for the above-mentioned activities and materials. Funding, to keep up our support campaigns, research and the dissemination of materials and information, is urgently needed: we encourage you to both contribute and fund-raise.

THE COMMITTEE TO SUPPORT THE REVOLUTION IN PERU
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