*Proletarians of all countries, unite!*

# DEVELOP THE CONSTRUCTION, MAINLY OF THE PARTY, IN FUNCTION OF ARMED STRUGGLE[1]

## I. ON THE BUREAUCRATIC ROAD AND THE DEMOCRATIC ROAD

In the Peruvian society of the 20th century two roads confront each other as an expression of the class struggle: the bureaucratic road and the democratic road. The first is the road of the exploiting classes, of imperialism, of feudalism, and of bureaucrat-capitalism, the road of the monopoly bourgeoisie, mainly of Yankee imperialism which oppresses us, of the feudal landlords, and of the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This is the road of the development and deepening of bureaucrat-capitalism in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society; the road of the State of landlord-bureaucratic dictatorship under imperialist command; of the predominance of imperialist and feudal ideology.

The bureaucratic road is the one that the exploiting classes follow in the country from 1895 to today. A road that in the 1920s enthroned the "merchant bourgeoisie" as the leading class of the reactionary camp, and in that decade the Peruvian State was restructured from the standpoint of so-called "representative democracy." This first restructuring of the State, under the direction of the comprador bourgeoisie, occurred, let us not forget, "at a time when, having reached the stage of monopolies and imperialism, all liberal ideology, corresponding to the stage of free competition, has ceased to be valid," as point 3 of the Program of the Party says. But if the constitution of 1920 served the development of bureaucrat-capitalism and the slow evolution of feudalism, as well as the domination of Yankee imperialism and of the comprador bourgeoisie linked to it, the unfolding of the economic process, the contradictions within reaction itself, and mainly the development of the class struggle, the mobilization, politicization, and organization of the masses, peasant and worker masses in particular, and what is fundamental, the foundation of the Communist Party by Mariátegui, in an atmosphere of general crisis, profoundly aggravated by the world crisis of 1929, led to the second restructuring of the State in this century. This one, like the first, also derived directly from a movement called "revolutionary," was given shape in the constitution of 1933

[1] https://web.archive.org/web/20260701205906/https://banderaroja.org/2025/09/28/desarrollar-la-construccion-principalmente-del-partido-en-funcion-de-la-lucha-armada/

which, with variations that do not change its essence, is framed within the same conditions of the bureaucratic road.

Since the 1950s this road enters into the deepening of bureaucrat-capitalism with growing participation of the State in all national life, especially in the economic field. The 1960s are crucial for this second moment. In it, its economic process showed its hindrances and limitations more, engendering even dangerous prospects for its system and, moreover, so-called "representative democracy" entered into crisis. Let us highlight in passing that similar conditions occurred throughout Latin America. Thus, in October 1968 the Armed Forces assumed Power to fulfill two tasks: to deepen bureaucrat-capitalism and restructure Peruvian society, labor that they have been carrying out for almost 10 years. The new government, presenting itself as "revolutionary" and with the main cooperation of the social-corporativist revisionism of *Unidad*, began a high-sounding campaign questioning the "pre-revolutionary order" and especially the "demo-representative" system. The Armed Forces, guiding themselves by a fascist political conception, after immediate economic and political readjustments, set about laying bases for corporativization and the deepening of bureaucrat-capitalism, taking the State as the propeller of the economy through state monopolism. Subsequently, its own process and the world crisis that aggravated the situation brought the government to the general corporative readjustment, on the economic, political, and ideological planes, adopting measures of reactivation and others tending toward corporativization. The direction it has followed develops today as a stage of structuring of the corporative State to be carried out over several years.

The bureaucratic road is, then, a process of more than eighty years, and if yesterday its leadership was in the hands of the comprador bourgeoisie, since the 1960s it is the developing bureaucratic bourgeoisie that commands the process through the Armed Forces. And if in past decades the State was restructured on two occasions fundamentally on the molds of so-called "representative democracy," at present the third restructuring of the landlord-bureaucratic State is being carried forward on corporative bases.

In the face of the bureaucratic road the democratic road develops, the road of the people. This is the road of the exploited and oppressed; it is the road of the popular masses to destroy the exploitation of feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and the exploitation and oppression of Yankee imperialism which dominates us, warding off any other striving for imperialist domination, especially that of social-imperialism which today contends for world hegemony. It is the road of the uprising of the masses, mainly peasant masses, to overthrow the existing order, to seize Power through violence. It is the road that the proletariat, through its Party, guides as the leading class

and that the peasantry unfolds, combating as the main force. It is the road that the petty bourgeoisie actively supports and in which the national bourgeoisie can participate, in certain circumstances and conditions.

The road of the people, in contemporary Peruvian history, also has its beginning at the end of the 19th century and its direction is marked by the political development of the proletariat. Mariátegui, founder of the Communist Party, taught us that the formation of the industrial proletariat in our country "changes the terms of the political struggle." This is an inescapable truth for all revolutionaries. In the tumult of the 1920s, upon the struggle of our people, especially of the peasant uprisings, and through the heroic struggle of the proletariat, under the banners of Marxism-Leninism, José Carlos Mariátegui, on October 7, 1928, founded the Communist Party, "the vanguard of the proletariat, the political force that assumes the task of its orientation and direction, in the struggle for the realization of its class ideals," as is written in point 9 of our Program. Thus, the old bourgeois revolution that the bourgeoisie could have conducted, although in fact it was incapable of doing so, became a bourgeois revolution of a new type, a new-democratic revolution, an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution that only the proletariat, through its Party, is capable of conducting, following the road of encircling the cities from the countryside and waging a protracted people's war. This is the road that Chairman Mao Tsetung established for countries like ours and the road that our founder pointed out to us.

In its second moment, parallel to that of the bureaucratic road, the democratic road has a great development in the 1960s: the proletariat wages great struggles and the peasantry, reenacting its old actions, shakes the foundations of Peruvian society, while students, workers, intellectuals, and popular masses, especially the poor masses of neighborhoods and shantytowns, increase their combativeness. In synthesis, a great upsurge of the struggle of the popular masses. In this decade the country was also the scene of guerrilla struggles from whose defeats we must extract lessons that serve the future. The class struggle stoked the defense of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism, and in the light of the international struggle between Marxism and revisionism and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, we communists combated to Retake the Road of Mariátegui and Reconstitute his Party, to return to Mariátegui, to his road, to his General Political Line, to his line of construction, to his Mass Line; in the concrete, to retake his road to pursue it and develop it and upon this foundation reconstitute his Party.

The democratic road, the road of the people, in its contemporary passage of more than eighty years also has two moments, the first whose axis is the 1920s and in which Mariátegui founded the Communist Party, making the proletariat the leading,

conscious, and organized political class of the revolutionary camp. At that time it fell to the Peruvian proletariat to constitute itself as a Party under Marxism-Leninism. The second moment, in which we are living, has a key task: Retake Mariátegui and Reconstitute his Party, which unfolds under the banners of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and amid the deepening of bureaucrat-capitalism and the corporativization that the exploiters advocate. It is a deepening in which the conditions for the democratic revolution mature and, as the guerrillas of the 1960s showed, the conditions that lead to deciding the revolution through armed struggle take shape.

Paying attention to the problem of the two roads is of the utmost importance. We must study this problem, for it involves knowing the process, the situation, and the prospect of the camps of revolution and counter-revolution. It is part of comprehending our history according to the class struggle. Thus our course is clearer and there is less risk of disorientation. In synthesis, the bureaucratic road today has entered into the structuring of its corporative State under the command of so-called "social democracy of full participation." And it will seek, through the application of its "gradualism" in the economic and political spheres, which serves precisely to fulfill its plans, to tie the people to this road and to center their attention on the electoral activities it schedules, a structuring and activities that it will also want to use to ward off the crisis and reactivate the economy.

For the democratic road the problem is to change the existing social order, seizing Power by means of the road of encircling the cities from the countryside, to create a People's Republic, for as long as it does not achieve such a thing its situation will in essence remain the same. For the people the question is to turn their trend toward development into organized action of their own forces, to construct and develop their revolutionary instruments, and not to let themselves be tied to the cart of the structuring of the corporative State. For the people the problem is to develop the growing people's protest and organize the struggle for benefits and gains, rights, and freedoms, for their demands, particularly economic ones, without forgetting their course and not letting themselves be centered on electioneering activities contrary to their deep interests. Do not forget that, as Engels said, elections are an "instrument of domination of the bourgeoisie"; and recall Mariátegui who taught the use of "elections for the mere purposes of class agitation and propaganda." In synthesis, for the people, for the working class, and for the Party the problem is: Reconstitute the Party from the countryside and put peasant work as the basis for following the road of encircling the cities from the countryside.

# II. MOBILIZE, POLITICIZE, AND ORGANIZE THE MASSES, MAINLY THE PEASANTRY

What direction have the popular masses followed under the present regime? First a retreat arose in the face of the offensive of the military coup of 1968; there was a passing to a reactivation of the popular struggle in 1971; and from reactivation to the development of the democratic struggle for the unification of the masses, which reaches great expression in the second half of 1973. Subsequently, in 1975, the popular masses tend toward development as their main trend, which involves advance in the ideological, political, and organizational spheres. Over the course of almost nine years the masses, with zigzags, as is natural, have developed intense struggle: a broad strike movement, especially in this decade, with 1975 being the culminating point to date, shows the growing combativeness of the proletariat. The peasantry in turn has continued contending for the land and has combated the agrarian law. The struggles of Andahuaylas are conclusive proof, though not the only proof, for in the various regions of our homeland the old and still unsatisfied peasant struggle keeps beating. The popular masses of the various cities of the country have also waged exemplary actions, and it can be affirmed that there is no important city that has not been the scene of the people's protest.

The foregoing shows the trend toward development that nests as the main current in the popular masses, especially among workers and peasants who are the basic forces. And all this leads more deeply to a sharpening of the class struggle that tends to become a future upsurge of the people's struggle. But the upsurge in our country, in essence, is development and upsurge of the peasant movement, and without it one cannot speak of a strong and true upsurge of the popular struggle. Here, too, is the importance of the peasantry, which is nothing but a reflection of its condition as the main force. This problem is fundamental and is, by all appearances, a weak point in the revolutionary work of the country.

Against the development of the mass movement, the regime launched its fascist and corporativizing political offensive, seeking to organize the popular masses in its so-called "base organizations" to unite them with its counter-revolutionary program. However, its plans did not fully fulfill their objectives. We see one example on the trade-union front: on it, the government began denying the need for trade unions, then sustained "trade-union pluralism," passing afterward to organizing its own corporative trade unions, the much-publicized Central of Workers of the Peruvian Revolution. Subsequently, it propelled its "revolutionary labor movement," aiming to storm the trade unions and usurp their leaderships. An evolution of its trade-union policy parallel to the constant "dialogue" and relations of coordination and collaboration that it

maintained with the "recognized federations": the General Confederation of Workers of Peru, the National Confederation of Workers, and the Confederation of Workers of Peru, which with minor discrepancies have supported it, mainly the General Confederation of Workers of Peru. And also parallel to its constant and systematic use of repressive violence, which it applied from the beginnings of its administration and which, starting in 1976, turned into a year of suspension of guarantees, a state of emergency, and an anti-union and anti-people offensive.

The regime and its program tending to control the masses and organize them were supported, in addition to the federations referred to, by the reactionary political parties: thus by the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance mainly among the parties defending so-called "representative democracy," this being the point of divergence between these parties and the government, which in turn are united, government and parties, by their submission to American imperialism. And by the revisionist party of *Unidad*, mainly among the parties devoted to corporativization. Among these, what the government and *Unidad* agree on is corporativization and their divergence lies in the fact that revisionism is the spearhead of social-imperialism.

Thus throughout these years the government has counted, directly or indirectly and through secondary divergences, on the support of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance and of revisionism, fundamentally, among the parties of "representative democracy" and among the corporativizers. But it is the revisionist party of *Unidad* that to this day acts as the regime's ally and main support and at present, indeed, precisely the one that calls for closing ranks around the so-called "gains of the revolution" and contends for the purest structuring of the corporative State, which the government and revisionism call "social democracy of full participation." Christian Democracy is linked to the government, in addition to its corporativist position, by its ties to Yankee imperialism and by its social Christian conception. Nevertheless, given its little influence, it has not played the same role as revisionism.

However, in spite of all this, even of the confusions that revolutionarism sows in the ranks of the people, and despite the historical burdens that hamper the popular struggle and its present weaknesses, the popular masses have not been tied to the corporativist cart. This shows the degree of development of the masses, especially the basic masses, and that political propagation is never in vain, however long a time may pass between the sowing and the harvest, as Lenin teaches us.

Since 1975 the people have been bearing a crisis that is the product of the application of the program of deepening bureaucrat-capitalism and of the corporativization of Peruvian society, accentuated by the world crisis. This crisis, which will continue in 1978 and whose consequences threaten to extend to 1980, strikes the masses with

wage cuts expressed in heavy losses in the purchasing power of wages and salaries; in growing unemployment that falls mainly on young people and women and spreads in the countryside as underemployment; in galloping rises in the cost of living and in the scarcity of basic products for feeding the people; and in a whole systematic anti-union, anti-people, and anti-democratic offensive concretized, recently, for more than a year, in the suspension of guarantees, a state of emergency, and the denial of elementary rights to wage demands, to union organization, and to the right to strike, in addition to imprisonments and repressions.

This crisis is one more of the usual crises that we suffer and to which the social system condemns the people, and it poses a question to the masses: how to get out of the crisis? Marxism teaches that the crisis is a vicious circle that repeats itself every certain number of years, for its very root is in the social order itself; that the workers through a well-conducted trade-union struggle can obtain successes in their demands, such as wage increases, a shorter working day, and working conditions; that when the crisis arrives what was won is lost and that, once it is overcome, the workers again follow the same road of struggle for demands to recover what was lost and obtain new gains, which will again be lost in another crisis, and so on. This is the vicious circle of which Engels was speaking, the reiterated cyclical repetition that will continue as long as the dominant order of exploitation exists and which poses to the proletariat and the people the task of combating to break it. The crisis poses two problems to us: first, how to defend what has been won, since although gains are lost in the crisis, the less they are defended, the more will be lost. This is the question of the need for the struggle for demands that we must always wage, subjecting ourselves to the principle of "just grounds, advantage, and restraint." A struggle for demands that implies not only defense of benefits and gains and of rights and freedoms, economic struggle insofar as it is a demand for a group or a part of the class and political struggle insofar as it is a general demand, but, moreover, the struggle for demands goes on forging the class and the workers for their struggles for Power. Second, how to put an end to the crisis? Crises being a cyclical product of the social order of exploitation, they cannot be put to an end unless the prevailing social order is put to an end. This is the question, in synthesis, of the struggle for Power; it is the problem of developing the road of encircling the cities from the countryside in order, with people's war, to carry forward the new-democratic revolution. It is, then, the need for the revolutionary struggle that serves the seizure of Power by the working class, under the direction of its Party. These two questions, the struggle for demands and the struggle for Power, which are aggravated and made manifest in crises, cannot be separated from one another. The problem is for the masses to wage both, for the popular masses to develop the struggle for demands with Power as their course. **The relation of both problems**

**is concretized in developing the struggle for demands in function of Power; hence: centering mainly on the struggle for demands is revisionism.**

At present, more than ever, we must adhere to the great principle that the masses make history and that "the proletariat has no weapon in its struggle for Power other than organization," and guide ourselves by the following great orientation: "only when the workers and peasants, who make up 90 percent of the population, are mobilized and organized will it be possible to overthrow imperialism and feudalism." Fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought that we must keep in mind. And today, when the struggle against revisionism, the main danger of the national and international revolutionary struggle, becomes more necessary, apply firmly the Marxist tactic of distinguishing the "bourgeois workers' party," that of the privileged minority, from the "lower mass," the true majority, … which is not contaminated with "bourgeois respectability," that the great Lenin established, and persist in his orientation that "if we want to continue being socialists (that is, communists), our duty is to go lower and deeper, to the real masses: therein lies the meaning of the struggle against opportunism and the whole content of this struggle"; and hold ourselves to the line that he himself condensed thus: "The only Marxist line in the world workers' movement consists in explaining to the masses that the split with opportunism is inevitable and indispensable, in educating them for the revolution in a merciless struggle against it, in taking advantage of the experience of the war to unmask all the infamies of liberal-nationalist workers' policy, and not to cover them up."

To pose for oneself in Peru the problem of the popular masses is to center attention on the peasantry, which is the main force of the revolution. Mariátegui, founder of the Communist Party, centered on this problem. In synthesis, the democratic-national revolution has as its fundamental the question of the land, and the problem of the land in Peru is that of the survival of feudalism, "of the feudal economic regime, whose expressions are *gamonalismo*, latifundism, and servitude," highlighting that "the system of ownership of the land determines the political and administrative regime of every nation." Therefore Mariátegui with great vision established that the first problem that we must resolve is "that of the liquidation of feudalism." On the other hand, he masterfully made precise the relation between the Indigenous problem and that of nationality, pointing out: "Peru is still a nationality in formation. The alluvial deposits of Western civilization are constructing it upon the inert Indigenous strata"; adding that the "problem of the Indians . . . is the problem of the majority. It is the problem of nationality." And delving deeper into the Indigenous problem he laid down: "The Indigenous question stems from our economy. It has its roots in the system of ownership of the land" and "domination over the land places the fate of the Indigenous race in the hands of the '*gamonales*.'" Thus our founder established the

inseparable relation between the problem of the land and the national problem. In this way the struggle for the land is the basis of the national struggle, and the latter cannot develop revolutionarily without the former.

Moreover, in Mariátegui, assuredly, *gamonalismo*, one of the expressions of feudalism, inseparably united to the problem of the land and to the national problem, acquires decisive importance through its relation to the problem of the State and of the revolution. In "Presentation to *Tempest in the Andes*" he wrote:

> The term *gamonalismo* does not designate only a social and economic category: that of the latifundists or large agrarian proprietors. It designates an entire phenomenon. *Gamonalismo* is not represented by the *gamonales* proper. It comprises a long hierarchy of functionaries, intermediaries, agents, parasites. The literate Indian transforms himself into an exploiter of his own race, because he puts himself at the service of *gamonalismo*. The central factor of the phenomenon is the hegemony of large semi-feudal property in politics and the mechanism of the State. Consequently, it is upon this factor, upon it that one must act if one wants to attack at its root an evil of which some persist in contemplating only the episodic and subsidiary expressions. . . .
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> That liquidation of *gamonalismo* or feudalism could have been carried out by the Republic, within the liberal and capitalist principles . . . sabotaged by the very class charged with applying them, for more than a century they have been powerless to redeem the Indian from his servitude, which constitutes a fact bound up with that of feudalism. There is no reason to expect that today, when these principles are in crisis in the world, they will suddenly acquire in Peru an unheard-of creative vitality.

The underlining is ours.[2]

The same founder, treating these problems in relation to all of America, said: "The present State, in these countries, rests on the alliance of the feudal landlord class and the merchant bourgeoisie. With latifundist feudalism brought down, urban capitalism will lack the forces to resist the growing working class." And analyzing the consequences of capitalism in relation to the peasantry he concluded: "Capitalism, with its very instruments of exploitation, pushes the masses along the way of their demands, it compels them to a struggle in which they equip themselves materially and mentally to preside over a new order."

[2]Red Library: The underlining is not available in the Spanish edition used for this translation.

All these propositions are of great transcendence for our Party and our people, today more than ever, when the application of three agrarian laws since the 1960s propels the landlord road of evolution of feudalism, within the deepening of bureaucrat-capitalism and of corporativization, and proves day by day their validity and importance and the need to apply them with decision and firmness, developing them in the midst of the class struggle of the peasantry for the land, which is the very basis of the democratic revolution. Hence the ever more peremptory requirement to put peasant work as the basis of all revolutionary activity in our country. This is the basis of the struggle for Power in a country like ours, inasmuch as the peasantry, we reiterate, is the main force in the transformation of Peruvian society and, consequently, the source that will contribute mainly to the road of encircling the cities from the countryside. Let us combat the erroneous criteria of revisionist essence sustaining that the proletariat is the main force and that revolutionary activities must be centered on it. In our country, as the Chinese Revolution demonstrates, the proletariat is not the main force but is indeed the leading class, and precisely its course consists in raising up the peasantry and guiding it, through its Party, in the democratic revolution by means of people's war.

**In conclusion, our problem is to mobilize, politicize, and organize the masses, mainly the peasantry, taking into account that the main form of struggle is armed struggle and that we must develop the struggle for demands in function of Power. Only thus will we serve the proletariat, the people, and the revolution; only thus, in the last instance, will we serve proletarian internationalism; only thus, in synthesis, will we forge ourselves as communists and open a breach to fulfill the Program of the Party up to communist society. Let us adhere firmly to the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, let us develop in the class struggle the General Political Line that Mariátegui established, and let us have infinite confidence in the masses, for, as the Program of the Party which our founder himself drafted says: "The working masses of the city, the countryside and the mines and the indigenous peasantry, whose interests and aspirations we represent in the political struggle, will know how to appropriate these demands and this doctrine, to fight perseveringly and strenuously for them and to find, through this struggle, the road that leads to the final victory of socialism."**

# III. CONSTRUCTION AND STRUGGLE IN THE PARTY. COMBAT REVISIONISM AS THE MAIN DANGER.

The development of Party work and of the two-line struggle led us, in recent years, to the following conclusion: Develop construction taking ideological-political construction as the basis and simultaneously unfold organizational construction, in the midst of the class struggle of the masses and in the two-line struggle, that is, of Mariátegui's proletarian line and its development against right and left opportunism. And more recently, we have advanced in comprehending the inseparable link between construction and struggle. This process is particularly linked to the struggle against liquidationism of the right and of the left; it is in struggling against liquidationism that we have comprehended these important problems.

These experiences that the Party has lived through in recent years accord with those of the international proletariat. Thus, in the Chinese experience, take into account the following accurate condensation: "To persist or not in the internal struggle of the Party is a difference of principles between Chairman Mao's line and the revisionist line in the construction of the Party."

## IMPORTANT STAGES AND STRUGGLES IN THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY

In general lines and from the standpoint of the construction of the Party in particular, we could divide our history into the following stages: first, that of the establishment of Mariátegui's Road and of the constitution of the Party; second, that of the search for Mariátegui's Road and of the Defense of the Party; third, that of the struggle to Retake Mariátegui's Road and of the Reconstitution of the Party. If we wanted to concretize further, to highlight the problems of the construction of the Party, we would make the three stages precise thus: Constitution, Defense, and Reconstitution.

The constitution of the Communist Party, in October 1928, the crowning work of José Carlos Mariátegui, was a long and great struggle that crowns more than three decades of combat by the Peruvian proletariat. The Constitution involved struggling against anarcho-syndicalism and against the machinations of nascent ideology of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, and was the triumph of the need for the Party of the proletariat in our country.

Since the constitution or foundation of the Party we can highlight five important struggles:

1- Against the abandonment of Mariátegui's Road and the left liquidationism of Ravínez and company;

2- against the capitulationism and right liquidationism of Terreros–Portocarrero and of Acosta–Del Prado–Barrio, under the influence of Browderism;

3- Against the revisionism of Del Prado and company under the baton of command of the modern revisionism of Khrushchev–Brezhnev;

4- For the construction of the three instruments of the revolution and against rightism disguised as "left," and

5- Against liquidationism both of the right and of the "left."

These are important struggles in the almost fifty years of the history of the Party. We must pay them great attention to extract from them experiences and lessons that serve the development of the construction in which we are engaged. The study and investigation of the history of the Party, although they have advanced, must be reinforced. This is vital to comprehend the two-line struggle and the process of construction of the three instruments in the country, and to adhere more to Mariátegui's line and its development.

## RECONSTITUTION AND STRUGGLE

The process of Reconstitution of the Party is a consequence of Retaking Mariátegui's Road. It began at the beginning of the 1960s and although it rises upon the class struggle of our homeland, especially that of the proletariat and the peasantry, it is intimately linked in its development to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In more than 15 years the Reconstitution has passed through the following moments: that of its determination, which is crowned in the Sixth Conference with the establishment of the Bases of Party Unity (Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, Mariátegui's Thought, and the General Political Line) and the agreement on the need for the Reconstitution of the Party, in 1969; that of its application, the key to which is the Third Plenum that sanctioned the Bases of the Reconstitution in the ideological-political sphere, the organizational sphere, and mass work, in 1973; that of its impetus, which has been developing since 1975. Thus the Reconstitution of the Party has now entered the moment of its culmination, which must be crowned in the Fifth Congress. The task today, then, is to culminate the Reconstitution.

The Reconstitution has made it possible to comprehend with greater clarity and certainty the indissoluble relation between the construction of the Party and the General Political Line; that the construction of the Party is in function of the General Political Line, whose core is to follow the road of encircling the cities from the countryside in

this stage of the democratic revolution in which we find ourselves; and that departing from the political line undermines construction and leads to denying the character of the Party and its role as the organized vanguard of the proletariat, making it incapable of struggling for Power, the central problem of the revolution. All of which is proved by our own Party history.

The development of the Reconstitution has taken place, as it had to, in struggle against contrary lines: against revisionism, rightism disguised as "left," and liquidationism. The struggle against liquidationism of the right and left, waged in parallel with the application of the Reconstitution, was successfully crowned in agreeing to "liquidate liquidationism to advance and develop two-line struggle against revisionism as the main danger" and in concretizing the political line for its immediate application in the orientation of "Reconstitute the Party from the countryside and put peasant work as the basis for following the road of encircling the cities from the countryside."

## COMBAT REVISIONISM AS THE MAIN DANGER

The development of the two-line struggle in the Party at present poses combating revisionism as the main danger. The summary of the struggles waged in recent years and of the problems that confront us today requires us to combat revisionism taking into account the following points:

1. Opposition to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to Mariátegui's Thought. Denial of the development of Mariátegui's line.
2. Opposition to the road of encircling the cities from the countryside. Hopes in the reactionary State and in the regime and questioning of orienting work in function of the struggle for Power.
3. opposition to Reconstituting the Party from the countryside and to constructing it in struggle against revisionism as the main danger.
   Questioning of the road of construction of the Party in a backward country like ours.
4. Separating ideological-political construction from organizational construction and seeking to develop construction apart from the class struggle and the two-line struggle.
5. Unilateral application of open work and of secret work, which denies their inter-relation. Questioning of the Party system, structure, and work.
6. Denial of the role of the leaderships and of the leaders and opposition to proletarian discipline.

7. Denying the peasantry its condition as the main force and being against putting peasant work as the basis of all construction.
8. Questioning the effective leadership of the proletariat in the revolution in following the criterion of conceiving it as the main force.
9. Denying the need to "go lower and deeper, to the real masses" in order to educate them for the revolution and in the fact that the split with revisionism is inevitable and indispensable.
   Refusing to develop the struggle for demands in function of Power.
10. Accepting in theory the worker-peasant alliance as the basis of the united front but questioning it in practice and denying the need to construct the united front from the countryside.
11. Denial of people's war. Opposition to the principles and Military Line of Chairman Mao Tsetung and elevation of insurrectionary and urban guerrilla criteria. Denial of the universal law of revolutionary violence.
12. Questioning of the need to combat revisionism as the main danger. Denial of proletarian internationalism, particularly insofar as it is defense of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and an obligation to combat revisionism.
    Conciliation with revisionism.
13. Exaltation of revolutionarism and preaching of unitarianism without demarcation.
14. Opposition to the "philosophy of struggle." Liberalism, conciliationism, and groupism. "Dirty struggle."
15. Questioning of the conception of the proletariat in order to replace it with the bourgeois conception.

The struggle against revisionism as the main danger which is unfolding at present is of great importance and prospect, and its generalization and differentiation that take into account all the fronts of our activity and the diversity of concrete situations, as well as conducting it correctly and with firmness and sagacity, is a decisive question for the development of construction.

## IV. CONSTRUCT IN FUNCTION OF ARMED STRUGGLE

Construction is a fundamental weapon of the proletariat in its struggle for Power; it is through it that the political line takes on reality and can move the masses under the direction of the Party. Construction among us, since the constitution of the Party,

involves three instruments: Party, united front, and armed struggle. And the construction of the Party poses to us, today as yesterday, its necessity, how to construct it in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, and how to develop it through struggle. In this problem, as in all of them, we must abide by Marxism, by our experience, and by the present concrete conditions of the class struggle. It is important to study and apply what Lenin established in *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, vital for comprehending the opportunist line in this field, aiming to resolve our specific problems. There Lenin laid down the importance of organization, the simultaneous construction of the ideological-political sphere, which is its basis, and of the organizational sphere, and development in the midst of the class struggle for Power and in the two-line struggle against opportunism. He says:

> In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon than organization. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labour for capital, constantly thrust back to the "lower depths" of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class. Neither the senile rule of Russian autocracy, nor the senescent rule of international capital will be able to withstand this army. It will close its ranks ever more tightly, in spite of all zigzags and backward steps, in spite of the opportunist phrasemongering of the Girondists of present-day Social-Democracy, in spite of the self-satisfied exaltation of the retrograde circle spirit, and in spite of the tinsel and fuss of *intellectualist* anarchism.

In the same text it is posed to us how the need for a single and centralized Party structure, system, and work arises:

> Unity on questions of programme and tactics is an essential but by no means a sufficient condition for Party unity and for the centralization of Party work . . . These require, in addition, unity of organization, which, in a party that has grown to be anything more than a mere family circle, is inconceivable without formal rules, without the subordination of the minority to the majority, of the part to the whole. As long as we lacked unity on the fundamental questions of programme and tactics, we bluntly admitted that we were living in a period of disorder and prevalence of circles; we bluntly declared that before we could unite, we must draw lines of demarcation; we did not even talk of the forms of a joint

> organization, but exclusively discussed the new (at that time they really were new) problems of fighting opportunism on programme and tactics. At present, as we all agree, this fight has already ensured a sufficient degree of unity, as formulated in the Party programme and in the Party's resolutions on tactics; now we have had to take the next step, and, by common consent, we did take it, working out the *forms* of a united organization that merges all the circles together.

In this same book Lenin characterizes the opportunist line in problems of organization:

> Their advocacy of a diffuse, not strongly welded, Party organization; their hostility to the idea (the "bureaucratic" idea) of building the Party from the top downwards, starting from the Party Congress and the bodies set up by it; their tendency to proceed from the bottom upwards, which would allow every professor, every high-school student and "every striker" to declare himself a member of the Party; their hostility to the "formalism" which demands that a Party member should belong to an organization recognized by the Party; their inclination towards the mentality of the bourgeois intellectual, who is only prepared "platonically to recognize organizational relations"; their penchant for opportunist profundity and for anarchist phrases; their tendency towards autonomy as against centralism.

All the foregoing are basic questions that we must assimilate profoundly and apply taking into account the experience of fifty years of the Party, always acting with firmness and with initiative.

## THE THREE PROBLEMS OF THE PARTY AND THEIR INTERRELATION

We must start from the fact that in construction our basic and fundamental problem is how to construct the Party, as the organized vanguard of the proletariat and its highest form of organization, which serves to seize Power, leading in fact the democratic revolution in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. This problem, resolved in its general and still valid laws by Chairman Mao Tsetung in *Introducing "The Communist"* must always be remembered.

In the work referred to, it was established that the construction of the Party, in those conditions, develops linked to the united front and armed struggle, pointing out the three problems and their interrelation in the following terms:

> Therefore the united front, armed struggle and Party building are the three fundamental questions for our Party in the Chinese revolution.

Here is the substantive question of the need to construct and develop the Party through armed struggle and the united front; here is the question of holding ourselves to the fact that armed struggle is the main form of struggle and that the people's army is the main form of organization; here is the problem that the Party is the "heroic combatant" that handles the united front and armed struggle. All this is to subject the construction of the Party to the law of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought of revolutionary violence to seize Power, which Chairman Mao masterfully synthesized in the need for the revolutionary army to change the world:

"Whoever has an army has power, and war decides everything."

"Whoever has more rifles has greater power."

> Every Communist must grasp the truth, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." . . .
>
> Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. . . . Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed. We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun.

All the foregoing is a solid body of Marxist truths and an indispensable part of our education in the conception of the proletariat and the only criterion that can correctly guide the transformation of Peruvian society. We must subject ourselves to these criteria and give them shape among the masses. Today this is more necessary given the approaching electioneering political prospect.

Since the constitution of the Party the three problems and their interrelation have been present. Synthesizing, we can say: Mariátegui started from the principle of revolutionary violence, framed the action within the democratic revolution led by the proletariat (for the bourgeoisie cannot lead it), and conceived and gave shape to the Party, linking it to the united front and the need for the armed struggle of the peasantry. Thus our founder established with precision how to develop the Party in the first stage of the revolution.

His theses on this question must be studied seriously, as must his practical work to constitute the Party organization. To this we must add the experience of almost fifty years, paying particular attention to the lessons on the Party, the united front, and

armed struggle that the 1960s have left, and mainly sum up the experience of the Reconstitution of the Party and its struggle around the problem of construction.

## ON SECRET WORK AND OPEN WORK

What directive must we follow? The construction of the Party unfolds in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country where the proletariat must lead, in fact, the democratic revolution, preparing to develop armed struggle to seize Power through people's war and following the road from the countryside to the city. Consequently, the Party necessarily develops in relation to armed struggle and the united front. This is the directive for the construction of the Party in our country if we subject ourselves to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Applying this directive, in present conditions, the questions of the structure, system, and Party work must be resolved.

The first poses developing a single organizational structure that is national, unified, and centralized, as a whole subject to the direction of the Central Committee, the key expression of democratic centralism. This is the question of structure. The second is the problem of the distribution of forces, that of centering activity on the peasantry to develop the main forms of struggle and organization, and is the problem of following a road of accumulating forces in the cities. This is the question of the Party system. The third is the problem of secret work, of clandestine activity, of the framework that ensures constant functioning in any circumstance; it is the problem of open work; of mass work, which in the country poses the need to "turn the triangle upside down," that is, to put peasant work as the basis of revolutionary struggle; the problem of the need to keep tenaciously and firmly as the course of the workers' movement the struggle for the seizure of Power, leading the peasantry in the revolution under the direction of the Party; it is the problem of "our duty to go lower and deeper," of forging the masses in the need to make the revolution and combat revisionism, of mobilizing, politicizing, and organizing workers and peasants, who are the basic masses, of incorporating intellectuals, women, and young people into the struggle; and it is the obligation to develop the struggle for demands in function of Power. It is, finally, the problem of the need for secret and open work and their indispensable interrelation, subjecting ourselves to the orientation that the first is the main one and leads the second. All this is the question of Party work. The structure, the system, and Party work are three fundamental questions of the organizational line and are of vital importance for the construction of the Party. But, as in everything, the application of these questions in accordance with the correct line takes place in struggle with contrary lines. In synthesis, a just organizational line cannot be applied or developed except in

struggle, and at present its application and development can only take place combating revisionism as the main danger.

### ON LEADERSHIP

The Sixth and Seventh Plenums of the Central Committee have been important events dedicated to the problems of construction. In them "Reconstitute the Party from the countryside and put peasant work as the basis for following the road of encircling the cities from the countryside" has been sanctioned, thus concretizing the General Political Line; and "Develop the construction, mainly of the Party, in function of armed struggle," as the orientation for developing the construction of the three instruments, synthesized in the slogan "Construct in function of armed struggle." Moreover, a call has been made to celebrate the "50th Anniversary" of the foundation of the Party and to prepare the successful holding of the Fifth Congress, which is to be a "CONGRESS OF RECONSTITUTION" that culminates the Reconstitution of the Party, sanctioning the Program and the General Political Line of Mariátegui and its development and the new Statutes.

These provisions are of transcendence and importance, and upon their firm and decided application depend the development of the Party as the organized vanguard of the proletariat and the fulfillment of its mission: the emancipation of the proletariat, fulfilling in this first stage the task of carrying forward the new-democratic revolution.

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

Lenin pointed out that an era of war would accompany the emergence of socialist society:

> We have already seen how many difficulties the civil war in Russia caused, how it is becoming intertwined with a whole series of wars. Marxists have never forgotten that violence will inevitably accompany the bankruptcy of capitalism in its full extent and the birth of socialist society. And this violence will fill a whole world-historical period, a whole era of the most varied wars: imperialist wars, civil wars within each country, combinations of the one and the other, wars of liberation of the nations oppressed by imperialism, diverse combinations among the imperialist powers that will inevitably intervene in diverse alliances, in this epoch of enormous trusts and state capitalist consortiums and military monopolies. This epoch—of gigantic bankruptcies, of massive decisions taken under the pressure

of military forces, of crises—has already begun; we can distinguish it clearly, but it is only the beginning.

"What the socialists must do is take advantage of the war that the bandits wage against each other to overthrow all of them."

"'War is politics by other means' (namely: by violence)."

Within this prospect he reiterated:

"The distinction between oppressor and oppressed nations that constitutes the essence of imperialism," and he laid down that: "the socialist revolution will not be solely and mainly a struggle of revolutionary proletarians of each country against their bourgeoisie; no, it will be a struggle of all the colonies and of all the countries oppressed by imperialism, of all the dependent countries against international imperialism . . . that the civil war of the workers against the imperialists and the exploiters of all the advanced countries is beginning to combine with the national war against international imperialism. The march of the revolution confirms this, and it will be confirmed more and more."

Thus, Lenin was making precise the two great contemporary forces: the international proletarian movement and the movement of the oppressed nations, setting as the obligation of the Communist International "to support the democratic-bourgeois national movements in the colonies and the backward countries only on condition that the elements of the future proletarian parties—communists not only in name—group themselves and educate themselves in all the backward countries to acquire full consciousness of the special mission that falls to them: to struggle against the democratic-bourgeois movements within their respective nations." For if the International establishes temporary alliances, in these cases, it must "maintain unconditionally the independence of the proletarian movement, even in its most rudimentary forms"; and that as communists we will support these movements only "in the event that their representatives do not prevent us from educating and organizing in a revolutionary spirit the peasants and the great masses of the exploited."

Likewise, Lenin teaches us that since the beginning of this century great changes have occurred, for "millions and hundreds of millions of people—in fact, the immense majority of the population of the globe—intervene today as active and independent revolutionary factors. And it is clear in every respect that in the future decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the terrestrial globe, directed at first toward national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will perhaps play a much more important revolutionary role than we expect … Naturally, in this immense sector there are many more obstacles, but,

in any case, the movement advances, and the working masses, the peasants of the colonies, even though they are still backward, will play a very great revolutionary role in the successive phases of the world revolution."

And pointing out the revolutionary prospect he said, at the Second Congress of the Communist International: "World imperialism must fall when the revolutionary thrust of the exploited and oppressed workers of each country, overcoming the resistance of the petty-bourgeois elements and the influence of the insignificant elite constituted by the workers' aristocracy, merges with the revolutionary thrust of millions of beings who until now had remained on the margins of history, for which they constituted no more than a passive subject."

The great Lenin led the October Revolution, opening a new stage of humanity. Nevertheless, he never thought that capitalist restoration was impossible. He said: "We do not know whether after our triumph some transitory period of reaction and triumph of the counter-revolution will supervene—it is by no means impossible. For that reason, once we triumph, we will raise a 'triple line of fortifications' against such a possibility." And analyzing the construction of the new society, in *The State and Revolution* he wrote:

> In its first phase, or first stage, communism *cannot* as yet be fully ripe economically and entirely free from traditions or traces of capitalism. Hence the interesting phenomenon that communism in its first phase retains "the narrow horizon of *bourgeois* right." Of course, bourgeois right in regard to the distribution of articles of *consumption* inevitably presupposes the existence of the *bourgeois state*, for right is nothing without an apparatus capable of *enforcing* the observance of the standards of right.
>
> It follows that under communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie!

That is why Lenin warned:

> The bourgeoisie is defeated in our country, but it is still not extirpated, not annihilated, not even entirely smashed. For that reason a new and higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie is posed on the order of the day, the transition from the simpler task of the further expropriation of the capitalists to the much more complex and difficult task of creating the conditions that make the existence and resurgence of the bourgeoisie impossible. It is evident that this is an incomparably higher task and that without fulfilling it there is as yet no socialism.

And he concluded:

> The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of the class struggle, it is its continuation under new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle of the triumphant proletariat, which has taken political Power into its hands, against the bourgeoisie, defeated but not destroyed, not vanished, which, far from having ceased to resist, intensifies its resistance.

All these are substantive theses of Lenin on the era in which we live and the period of wars in which we will continue unfolding, on the two forces of the contemporary world and in particular on the national movement and on socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Theses that today we must bear very much in mind to analyze the class struggle developing in the world.

Chairman Mao Tsetung, basing himself on Marxism-Leninism, has systematized the development of the world revolution and established fundamental theses that develop Marxism and that we must also keep in mind to orient ourselves in comprehending the current international situation.

In his great work *On New Democracy*, he emphasized that with World War I and with the October Revolution history had entered the new era "of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist world revolution," and that consequently "any revolution in a colony or semi-colony that is directed against imperialism, *i.e.*, against the international bourgeoisie or international capitalism, no longer comes within the old category of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution, but within the new category."

Thus, he conceived that the powerful revolutionary movement of the colonies and semi-colonies was part of the revolution that the international proletariat leads on a world level. Highlighting, after the Second War, that the Latin American peoples "are not submissive slaves of American imperialism," that in all Asia "a great movement of national liberation" had arisen, and calling on the countries of the East to combat imperialism and the reactionaries within, having as their goal the emancipation of the oppressed of the East, he said: "We must take our destiny entirely into our own hands. We must extirpate from our ranks every idea that is an expression of weakness or impotence. Every standpoint that overestimates the strength of the enemy and underestimates that of the people is erroneous … We live in a historical epoch in which capitalism and imperialism in the whole world are hurtling toward ruin, and socialism and people's democracy in the whole world are marching toward victory."

Condensing the subsequent struggle, he made the present epoch precise:

"The next 50 to 100 years, more or less, starting from today, will be a great epoch of radical change of the social system in the world, an epoch that will shake the Earth, an epoch with which no previous epoch can compare. Living in such an era, we must be ready to wage a great struggle whose forms will have many characteristics different from those of past epochs."

Analyzing this epoch of the proletarian revolution, Chairman Mao Tsetung established his great thesis on reactionaries: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful." In *Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong*, where the previous quotation appears, analyzing the contradictions and the distribution of forces, he also posed:

> The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by a vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. Before the U.S. reactionaries have subjugated these countries, an attack on the Soviet Union is out of the question.

To these propositions of 1946 must be added the following analyses by Chairman Mao himself on inter-imperialist contradictions and contradictions between imperialism and oppressed nations, and on contending forces:

"Standing out above all is the contradiction involved in the scramble among the imperialist countries and their dispute over the colonies.

What they are doing is taking as a pretext the contradictions they have with us to cover up their own."

"In the conflict (events of the Suez Canal) being lived through there, two types of contradictions converge and there are three distinct forces. These two types of contradictions are: first, inter-imperialist contradictions, that is, the contradictions between the United States and England and between the United States and France, and second, those that exist between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations. Of the three forces at play, the first is constituted by the United States, the greatest imperialist power; the second, by England and France, imperialist countries of the second order; and the third, by the oppressed nations."

In January 1964, Chairman Mao issued a declaration in support of the Panamanian people. In it, after highlighting that American imperialism "has continuously been plundering and oppressing the people of the Latin American countries and suppressing the national-democratic revolutionary struggles there"; denouncing that it has "turned the southern part of Korea and the southern part of Viet Nam into its colonies, kept

Japan under its control and semi-military occupation . . . and committed intervention and aggression against other Asian countries"; pointing out that in Africa "U.S. imperialism is feverishly pursuing its neo-colonialist policies, seeking vigorously to take the place of the old colonialists, to plunder and enslave the peoples of Africa, and to undermine and stamp out the national-liberation movements"; warning that the Yankee policy of aggression and war "is vigorously seeking to push its policy of 'peaceful evolution' in the socialist countries"; and that "even towards its allies of Western Europe, North America and Oceania, American imperialism is pursuing a 'jungle law' policy, trying hard to trample them underfoot"; he concludes by calling: "The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, the people of the continents of the world should unite, all peace-loving countries and all countries that are subject to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying should unite and should form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace."

Thus American imperialism was denounced with a call to combat it. But revisionism usurped power in the USSR, restoring capitalism and converting it into a social-imperialist country which as such extended its penetration, undermining, control, and domination, contending for world domination with Yankee imperialism, bearing upon the aforementioned intermediate zone. Chairman Mao denounced: "The Soviet Union is at present under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, dictatorship of the German fascist type, dictatorship of the Hitlerite type." And calling for struggle against the two superpowers, he laid down the following important theses:

"The United States is a paper tiger. Do not believe in it. It can be pierced with a single blow. The revisionist Soviet Union is also a paper tiger."

"Soviet revisionism and American imperialism, colluding with one another, have perpetrated so many evils and infamies that the revolutionary peoples of the whole world will not leave them unpunished. The peoples of all countries are rising up. A new historical period of struggle against American imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun."

"Peoples of the whole world, let us unite and oppose the war of aggression unleashed by any imperialism or by social-imperialism, let us oppose especially the war of aggression in which atomic bombs are used as a weapon! If such a war breaks out, we, the peoples of the whole world, must eliminate it with revolutionary war, and we must make preparations right now!"

Thus the period of struggle that has opened against the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, was made precise. And within this prospect, reiterating the role of the peoples of the world, in May 1970 he made his famous assertion: "whenever the people of a small country dare to rise up in struggle, dare to take up arms, and take into their hands the destiny of their own country, they will unfailingly be able to defeat the aggression of a big country. This is a law of history."

Chairman Mao Tsetung always paid much attention to tactical principles. His work *On Policy* is of the utmost importance in this respect. There he laid down the fundamental policy: "With regard to the alignment of the various classes within the country, our basic policy is to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the anti-Communist die-hard forces"; of having a dual revolutionary policy against the die-hards and, to combat them, applying: "In the struggle against the anti-Communist die-hards, our policy is to make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one, and to wage struggles on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint." These criteria, established first for the struggle in China, are applicable to struggle with the imperialists.

In 1957, Chairman Mao synthesized the strategic and tactical concepts for struggling against the enemy:

> We have developed a concept over a long period for the struggle against the enemy, namely, strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. In other words, with regard to the whole we must despise the enemy, but with regard to each specific problem we must take him seriously. If we do not despise him with regard to the whole, we shall commit opportunist errors. Marx and Engels were but two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown throughout the world. But with regard to specific problems and specific enemies, if we do not take them seriously, we shall commit adventurist errors. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy forces can only be destroyed one part at a time. Factories can only be built one by one. Peasants can only plough the land plot by plot. The same is even true of eating a meal. Strategically, we take the eating of a meal lightly, we are sure we can manage it. But when it comes to the actual eating, it must be done mouthful by mouthful, you cannot swallow an entire banquet at one gulp. This is called the piecemeal solution and is known in military writings as destroying the enemy forces one by one.

Up to here we have fundamental questions on the historical period we are living through, the contradictions and the forces in development, and tactics, all substantive

problems of strategy and tactics. But in addition, Chairman Mao Tsetung set about synthesizing the experience of the socialist revolution, laying down his great theory and practice of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, finding the adequate form of developing it through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At the beginnings and in the development of this great revolution he laid down the following theses:

"A great disorder under the heavens leads to a great order under the heavens, and the same thing happens again every seven or eight years. The monsters and demons will come out into the arena on their own. As their own class nature determines, they cannot act in any other way."

"In the past we waged struggles in the rural areas, in the factories, in cultural circles, and carried out the socialist education movement. Nevertheless, all this could not resolve the problem because we had not found a form, a means of mobilizing the broad masses in an open manner, in all fields and from the bottom up, to expose our dark side."

> As a matter of fact, those party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, and those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, are indeed big party tyrants who have usurped the name of the party, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on "acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power."
>
> Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army, and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen thorough, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us.[3]
>
> The main target of the present movement is those persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.[4]

[3]Red Library: "Circular of Central Committee of Chinese Communist Party" (May 16, 1966), in *Peking Review* No. 21 (May 19, 1967), 9.

[4]Red Library: Quoted in "Completely Smash the Bourgeois Headquarters," in *Peking Review* No. 33 (August 11, 1967), 7.

"What will you do if revisionism arises in the Central Committee? This is very probable, this is the greatest danger."

"The proletariat must exercise an all-embracing dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the various domains of culture."

"The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is completely necessary and very timely to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent the restoration of capitalism, and construct socialism."

"It is indispensable to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

"The present Great Cultural Revolution is only the first, and in the future there will doubtless be many others. In the revolution the problem of who will defeat whom will only be resolved over a long historical period. If things are not resolved adequately, at any moment there will be a possibility of a capitalist restoration."

"It is right to rebel against reactionaries."

"Proletarian revolutionaries, unite to wrest Power from the handful of leaders who follow the capitalist road within the Party!"

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution struck the bourgeois counter-revolutionary headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi, the Chinese Khrushchev, whose lieutenant was Teng Hsiao-ping, "another foremost element with power who follows the capitalist road within the Party." And it also crushed the conspiratorial counter-revolutionary headquarters headed by Lin Piao. Thus the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution developed to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent the restoration of capitalism, and construct socialism. Its condensation was realized in the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China, which is a great milestone in the history of the Communist Party of China and of the International Communist Movement.

The development of the class struggle in China, the struggle between capitalism and socialism, between bourgeoisie and proletariat, and between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and counter-revolutionary and capitulationist revisionism was concretized in the great campaign of criticism of Confucius and Lin Piao, which aired the problem of restoration and counter-restoration, the long process of consolidation of a class in Power that involves preventing its recapture by the reactionaries and the consequent restoration, and if it is lost, contending for its reconquest. A problem that was posed at the beginnings of the polemic against the revisionism of Khrushchev–Brezhnev. Subsequently, the struggle centered on the decisive question and on the very essence of Power, the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao said:

"Why did Lenin speak of the need to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? One must be clear about this problem. Lack of clarity on this will lead to revisionism. The whole nation has to be made aware of it."

"In a word, China is a socialist country. Before the Liberation it did not differ much from capitalism. Now it still practices a wage system of eight categories, distribution to each according to their work, and exchange by means of money, all of which is scarcely different from the old society. The difference lies in the fact that the system of ownership has changed."

"Our country now practices a commodity system, a wage system that is also unequal, such as that of the eight categories, and things of that sort. This under the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be restricted. By virtue of the foregoing, it will be very easy for people like Lin Piao to set up the capitalist system if they climb to power. For that reason, we must study more Marxist-Leninist works."

"Lenin said: 'small production engenders capitalism and bourgeoisie constantly, every day, every hour, in a spontaneous manner and on a mass scale.' This happens also with a part of the working class and a part of the members of the Party. Among the proletarians as well as among the functionaries of official organisms there are those who fall into the bourgeois style of life."

"Lenin spoke of a bourgeois State without capitalists constructed to protect bourgeois right. We ourselves have constructed a State like that, in which things do not differ much from those of the old society, for there is a hierarchy and a wage system of eight categories, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values are in force."

These theses and the preceding ones are evidently the continuation and development of fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao Tsetung reiterates the current validity of the propositions of Marx and Lenin on the long revolutionary transformation of the old society; the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat and its strengthening; the incessant class struggle under socialism and its extreme sharpening in certain circumstances; the subsistence of bourgeois right and its necessary restriction; the constant generation of capitalism and bourgeoisie and the possibility of restoring capitalism climbing to Power; the persistence of a "bourgeois right" and of a "bourgeois State" that protects it. Laying down, moreover, the need to aim against the followers of the capitalist road within the Party and to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of cultural revolution.

In January 1975 Teng Hsiao-ping became Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, which he had joined at the Tenth Congress. In September of the same year a call is made to "deploy the criticism of 'Water Margin.'" Chairman Mao calls for attention to

capitulation, which is an essential question of revisionism. He says: "The merit of the novel *Water Margin* lies precisely in the description of capitulation. Serving as teaching material in a negative sense, it helps the people to know the capitulationists." "*Water Margin* opposes only the corrupt functionaries, but not the emperor. It excludes Chao Kai from the 108. Sung Chiang capitulates, practices revisionism, changes the name of the Chü Yi Hall, given by Chao Kai, to that of the Chung Yi Hall, and accepts the offer of amnesty and enlistment. The struggle between Sung Chiang and Kao Chiu is a struggle waged by one fraction against another within the landlord class. Sung Chiang capitulates and then goes to combat Fang La" (Chao Kai: founder of the peasant rebel army, in the novel; the 108: the rebel captains; Sung Chiang: character who usurps the leadership of the rebel army; Chü Yi Hall means to unite and rise in rebellion, and that is how the rebel leader named the hall where they met; Chung Yi Hall means to profess loyalty to the emperor, the designation used by the usurper). Let us emphasize that capitulationism involves class capitulation before the bourgeoisie in the country and capitulation of the nation before imperialism internationally, and that capitulationism is revisionism.

In these circumstances the struggle against the rightist verdict-reversing wind against the Cultural Revolution develops. In it Chairman Mao poses:

"After the democratic revolution, the workers, the poor peasants, and the lower-middle peasants have not stopped and want to make the revolution. On the other hand, a part of the Party militants show themselves reluctant to continue forward, and some have retreated and set themselves against the revolution. Why? Because these people, as the high functionaries they have become, seek to protect the interests of the high functionaries."

"It happens that the socialist revolution falls upon their own heads. Thus, during agricultural cooperativization there were already those in the Party who opposed it, and when bourgeois right is criticized, their feeling is one of rejection. The socialist revolution is being made; nevertheless, where the bourgeoisie is is not comprehended. It is precisely within the Communist Party, and they are the leaders who follow the capitalist road in the Party. The followers of the capitalist road still follow their road."

"Reversing just verdicts goes against the will of the people."

"Without struggle it is impossible to advance." "Being 800 million, can we dispense with struggle?!"

"What is this about 'taking the three instructions as the key'! Stability and unity do not mean renouncing the class struggle. The class struggle is like the key cord of a net and all the rest are meshes."

"This person does not exert himself in the class struggle; he has never mentioned this key. He still goes on with his 'white cat or black cat,' without making a distinction between imperialism and Marxism."

Thus the struggle centered against Teng Hsiao-ping. Against the one who, following Liu Shao-chi, the Chinese Khrushchev, sustained the theory of the extinction of the class struggle; against the one who, in 1956, in his report on the modification of the Statutes at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China, sustained that the classes were dying out, especially the bourgeoisie, that the socialist revolution had already fulfilled most of its tasks, and that emphasis must be placed on the tasks of construction and not on the class struggle; against the one who, in the same report, followed Liu Shao-chi's theory of the masses to oppose Chairman Mao's theses on the Party; against the one who held up the Twentieth Congress of the Party of the Soviet Union, at which Khrushchev attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat, camouflaging himself behind the so-called struggle against the "cult of personality," considering it to have "important merits." For him, precisely, "one of the most important" is this "struggle against deification" that he used to combat Mao Tsetung Thought.

The campaign to counterattack the revisionist verdict-reversing wind against the Great Cultural Revolution centered against Teng Hsiao-ping. Against the tenacious defender of Peng Teh-huai, the careerist and conspiratorial military strongman sanctioned in 1959 and defended by Liu Shao-chi and his reactionary headquarters. It took aim against Teng, who, banded together with the Chinese Khrushchev, in the years of difficulties of 1959–1961, attacked the three red banners: the General Line, the Great Leap Forward, and the people's commune. Against the one who advocated an increase in land for private use, free markets, enterprises responsible for their own profits and losses, and quotas of agricultural production on the basis of each family, unleashing a revisionist wind of individual agricultural work. Against the one who sustained: "Whether black or white, if a cat catches mice, it is a good cat." This is the Teng Hsiao-ping of the 1950s and the 1960s, "another foremost element with power who follows the capitalist road within the Party," as he was characterized, the lieutenant of Liu Shao-chi who served as secretary-general, whom the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution overthrew.

The struggle that Chairman Mao led to counterattack the revisionist verdict-reversing wind took aim against Teng Hsiao-ping who since the 1950s sustained a counter-revolutionary program and who, like others, as soon as he returned to leadership posts pursued his old road, again deploying a contrary program based on "taking the three instructions as the key," aiming to "conquer the ideological position as a means of

shaping public opinion," "attend, above all, to the leading bodies" to take organizational positions, "rectification in all aspects."

A program oriented toward reversing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, usurping the leadership in order to promote restoration, undermining the proletarian dictatorship, publicizing the extinction of the class struggle, and centering on the development of the productive forces. A program that combated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, imputing to it that it "injured" "experienced cadres" and served to "bring down" "good Party cadres," calling it "ultra-leftist" for combating the followers of the capitalist road. This struggle to strike back against the verdict-reversing wind led to the "removal of Teng Hsiao-ping from all his posts inside and outside the Party," a resolution made "in accordance with the proposal of the great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung."

The passing of Chairman Mao Tsetung, like the death of all great leaders of the proletariat, has generated profound shocks and broad repercussions in China and in the world. And in the conditions in which the struggle in China was developing, it brought about the conjuncture for the right, carrying out a coup d'état, to usurp the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, undermine the gains of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and open the doors to capitalist restoration, capitulation, and revisionism. The class struggle in China between revolution and counter-revolution, between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and revisionism, between the proletarian line of Chairman Mao and the revisionist, counter-revolutionary, and capitulationist bourgeois line headed by Teng Hsiao-ping, has entered crucial, complex, and difficult moments. Strange and unexpected methods are resorted to in the treatment of the problems and the struggle; important and broad changes take place in the leadership and in the organizations, mainly of the Party, while the campaign of criticism against Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist verdict-reversing wind is suspended, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is openly questioned, capitulation, especially national capitulation, develops, and Teng's counter-revolutionary program is upheld as a banner. All this is nothing but a right-wing coup in the acute two-line struggle in the period of the continuation of the revolution, taking advantage of the conjuncture and repercussions of the death of Chairman Mao Tsetung.

The situation that has arisen in China is no problem without importance. On the contrary, it is a problem of transcendence for the revolutionaries and communists of the world, and we all must pay it the most special attention, for from the usurpation of power derives the general change of line both in the development of socialism and in international policy. The key question of Marxism is the dictatorship of the proletariat; this is its essence, and a right-wing coup and its usurpation is a problem of the utmost

gravity and importance. And it is a question not only for China, it is a question for all communists, since its repercussions have to do with the world revolution. The experience of restoration and the usurpation of power in the USSR are fresh lessons that we cannot forget.

Mariátegui taught us: "It is not possible to be disinterested in the destiny of a nation that occupies such a prominent place in time and space. China weighs too much in human history for its deeds and its men not to attract us." This great truth continues to be valid today more than ever for all communists and revolutionaries of the country. But although the events of China, especially after the passing of Chairman Mao Tsetung, move us to just concern and to the obligation to defend the banners of Marxism, precisely to defend them let us guide ourselves by his own forecasts:

"If the right carries out an anti-communist coup d'état in China, I am sure that it will not know peace either, and very probably its domination will be short-lived, since this will not be tolerated by any of the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people, made up of more than 90 percent of the population."

"Whether in China or in other countries of the world, generally speaking, more than ninety percent of the population will ultimately support Marxism-Leninism. In the world there are many people who, owing to the deception of social democracy, revisionism, imperialism, and all reaction, have still not acquired political consciousness. But in any event they will awaken gradually and support Marxism-Leninism. The truth of Marxism-Leninism is irresistible. The popular masses will invariably rise up in revolution. The world revolution will triumph inexorably."

We have posed fundamental theses of Lenin and Chairman Mao on the class struggle on an international level, inasmuch as the comprehension of so complex a problem, especially of its strategy and tactics, can only be approached from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The international question, the position before it, has been part of the General Political Line of the Party since its constitution, and its substantive points are in the Program itself. It starts from the international character of the economy and of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, which is guided by the motto "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"; it poses the situation of the backward, semi-feudal, and semi-colonial countries, which under imperialist oppression can have neither an independent national economy nor one at the service of their people; and it concludes by affirming that in the epoch of imperialism, the epoch of monopolies and wars of rapine for the division of the world, Marxism has become Marxism-Leninism to which we adhere as the guide of our action.

Mariátegui, moreover, in his work for the construction of the Party, paid the most special attention to the international class struggle. For him, with World War I the

capitalist system entered into a great crisis and with the October Revolution a new era began for humanity. Bourgeois democracy accentuated its crisis and engendered fascism, the socialism of the Second International, a follower of "parliamentary cretinism," aggravated its decomposition, and the revolution traveled through Europe, reverberating throughout the backward world, especially in Asia, whose awakening, he tells us, is worthy of the times. The emergence of the Communist International, for Mariátegui, involved a great development, for, for the first time the International really encompassed the exploited and oppressed of the world, and, with great vision, comprehending the prospect of the movement of the oppressed nations and its importance for the world revolution, he stood against those who, against Lenin, wanted to maintain a narrow International circumscribed to and centered on Europe, blind to the strategic need to raise up the oppressed nations in a powerful national liberation movement.

As can be seen, since our constitution as a Party the position toward the international class struggle has been an important part of the General Political Line and a concrete expression of proletarian internationalism. And if this was so at the foundation, today, as we find ourselves seeking to culminate the Reconstitution, it is also important and necessary to pay attention to this part of the general line. For this it is pertinent to pose some problems to ourselves.

With the October Revolution a new epoch began: the World Proletarian Revolution, that of the passage to socialism and the construction of communist society. Historically, the world bourgeois revolution that unfolded for centuries came to an end, and if in it the bourgeoisie was the leading class, in the new epoch the revolution is led by the proletariat through its Communist Parties. In this epoch fundamental contradictions occur: between capitalism and socialism, between bourgeoisie and proletariat, between imperialists, and between imperialism and oppressed nations. Of these, the contradiction between capitalism and socialism will continue its development throughout this entire epoch, and the other fundamental contradictions serve its development, for on it depends, in the last instance, the construction of the new society. Nevertheless, in each period one of the four is concretized as the principal contradiction, as the history of the 20th century demonstrates.

The class struggle of this century also proves that two powerful movements are unfolding: the international proletarian movement and the national liberation movement. And although the first is an expression of the leading class which is concretized in the Communist Parties and the International Communist Movement, the national liberation movement, as a consequence of imperialism itself, has acquired great strength and fulfills, as was foreseen, an important strategic role. We must consider that, as long as imperialism and bourgeoisie exist, revisionism will subsist, in this way generating

the split within the international proletariat; hence the need and transcendence of combating its counter-revolutionary activity inseparable from the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle.

This epoch, on the other hand, is one of great wars for hegemony and division of the world, for domination over the colonies and semi-colonies, for maintaining exploitation over the proletariat, and for warding off the development of socialism. All these are reactionary wars that imperialism carries forward with the support of the reactionaries. In the face of them rise the revolutionary wars: those of national liberation, the civil wars against one's own exploiters, and those of defense of socialism and continuation of the revolution. If the former are unjust, reactionary wars, these are just wars that serve the revolution and whose direction depends on the course that the proletariat imparts to it through its Parties.

In synthesis, we live in the great epoch of the world proletarian revolution in which the construction of the new society opens its way through the universal law of revolutionary violence concretized in democratic revolutions, socialist revolutions, and continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; an epoch in which the oppressed peoples incorporate themselves more and more into the revolution, mobilizing the masses as never before in history, particularly those of the oppressed nations; in which the proletariat expresses more and more its character as the leading class of the new epoch; in which Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought manifests its growing might, proved in more than 100 years of struggles; and in which the Communist Parties that adhere to it fulfill and will fulfill their role as organized vanguards combating for the emancipation of the proletariat and for the world revolution.

The development following World War II, with the vigorous growth of the national liberation movement, the transformation of the Socialist Soviet Union into a social-imperialist country, the inter-imperialist contests, especially those of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, for world hegemony, and the development of the proletariat, of socialism, and of Marxism have led Chairman Mao Tsetung to make the present epoch more precise. The next 50 to 100 years will shake the Earth, changing its face like no previous epoch, and in it many new things are to arise. We revolutionaries must be vigilant so as to know how to grasp them firmly and develop them in furtherance of the revolution. The counter-revolutionary activities of the United States and the Soviet Union and the struggle of the peoples of the world against the two superpowers have initiated a new period, that of struggle against American imperialism and Soviet revisionism. This specification is of extraordinary importance for the development of the world proletarian revolution.

Khrushchev and Brezhnev revisionism is one of the substantive questions of this period. The usurpation of Power in the USSR and its conversion from a socialist country into a social-imperialist superpower makes manifest the gravity and transcendence of the restoration of capitalism. And, besides being the superpower that needs a new division of the world to enthrone its hegemony, it generates a counter-revolutionary movement, concealed behind the prestige of socialism and of the Party that Lenin founded, to develop bourgeois workers' parties in the service of its interests of revisionist social-imperialism. This is a problem of strategic importance, especially for the communists. Hence the character of main danger that attaches to revisionism whose center is the social-imperialist Soviet Union cannot pass unnoticed.

Within this period, precisely starting from the fundamental contradictions, from the forces in contention, and from their distribution according to tactics, one can comprehend the strategic concept that three worlds are taking shape; the question of the existence of the two superpowers that contend for world domination, of inter-imperialist contradictions with the superpowers in particular, and of the national liberation movement. In order, starting from relying on the peoples of the world whose axis is the international proletariat, to "apply the fundamental policy of developing the progressive forces, winning over the intermediate forces, and isolating the recalcitrant anti-communist forces" and "In the struggle against the anti-Communist die-hards, our policy is to make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one, and to wage struggles on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint"; keeping in mind the following important orientation: "We must take advantage of each of the fights, breaches, and contradictions in the enemy camp and use them against our main enemy of the moment." All of which must be very much taken into account to develop the front against the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the United States and the Soviet Union.

This period shows more clearly that the problem of "who will defeat whom" is unsettled, that the restoration of capitalism can occur in any socialist country, and that the solution is the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat concretized in proletarian cultural revolution, and not one but several, for the revolutionary transformation of the old society is a long historical process.

The fundamental contradictions, given the social-imperialist transformation of the USSR, have been given shape in the following: "the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries and revisionist countries; the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the social-imperialist country and among the imperialist countries themselves, and

the contradiction between the socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other." As the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China established. Every day the great thesis is proved that "imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable" as long as their system subsists, and that the inter-imperialist contradictions are the ones that lead to world wars, in the face of which the revolutionary position has been clearly defined: "either war makes the revolution break out, or the revolution prevents war." Finally, this period shows more and more the growing role of the peoples of the world, of the millions and millions, especially of the colonies and semi-colonies, who are drawn into the international class struggle and rise up in revolution.

It is in the light of the epoch of the world proletarian revolution and of the period of struggle against Yankee imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism that we must analyze the present international situation. In it the two superpowers contend for world domination: one, the United States, to maintain its domination and even extend it over the colonies and semi-colonies of displaced old powers and to tighten control over its own allies; the other, the Soviet Union, contends to extend its domination and consolidate the positions achieved. Both superpowers are struck by the crisis that on the various planes shakes the bases of the imperialist system headed by the United States and of the social-imperialist system headed by the Soviet Union. Imperialism in particular is floundering in a crisis still not ended, which even threatens to deepen. In these conditions the superpowers are the fundamental source of world problems at present and their contention ignites the armed conflicts that burn in Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere, which threaten to lead to World War III. Although in addition to these enemies there exist imperialism and world reaction in general, it is of the two superpowers that one can accurately affirm: "Soviet revisionism and American imperialism, colluding with one another, have perpetrated so many evils and infamies that the revolutionary peoples of the whole world will not leave them unpunished"; and against the wars they carry forward or against the world war they are preparing to settle their hegemony, it falls to the peoples of the world to unite, opposing any aggressive war unleashed by imperialism or social-imperialism, especially a war of aggression that uses atomic weapons, and if it breaks out: "we, the peoples of the whole world, must eliminate it with revolutionary war, and we must make preparations right now!"

Thus, if the development of the fundamental contradictions increases the danger of world war, which would be a new war of rapine, a new division of the world by the superpowers, and even a means to "overcome" their crises and impose, as they seek and dream, new "world orders," let us not forget that, as Chairman Mao Tsetung said, "the main trend in the present world is revolution." And that it is a law of history that a people, even of a small country, can defeat a powerful country on condition that it

"dare to rise up in struggle, dare to take up arms, and take into its hands the destiny of its own country." To the peoples of the world, to the international proletariat, and to the Communist Parties that remain faithful to Marxism falls a great historical task, and they will fulfill it.

To have a defined position on the international class struggle is of the utmost importance given its complexity, the continuation of the "great disorder under the heavens," the important reformulations that are unfolding, the transcendence of the present conjuncture, the grave prospect of the right-wing coup in China, the divergences that are developing in the Communist Movement, and the reiterated need to make precise the strategy and tactics of the world revolution at present. Moreover, let us reiterate that the position, the line on the international class struggle, is part of the General Political Line, hence the need to treat it more today, when we have entered upon culminating the reconstitution of the Party. Finally, let us not forget that around World War II, under Browderist conceptions, with an opportunist position toward the international struggle, the way was opened to capitulation in our country, before the comprador bourgeoisie and reaction insofar as it was class capitulation, and before American imperialism insofar as it was capitulation as a nation. This, then, is an important problem that we cannot neglect, especially if we adhere to proletarian internationalism.

The treatment of the line on the international class struggle demands three questions: first, to adhere firmly to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, applying it with decision; second, to retake Mariátegui's line on international policy and its development; third, to summarize the experiences of the Party on this problem and especially the struggles around it. Of the three, the question is to start from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, that is, to start from the conception of the proletariat, from Marxism and its development. For our Party this is what is decisive as a point of departure, more so at present, for there is no other point of departure or other basis that can serve as a guide for the communists or unite them as is necessary. For our Party, in synthesis, the question today is posed thus: to be a Marxist is to adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Subjecting ourselves to this position, we can open our way toward the comprehension of the class struggle on an international level in order to fulfill our role as is fitting, both with our revolution and with proletarian internationalism.

**DECLARATION OF THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH PLENUMS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE**
**PERU, May 1977**