

On the Death of Abimael Guzmán a.k.a. Chairman Gonzalo (1934-2021)

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On October 11, 2021, the revisionist, guerrilla leader – Abimael Guzmán or Chairman Gonzalo - of the ‘Shining Path’ died in prison. Partido Comunista del Perú (‘Sendero Luminoso’) was founded in 1970, in a split from the Peruvian Communist Party Red Flag (PCP-Red Flag). Shortly after the ‘Shining Path’ was a co-founder of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM).

After his capture by the Peruvian state in 1992 Abimael Guzmán was jailed and imprisoned for life. He died in prison on September 11, 2021. Generally, his followers deny that with Guzmán’s imprisonment the party ‘the Shining Path’ was destroyed.

Naturally adherents of Mao have mourned the loss of one of their icons. However, his death in 2021 has received relatively little comment from non-Maoist Marxist-Leninists. Yet the ‘Shining Path’ revisionist and individual terrorist strategy, derailed for a historical period, the Peruvian revolution. Therefore, it is important to extract relevant lessons.

Frederick Engels wrote to Vera Zasulich that there were ‘exceptional cases as in Russia; where:

“The Russians are approaching their 1789... This is one of the exceptional cases where it is possible for a handful of people to make a revolution, i.e., with one small push to cause a whole system, which (to use a metaphor of Plekhanov's) is in more than labile equilibrium, to come crashing down, and thus by one action, in itself insignificant, to release uncontrollable explosive forces. Well now, if ever Blanquism—the phantasy of overturning an entire society through the action of a small conspiracy—had a certain justification for its existence, that is certainly in Petersburg.”¹

Were the ‘Senderos’ in 1970 Peru one of those ‘exceptional’ cases?

The ‘Shining Path’ developed a form of ultra-leftist, individual terrorism inspired by Mao Ze Dong. We believe the ‘Shining Path’ will be remembered by Marxist-Leninists as a horrendous betrayal of the workers and peasants of Peru, as they followed the revisionist theory of a ‘countryside encirclement of the towns’.

Naturally the full history of the revolutionary process in Peru, can only be written by the Marxist-Leninists of Peru - in our view - the Communist Party Peru (ML) Bandera Roja (Partido Comunista del Peru (Marxista-Leninista) - hereafter **PCP(ML)BR**. However, to put ‘Sendero Luminosa’ in history, we describe key junctures in Peru. We do this by highlighting the role of **Jose Carlos Mariátegui**. Our limited scope has four main goals:

- I) To consider Mariátegui’s history of Peru and of imperialism.
- II) To review the pre-history and history of ‘Sendero Luminoso’ itself.

1 Engels to Vera Zasulich In Geneva London, 23 April, 1885; In Marx-Engels Correspondence 1885; Gesamtausgabe, International Publishers, 1942; and Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Correspondence, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975; at https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1885/letters/85_04_23.htm

- III) To consider Abimael Guzmán's analysis in the interview by '*El Diario*'; which place Sendero in context to Maoism.
- IV) To assess the theory of 'bureaucratic capitalism'.

1. Reaction of international followers of Guzmán

We first acknowledge reaction to the news of Guzmán's death. Guzmán had been ill for a few months. As the Greek Maoist organisation KKE-ML said, after Guzmán's heart attack in July 2021:

"In July, the imprisoned leader of the Communist Party of Peru, Abimael Guzmán (Gonzalo) at an advanced age, and after 29 years in solidarity confinement, suffered a heart attack..."

Abimael Guzmán, from the moment of his arrest, was imprisoned for life and in solidarity confinement from the military courts with a brief trial. He was caged like an animal in order to give an exemplary tone from his arrest to the revolutionary movement in Peru, but also all over the world. However, Gonzalo has been mocking the reactionary forces of Peru and imperialism ever since, when from his cell he was singing the international with a raised fist." ²

Guzmán evidently bore his imprisonment with dignity and courage. He certainly did not waver in his own fealty to Maoism. The 'Maoist Committee in Finland' on September 11, 2021 quoted Guzmán's words from his imprisonment Speech of 1992:

"As a prisoner in his Great Speech of September 24th, 1992:

"Some think this is a great defeat. They are dreaming! We tell them to keep on dreaming. It is simply a bend, nothing more, a bend in the road! The road is long and we shall arrive. We shall triumph! You shall see it! You shall see it!"

"As we see in the world, Maoism is marching unstopably to lead the new wave of world proletarian revolution. Listen well and understand! Those who have ears, use them. Those who have understanding – and we all have it – use it! ...

We need Maoism to be incarnated, and it is being incarnated, and by generating Communist Parties to drive and lead this new great wave of the world proletarian revolution that is coming." ³

Guzmán's death was commemorated by several organisations:

"Two powerful demonstrations (honored) Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán Reynoso) in Hamburg, Germany and Vienna, Austria, a week after his death on September 11.... multiple speeches were given by revolutionary parties and organizations, such as Serve the People, Norway; Maoist Committee, Finland; Vorbote (Herald), Austria; TKP/ML Central Committee – Political Bureau; TKP-ML Rojava; the Committee for the Construction of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia; and the Peru People's Movement (the PCP's generated organism for abroad work)." ⁴

2 The International Bureau of CPG(m-l); "The Peruvian State Leads The Revolutionary Communists To Death; Let's Defend His Right To Freedom And To Life!"; 21 August 2021; at: <http://www.kkemi.gr/solidarity-with-abimael-guzman-chairman-gonzalo/>

3 <https://ci-ic.org/blog/2021/09/20/maoist-committee-in-finland-long-live-chairman-gonzalo/>

4 Roscoe Mackernasey; 'Europe: Powerful Demonstrations in Honor of Chairman Gonzalo'; 'Tribune of the People'; September 24 2021; at: <https://tribuneofthepeople.news/2021/09/24/europe-powerful-demonstrations-in-honor-of-chairman-gonzalo/>

Twelve organisations headed by the '*Communist Party of Peru*' - joined in the "joint international declaration by Communist parties and organizations in honor of Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán). The original statement of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist newspaper "Communist International"⁵ proclaimed that:

"Since the death of Chairman Mao and the revisionist coup in China in 1976, Chairman Gonzalo has been the main protagonist of the red line within the International Communist Movement. Proving with the People's War in Peru the universal validity of Maoism, he defined it as the third, new and higher stage of the ideology of the international proletariat and it was he who put forward for the first time the great truth that to be a Marxist today means to be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist."³

To what extent are we in fact, at a 'third, new and higher stage of the ideology of the international proletariat? Is it correct that 'the universal validity of Maoism is proved'?

We examine the formation of the first Communist Party of Peru.

2. The Foundation of the Communist Party Peru by José Carlos Mariátegui;

Opposition to APRA

The original and first Communist Party of Peru reflected the principles of its' founder, **Jose Carlo Mariátegui**. The *PCP(ML)BR* is affiliated to the international ICMLPO which acknowledges Hoxha as a Marxist-Leninist. It was formed in 2001 following a split from the Communist Party of Peru or 'Red Homeland' PCdelp(PR). The latter had itself been formed in 1969 out of the 'PCP (Red Flag)'.⁶ In 2017 the PCP(ML)BR stated:

"Eighty-nine years have passed since the need for an organized and combative vanguard of the Peruvian proletariat, motivated the *amauta* ('master, wise one' in Quechua) José Carlos Mariátegui, on his return from Europe and influenced by socialist approaches and the Proletarian Revolution of October 1917, together with Revolutionary workers and intellectuals founded our Party on October 7, 1928, having a clear mission to organize the working class, the peasantry and the peoples of Peru to conquer the political power of the State and establish socialism, as a transition to communist society without classes."⁷

Mariátegui clashed against the confusions and opportunisms introduced by *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria American* (APRA). This was founded in 1924 in Mexico City by **Victor Raul Haya de la Torre**, originally as a broad, pan Latin American network of revolutionary, anti-imperialist groups.

Haya Torre claimed to reject ideologies coming from outside of Latin America. In reality he embraced positions of a superficial radical veneer. Although he was influenced by Comintern members (Bertram D. Wolfe and Jay Livingstone), de La Torre had numerous other influences from Europe. By 1928, APRA was established in the Peruvian

5 Joint International Declaration 'Eternal Glory To Chairman Gonzalo!'; At 'Tribune For The People' Sep 24, 2021; At: <https://Tribuneofthepeople.News/2021/09/24/Joint-International-Declaration-Eternal-Glory-To-Chairman-Gonzalo/>

6 <https://web.archive.org/web/20061207012104/http://www.broadleft.org/pe.htm>

7 History of the Communist Party Peru (ML); 2018; at <https://pcpml.com/historia-del-pcpm-1/>

European diaspora. But as it began to appear that the Leguia dictatorship was faltering many of these returned to Peru. Haya de la Torre now established APRA as a Peruvian party in 1930 (the Partido Aprista Peruano). In Peru its activities began based in the La Libertad area where large sugar monopolies grew and expropriated many small farmers. Many journalists, merchants, farmers, labor leaders, workers joined APRA. A multi-class coalition, APRA flirted with Marxism, while constantly pulling to the right. They were a source of dishonest confusion and distraction to proletarian forces.

Haya Torres' political distillate *appeared* to be a pro-National capitalist class politics:

“Apristas, rejected political institutions and revolutionary ideologies that came from Europe or the United States. They proposed instead to build a revolutionary doctrine Indigenous to the Americas, one that reflected Latin American realities rather than emulating ideologies that grew out of very different European conditions. As a result, Apristas positioned continental unity at the fore-front of their fight against economic imperialism and mental colonialism. This vision, which they described by coining the term Indo-América...

In 1926, it released a five-plank program, which it called the “maximum program,” or program for Latin America, as a means to orient and coordinate the struggles of national liberation it hoped to help bring about at the continental level. Its fundamental proposals were: (1) action against Yankee imperialism; (2) the political unity of Latin America; (3) the nationalization of land and industry; (4) the internationalization of the Panama Canal; and (5) solidarity with all peoples and all oppressed classes. ...

They proposed instead to build a revolutionary doctrine Indigenous to the Americas... Apristas argued that Lenin's theses on imperialism did not reflect the historical and economic development particular to Latin American countries.

They came to view communism as essentially a European phenomenon... APRA argued that in non-industrialized nations imperialism represented the first rather than the final stage of capitalism...

The idea of an “anti-imperialist state” is central to APRA's thesis on imperialism. At the national level, the anti-imperialist state would exert control over foreign capital and orient it toward national development; it would not eliminate it. It would likewise work against the feudal oligarchies that had taken over the region as a result of the export-led economy of the late nineteenth century.”⁸

However the key to understanding Torre was that his ‘anti-imperialist’ belief hinged on a rejection of Lenin:

“He strongly rejected the idea that imperialism was the final stage of capitalism in Latin America: “in Indoamerica what is in Europe ‘the last stage of capitalism’ becomes the first. For our peoples, the capital which immigrates or is imported establishes the first stage of the modern capitalist age.”⁹

This in fact was *one* of the main divisions between Haya Torre and Mariátegui:

⁸ Geneviève Dorais; ‘Journey to Indo-América : APRA and the transnational politics of exile, persecution, and solidarity, 1918-1945; Cambridge University Press; p.29; 10;11; 8

“Unlike Haya Torre, however, Mariátegui fully embraced Lenin’s idea that imperialism was the highest stage of capitalism.”⁹

In fact Haya Torre wished to see the entry of foreign capital, because according to him there was no other path of development – especially that of the USA. Objectively – whatever his words, he was therefore a *pro-USA comprador*.

But he argued that in-flowing imperial capital could be ‘regulated:

“Haya was equally critical of radicals who urged Latin America to reject all foreign capital. In his view, the further economic development of Indoamerica required foreign capital and the kinds of modern capitalist technology, industry, and institutions that foreign investors could bring. As he put it in a 1931 speech, “we consider foreign capital necessary to countries of elemental economic development such as ours.... he advocated the regulation of foreign investment in order to ensure that it supported national goals instead of imperialism. As he put it, “there is good and necessary capital and unnecessary and dangerous capital. It is the state and only it—the anti-imperialist state—which must control the investment of capital under strict conditions.”⁹

Mariátegui in contrast insisted on the class war, and the impossibility of regulating imperialism, without state power of the working class and peasantry:

“Mariátegui highlighted the exploitative dimensions of imperialism, describing how US and English interests involved in Peruvian agricultural sector would “exploit to the extreme” indigenous groups and “with the assistance of the national bourgeoisies”. In a 1926 article titled “Colonial Economy,” Mariátegui also pointed to exportation of profits by foreign companies in Peru: “The profits from mining, commerce, transportation, and such do not stay in Peru. They mostly go outside the country in the form of dividends, interest, etc. ... Mariátegui also devoted more attention than Haya had to a broader problem with Peru’s “colonial economy”: its vulnerability to fluctuations in the world prices of major exports such as sugar and cotton. He invoked the same term that Haya had used—dependency—to describe the situation: “A series of things that many people have become used to seeing as definitively acquired by Peruvian progress have ended up being dependent on the price of sugar and cotton in the markets in New York and London. Peru’s economic dependency is felt throughout the nation”. Anticipating structuralist and dependentista critiques of the peripheral status of Latin American economies, Mariátegui noted more generally in his *Siete Ensayos* (1928) how the Peruvian economy “can only move or develop in response to the interests and needs of markets in London and New York”.⁹

Mariátegui “dismissed APRA as a “petit bourgeois and demagogic Nationalist party”. Haya Torre’s distortions were later incorporated into the Velasco military dictatorship reasoning, and the later schools of ‘Dependency’. Bartram D. Wolfe of the Third Communist International said of APRA’s leader:

⁹ Eric Helleiner & Antulio Rosales; ‘Toward global IPE: The overlooked significance of the Haya-Mariátegui debate’; *International Studies Review* [1521-9488; 2017 Vol.19(4); p.667 -691

“Such dangerous opportunists such as Haya de la Torre of Peru who attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern... attempts to cover with the mantle of communism an essentially non-communist movement.”¹⁰

By the 1940s, APRA was to more transparently turn to pro-USA imperialism:

“by the following decade, APRA’s attacks against the United States had receded. More striking still is how APRA leaders ultimately accepted and fully engaged in the 1940s with the US-led vision of hemispheric integration as a viable political option.”⁸

Party Formation

After the bitter dispute with Haya Torres, Mariátegui founded the first Communist Party Peru. But it was formed in secret because of the repressive Leguía dictatorship (1919–30), and took the public name of the ‘Socialist Party’. After Mariátegui’s death in 1930, it came into the open as the Communist Party of Peru:

“he organized the Party in a select and secret way, with the strictest care so as not to be an easy prey for reaction, that is how it was initially established under the name Socialist Party. Likewise, the nascent organization was strengthened ideologically and politically in the controversies surrounding the need for the formation of a class political party of the proletariat - something that **APRA** denied, which advocated a united class alliance so broad and so lacking in revolutionary perspective that it was directed by *gamonalism* (bossism)¹¹ and the parasitic bourgeoisie, reinforcing its pro-imperialist and fascist essence, the correct characterization of society, the approach to the perspectives of the Peruvian revolution and its forging in the actions of the workers and peasants who insurged to end the exploitation and misery in which they found themselves especially the peasantry who lived in deplorable conditions due to the enslaving exploitation of gamonalism, the mainstay of exploitation and domination of imperialism.”⁷

Shortly afterwards the CP Peru was beset by sectarianisms including those led by adherents of Trotsky. As the prominent Trotskyist **Hugo Blanco** later said:

“A serious Trotskyite organization has existed in Peru since 1946, (when).. the Marxist Workers Group (Grupo Obrero Marxista GOM) constituted itself as the Revolutionary Workers Party (partido Obrero Revolucionario –ROR).“¹²

Subsequently many liberals including APRA descendents, and Trotskyists claimed Mariátegui as - ‘belonging’ to them. Apparently all want his sanction! However Mariátegui pre-empted this, writing in 1928:

“But, to this point, events have not proven Trotskyism correct from the point of view of its ability to replace Stalin in power with a greater objective capacity to

10 ‘Comrade Wolfe’, (USA); at 36th Session of 6th World Congress CI (held 18 August 1928); Berlin; Inprecor Vol 8 (no.76) P.1406; at: <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/inprecor/1928/v08n76-oct-30-1928-inprecor-op.pdf>

11 Gamonalismo, “bossism,” used in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. It is derived from gamonal, meaning a “large landowner,” and it refers to the exploitation of the Indian population, mainly by landowners of European descent. In the 1920s the Peruvian Marxist writer Mariátegui attacked gamonalismo as the worst abuse in the Peruvian political system; in so doing he influenced many contemporaries to espouse Socialism.” <https://www.britannica.com/topic/gamonalismo>

12 Hugo Blanco; ‘Land or Death. The peasant struggle in Peru’; New York; 1972; p. 19

realize the Marxist program. The essential part of the Trotskyist opposition's platform is its critical part. But in the estimation of those elements who might plot against Soviet policies, neither Stalin nor Bukharin is very far from subscribing to most of the fundamental concepts of Trotsky and his adepts. The Trotskyist proposals and solutions, on the other hand, do not have the same solidity. In most of what relates to agrarian and industrial policies and the struggle against bureaucratism and the NEP spirit, Trotskyism tastes of a theoretical radicalism that has not been condensed into concrete and precise formulas. On this terrain, Stalin and the majority, along with having the responsibility for administration, have a more real sense of the possibilities.”¹³

Furthermore before Mariátegui died in 1930, the PCP(ML) BR points out, that he wrote:

“The ideology that we adopt is that of Marxism - militant and revolutionary Leninism, a doctrine that we accept in all its philosophical, social and economic aspects. The methods that we uphold and advocate are those of orthodox revolutionary socialism. We not only reject but also combat in all its forms the methods and tendencies of social democracy and the Second International.” He also points out, reaffirming the bases for the construction of the Party: “The praxis of Marxist socialism in this period is that of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary method of the stage of imperialism and monopolies. The Socialist Party of Peru adopts it as its method of struggle”.⁷

Naturally this view was never accepted by Trotskyites, whose spurious claims on the legacy of Mariátegui, will be more fully examined at a later time. We shortly turn to Guzmán and ‘Gonzalo Thought’. Another false claim - Guzmán claimed ‘Gonzalo Thought’ was heir to Mariátegui. But first we sketch out the development of Peruvian society as seen by Mariátegui, up to the 1920s, followed by a short description of the state of Peru in the 1960s.

3. Mariátegui’s outline of political economy of Peru: From ‘Inca communism’ to USA semi-colony with a semi-feudal countryside

Mariátegui’s views allow us a basis to enter the later 1960s political economy of Peru.

The poorest of the poor in Peru certainly include the indigenous peoples. These people underwent a marked fall from the pre-colonial authoritarian, but organised Inca society. An agrarian society left its traces to modern times. Mariátegui believed that: “The problem of land (was) obviously bound up with the Indian problem”, who were farmers:

“The indigenous race is a race of farmers. The Inca people were peasants, normally engaged in agriculture and shepherding. Their industries and arts were typically domestic and rural... The most notable public works and collective enterprises of *Tawantinsuyo* (Incas) were for military, religious or agricultural purposes. The irrigation canals of the sierra and the coast and the agricultural terraces of the Andes remain the best evidence of the degree of economic organization reached by Inca Peru. Its civilization was agrarian in all its important.”¹⁴

¹³ J. C. Mariátegui; ‘The Exile Of Trotsky’; in ‘Variedades’, February 23 1929; At: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/mariategui/works/1929-Tro.htm>

¹⁴ Jose Carlos Mariátegui, ‘Essay Three: The Problem of Land’ in ‘Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality’; At: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/mariategui/works/7-interpretive-essays/essay03.htm>

Mariátegui calls that mode of production 'Inca communism':

"Inca communism... developed under the autocratic regime of the Incas, ... as agrarian communism (with):
Collective ownership of farmland by the *ayllu* (or group of related families), although the property was divided into individual and non-transferable lots; collective ownership of waters, pasture, and woodlands by the *marca* (or tribe), or the federation of *ayllus* settled around a village; cooperative labor; individual allotment of harvests and produce."¹⁴

Infamously, this society was quickly destroyed by the Spanish conquistadors, themselves superseded by the later viceroyalty colonial regime. But both colonizer groups were dominated by one thought - extraction:

"Almost the sole interest of the colonizers was the mining of Peruvian gold and silver."¹⁵

Thus began the fall into 'servitude and peonage':

"The colonial regime disrupted and demolished the Inca agrarian economy without replacing it with an economy of higher yields. Under the indigenous aristocracy, the natives made up a nation of ten million men, with an integrated government that efficiently ruled all its territory; under a foreign aristocracy, the natives became a scattered and anarchic mass of a million men reduced to servitude and peonage."¹⁵

The fading of the Spanish empire and viceroyalty, saw a weak projection of the feudal economy into a bourgeois economy. Because Spain "obstructed and thwarted" its colonies from trade with other countries, an independence movement started - but:

"South America's independence movement was only too obviously inspired by the interests of the *criollo* and even the Spanish population, rather than by the interests of the indigenous population."¹⁵

Succeeding colonial feudalism, a system of '*Gamonalismo*'¹¹ was constructed. While Mariátegui uses the term 'semi-feudal' he usually uses the term '*latifundia*':

"The term *Gamonalismo*... of the *latifundistas* or large landowners. It signifies a whole phenomenon. *Gamonalismo* is represented not only by the *gamonales* but by a long hierarchy of officials, intermediaries, agents, parasites, et cetera. The literate Indian who enters the service of *Gamonalismo* turns into an exploiter of his own race. The central factor

¹⁵ Jose Carlos Mariátegui, 'The Economic Foundations of the Republic'; in Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality; Essay One: "Outline of the Economic Evolution"; Footnote 1; At: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/mariateg/works/7-interpretive-essays/essay01.htm>

is the hegemony of the semi-feudal landed estate in the policy and mechanism of the government.”¹⁶

The weak Criolla capitalists were too weak to expunge “Gamonalismo or feudalism.” As England took over as overlord of most of South American colonies from Spain, its needs shaped “South America’s independence”. But the Atlantic coast countries benefited (or at least developed) the most from their proximity to Europe. Peru “entered a stage that differentiated and separated” it from the rest of South America. This began the guano and nitrate trade:

“Guano and nitrates, first and foremost, generated a lively trade with the Western world during a period when Peru, in its unfavorable geographical location, had little hope of attracting the colonizing and civilizing currents that were sweeping through other Latin American countries. This trade placed its economy under the control of British capital. Later, as a result of debts guaranteed by both products, Peru was forced to hand over to England the administration of its railroads, that is, the very key to the exploitation of its resources.”¹⁵

Because of its weakness the small liberal bourgeoisie relied on the ‘military caudillos’ to consolidate power:

“Peru had lagged behind other Spanish American countries in defining the elements of a liberal bourgeoisie; to enable the latter to function, it needed to establish a strong capitalist class. Meanwhile, power remained in the hands of the military caudillos. The Castilla regime marked the consolidation of the capitalist class. Government concessions and profits from guano and nitrates created capitalism and a bourgeoisie which, once organized into civilismo, soon took over all power.”¹⁵

However in the ‘Saltpetre’ War of the Pacific (1879-1844) over the nitrate trade, Peru lost significant resource rich territory to Chile.

This bitter war directly led to the so-called mediation of the USA led by General Pershing in what to be termed the ‘Tacna-Arica’ problem. In this Chile was enabled by USA imperialism to take a considerable portion of the nitrate rich area.¹⁷ This was purely to make “a precedent”, whereby the USA could continue to interfere in Latin America, to protect its ‘right’ to what it called “foreign monopolized commodities”. Just months before the USA had invaded Panama City.

Subsequently as new industry developed so did a small non-agrarian working class:

“The appearance of modern industry. The establishment of factories, plants, transport, et cetera, which has transformed life on the coast. The formation of an industrial proletariat with a growing natural tendency to adopt a class ideology, thereby blocking one of the traditional paths of caudillo proselytism and changing the terms of the political struggle.”¹⁵

¹⁶ Jose Carlos Mariategui; ‘Essay two: “The Problem of the Indian”; in ;Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality’; Footnote 1; At: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/mariategui/works/7-interpretive-essays/essay02.htm>

¹⁷ Statement of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League’; Inprecor Berlin; 11 March 1926; p.292; at: <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/inprecor/1926/v06n19-mar-11-1926-inprecor.pdf>.

Over this development, Peru being geographically closer to the USA – found its imperialist master switching from England to the USA:

“Exports to England, which in 1898 made up 56.7 percent of total exports, by 1923 came only to 33.2 percent. In the same period, exports to the United States rose from 9.5 percent to 39.7 percent. And this trend was even more striking in imports: whereas in that twenty-five year period, imports from the United States went up from 10.0 percent to 38.9 percent, those from Great Britain dropped from 44.7 percent to 19.6 percent.”¹⁵

Peru for Mariátegui had *three underlying economic elements*:

“I shall make a final observation: the elements of three different economies coexist in Peru today. Underneath the feudal economy inherited from the colonial period, vestiges of the indigenous communal economy can still be found in the sierra. On the coast, a (backward) bourgeois economy is growing in feudal soil.”¹⁵

But the predominant hold-up for Peru’s development was the “landowning class in latifundia”, which was deeply connected with imperialism:

“The landowning class has not been transformed into a capitalist middle class, ally of the national economy. Mining, commerce, and transport are in the hands of foreign capital. The latifundistas have been satisfied to serve as the latter’s intermediaries in the production of sugar and cotton. This economic system has kept agriculture to a semi-feudal organization that constitutes the heaviest burden on the country’s development.

The survival of feudalism on the coast is reflected in the stagnation and poverty of urban life. There are few towns and cities on the coast, and the village as such hardly exists except for the occasional cluster of plots that still adorns the countryside in the midst of a feudalized agrarian structure.

In Europe, the village is descended from the fief. On the Peruvian coast, the village does not exist because the fief is still preserved virtually intact. The hacienda with its more or less classic manor house and usually wretched workers’ compound [*rancheria*], and the sugar mill with its outbuildings [*colcas*], are the typical rural community.”¹⁵

“Peru, despite its expanded mining industry, remains an agricultural country. The great majority of the population is rural, with the Indian, who is usually and by tradition a farmer, making up four-fifths of the population. Since 1925, as a result of price declines in sugar and cotton and of diminishing yields, mining exports have greatly exceeded agricultural. The rapid rise in exports of petroleum and derivatives from Lp. [libras peruanas] 1,387,778 in 1916 to Lp. 7,421,128 in 1926 has been a significant factor. But farm production is only partially represented by export products: cotton, sugar and derivatives, wool, and rubber. Agriculture and livestock supply domestic consumption, whereas mining products are almost entirely exported.”¹⁵

“Foreign capital, in its perennial search for land, labor, and markets, has financed and directed the work of landowners by lending them money secured by the latter’s products and properties. Many mortgaged estates already are being directly administered by exporting firms.

The country’s landowning aristocracy has most clearly shown its incompetence in the department of La Libertad, where it owned large valley haciendas. Many years of capitalist development brought the following results: the concentration of the sugar industry in the region of two huge sugar mills, Cartavio and Casa Grande, both foreign-owned; the absorption of domestic business by these two enterprises, especially the second, which also monopolized import trade; and the commercial decline of the city of Trujillo and the bankruptcy of most of its import firms.”¹⁵

Appropriately Mariátegui moved to the strategy of:

“a proletarian party whose strategic conception was the forming of a worker-peasant alliance... He coupled his conviction that the peasant question was central to the revolutionary project with a firm defense of the leading role of the proletariat in affecting the transition to socialism.”¹⁸

But a considerable and long lasting difficulty was the small size of the working class, itself limiting the number of worker recruits into the party. This was highlighted early on:

“The CP which had about 500 members (in 1931), recruited 1,739 members in 3 months in 1931... Indian agricultural labourers and ruined peasants have .. swelled the ranks... Workers constitute 45% of the membership and even 60% in the organisation in the capital. (But) .. the CP has hardly made use of the enormous possibilities for the enlistment of industrial workers in the main branches of industry (oil fields, mines, sugar and cotton plantations).” of the Party.”¹⁹

4. Peasant uprisings and the 1960s wave of insurrections

Unsurprisingly the condition of the poor especially the indigenous peoples, bred a series of spontaneous revolts and uprisings. In 1915 for example was the ‘**Rumi Maqui**’ uprising:

“Insurgent mobilizations of indigenous rural communities that were challenging the power of large land-owners (latifundistas), who were responsible for keeping alive old forms of economic exploitation such as the ‘mita’ and ‘obrage’ institutions. In 1915, Teodomio Gutierrez Cuevas, a mestizo soldier popularly known as Rumi Maqui, led a series of uprisings in the little towns of Azañgaro, Huancané and Puno; and some years later, in 1921, in Toqroyoq, near Cuzco, Domingo Warka Cruz also headed an important peasant rebellion Maria tegui... observes in 1917, ‘General Rumi Maqui, who was only lieutenant Teodomiro Gonzalez among us, is the Inca king, the restorer

18 Thomas Angotti, ‘The Contributions of Jose Carlos Mariategui to Revolutionary Theory’, Latin American Perspectives, Spring, 1986, Vol. 13, No. 2, Perspectives on Left Politics (Spring, 1986), pp. 33-57

19 Gomez, ‘The Growth of the CP of Peru’, Inprecor World News and Views, Berlin; Vol 12 (No.26); p. 540; at: <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/inprecor/1932/v12n26-jun-09-1932-Inprecor-op.pdf>

and other terrible and important things among the Indians’.”²⁰

“Mariatégui was also very aware of widespread indigenous uprisings in the Peruvian rural highlands at the time. As Jacobsen notes, “the decade between 1915 and 1925 witnessed the most widespread peasant movements in the altiplano since the early 1780s.” These uprisings were reacting against rising taxes, labor services, and especially forced land grabs by large estate owners.”⁹

Such spontaneous movements formed the backdrop to later guerrilla ‘focos’ events. The numbers of these spontaneous risings were large showing how desperate life in the rural areas was:

“The period leading up and immediately following the... 1964 Agrarian Reform Law was one of intense rural conflict, particularly in the Highlands; by early 1964, 114 haciendas had been occupied by *comuneros* (*members of the indigenous communities*) and others in Cusco alone; and it proved impossible to remove the “invaders” and their sheep, however much force was used.”²¹

A pattern emerged whereby spontaneous peasant ‘invasions’ would occur and prompt limited reforms by Peruvian governments. As for example some limited reforms from the Leguía dictatorship:

“President Augusto Leguía (1923–1927 and 1927–1930) attempted to head off (landgrabbing) by granting Indian communities the right to land (without specifying how much or where in 1920. He hoped that historic conflicts over rights to land between haciendas and *comunidades* would be resolved without the commercial expansion of haciendas.. impinging too much on Indian communities which had a history of bloody rebellion.”²¹

Leguía’s contradictory policies tried to accommodate radicalized indigenista movement and the land drive of the latifundia.

But ultimately the situation of the peasant changed relatively little despite paltry reforms. So rebellions continued, but were not linked to workers movements. This pattern (rebellions prompted limited reforms; and spontaneity unlinked to proletarian masses) repeated itself in Peru.

Between these early revolts and the Guzmán led ‘Shining Path’ insurgency of 1970, at least three medium to large guerrilla insurrection attempts took place. These were on a background of many unprecedented ‘peasant invasions’ between 1963-1964.

During the *ochenio* (1948-1956) of General Manuel Odría, the APRA and the CPC were banned. His successor in 1956 was President Manuel Prado who legalized the APRA in exchange for their support – initiating the so-called *convivencia* (*co-existence*). The wages of this APRA opportunism was the ultra-leftist split of De La Puente (see below).

²⁰ Juan Carlos Grijalva, ‘Paradoxes of the Inka Utopianism of José Carlos Mariátegui’s Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality’, 2010; Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies, 2010; 19:3, 317-334

²¹ Colin Harding; ‘Land Reform and Social Conflict’; p.231-232; in Abraham F.Lowenthal, ‘The Peruvian Experiment. Continuity and Change under Military Rule’; Princeton; 1975; p.226; 231-232

We mentioned above, Hugo Blanco's movement. At its end it raised the slogan 'Land or Death!' in the valley of La Convencion (1958-1962). This was a Trotskyite movement of the group Palabra Obrera led by Hugo Bressano, in reality led by Blanco. It failed, partly because of incompetence of the Trotskyite self-termed 'Fourth International in Buenos Aires (SLATO); and frank isolation. An initial enthusiasm of some peasants was not nurtured and maintained by a party apparatus. This conclusion comes by way of Blanco's own words and Ricardo Letts.^{12, 22}

Very shortly after came the affair of Javier Heraud leading the Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN), involving a Bolivian base, and directly inspired by Cuban examples (1963, 1965).²²

More notable perhaps was the rising of the breakaway fractions from the complicit APRA, led by **Luis de la Puente Uceda** (1959). APRA had participated in the Manuel Prado government. At first de la Puente formed the 'APRA Rebelde', and tried to draw up a land reform bill, which was blocked. De la Puente then formed the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) view to raise insurrection. By 1964 this fraction withdrew from public view, and prepared a rising. The MIR adopted a clear 'focos' approach inspired, and supported by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.²² Together with the '*Tupac Amaru*' group led by Guillermo Lobaton, they began their risings. They publicized their presence on the Rio Urubama river in a 'Revolutionary proclamation; calling for 'genuine land reform' and 'full national sovereignty; including oil profits.²² The Tupac Amaru focos lasted six months and the MIR focos a month. Assisted by US army 'counter-insurgency' advisers, wide spread napalm hit both guerrillas and peasantry.

These attempts emphasise to Marxist-Leninists that a mass base is needed to effect change. A 'revolutionary example' is not enough. This issue is discussed extensively elsewhere in discussing Castorism and Guevarism.²³ Campbell summarises:

"the guerrillas remained separated from the peasantry by an immense cultural and linguistic barrier which they never were able to surmount. The mutual mistrust thus engendered between the two groups prevented effective cooperation and hindered military activity... Perhaps the most serious flaw in the preparations made by the MIR members was their inability to overcome the cultural and linguistic barriers which separated them from the peasantry. Control over the countryside, which Guevara, following Mao, had analogized to the sea in which the guerrilla swam as a fish, was never established by either MIR or ELN. Robbed of such peasant support, the guerrillas fell prey to well-equipped counterinsurgency forces.... Gall notes that the MIR attempted to accomplish in four months what the Vietnamese had taken over two years to achieve among the mountain tribesmen of their country following World War II, namely, to win loyalty and support".²⁴

As the pattern repeated itself, further limited reform came via the Decree Law 1444 of the Agrarian Reform enacted by the military junta of General Lindley Lopez in 1963. But the most far reaching attempts at reform was to follow an army coup in 1968. The 'Accion Popular' pro-US government of **Fernando Belaunde Terry** was elected in June

²² Richard Gott; 'Guerrilla Movements in Latin America'; London 1970; from Part Four 'Disaster in Peru'; Chapters 1-9, p.231-293;

²³ Bland W.B. and Scott M; 'Theory of the Guerrilla Elite'; London for the MLOB; at: <http://ml-review.ca/aml/MLOB/GuerrillaEliteFIN.htm>

²⁴ Leon G. Campbell; 'The Historiography of the Peruvian Guerrilla Movement, 1960-1965'; Latin American Research Review, Spring, 1973, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring, 1973), pp. 45-70

1963, and agreed to enormous compensation for oil rights to US based International Petroleum Company (IPC) subsidiary of Standard Oil (US). However Belaunde was quickly toppled in a military take-over by General **Juan Velasco Alvarado** in October 1968.

This inaugurated “substantial change”, announced some observers. Hence:

“A burst of laws and decrees unprecedented in Peru... Major structural reforms have affected land tenure, water rights, labor-management relations, the educational system, the state’s role in the economy and in the communications media, the role foreign enterprise in Peru’s economy and even fundamental concepts of economic and political relationships”.²⁵

We examine the real nature of these reform-changes below.

5. The nature of the 1968 military coup of Juan Velasco Alvarado

After the second world war, the USA had flooded Peru in a rapid imperial finance entry. They ensured the coup of General Manuel Odria in 1948 which drove both the CPC and APRA into illegality. Devaluation ensured favourable entry terms for USA capital. The 1950 ‘*Coidgo de Minería*’ (Mining Laws) in especial favoured the USA stripping of Peruvian raw material and assets.²⁶ Under Belaunde, these terms received much scrutiny but were strongly resisted by the mining companies whose contracts with USA were at stake.

An exceptionally weak national bourgeoisie was unable to effect its will against the USA. The roots of this lay at the delayed, and incomplete transition into a capitalist state. As Mariategui had noted - Peru lagged behind other South American countries which had removed the rural landlord class more effectively much earlier:

“Peru had lagged behind other Spanish American countries in defining the elements of a liberal bourgeoisie; to enable the latter to function, it needed to establish a strong capitalist class. Meanwhile, power remained in the hands of the military caudillos.”²⁷

And the old landlords had so effectively ‘compradored’ themselves as to be a “heavy burden”:

“The landowning class has not been transformed into a capitalist middle class, ally of the national economy. Mining, commerce, and transport are in the hands of foreign capital. The latifundistas have been satisfied to serve as the latter’s intermediaries in the production of sugar and cotton. This economic system has kept agriculture to a semi-feudal organization that constitutes the heaviest burden on the country’s development.”²⁷

²⁵ Abraham F. Lowenthal 'Peru's Ambiguous Revolution'; Princeton; 1975; p. 4

²⁶ Shane Hunt, 'Direct Foreign Investment'; in Abraham F. Lowenthal 'Peru's Ambiguous Revolution'; Princeton; 1975; p. 302-306; p. 327; p.311-312

²⁷ Jose Carlos Mariategui, 'The Economic Foundations of the Republic'; in Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality; Essay One: "Outline of the Economic Evolution"; including Footnote 1; At: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/mariategui/works/7-interpretive-essays/essay01.htm>

A new phase of military rule was thought to solve the weakness of the 'bourgeoisie' in negotiations with the USA. General Alvarado Velasco was careful to keep his plans secret from the USA.²⁸ We should note the opportunism of the pro-Moscow revisionist CPP led by Jorge del Prado, which subsumed any independence of the workers, into support of the 'anti-American' military:

"The regime was also supported from the outset by the Peruvian Communist Party, for whom its anti-Americanism was critical. In 1970 the head of the Peruvian Communist Party, Jorge del Prado, in an interview with the British *Morning Star*, explained that 'while it may criticise certain aspects of the government's policy, [the party] never forgets that the main fight today is against US imperialism' (*Morning Star*, 1970)." ²⁸

But the so-called anti-imperialist military was rather more nuanced than the PCP publicly acknowledged. The essential strategy of Velasco's government was very far from radical. As he said in 1969 to the paper '*Oiga*':

"The government doesn't have any money. When we assumed power we found a disastrous situation. Huge debts, both external and internal. The Peruvian economy is in large part paralyzed. Lines of credit are closed. The country needs capital for its development". ²⁶

or in his first Independence Day speech July 1969:

"private investment , even if it creates points of economic modernization, serves under present conditions as a mechanism for removing wealth from Latin American countries. But... Latin American development requires foreign capital";
²⁶

It is true that the Velasco government tried to get into Peru more than – just USA capital. It courted several other imperialists.²⁹ What was the 'foreign capital' for? Velasco's government aimed to transform the comprador landholding bourgeoisie who were still mainly in the countryside - from above - into a more powerful modernised comprador bourgeoisie. There was virtually no national bourgeoisie.

The dilemma of the extremely weak national capitalists was to be resolved by creating a native bourgeoisie in state enterprises (state capitalist agencies), often acting in joint ventures with imperialism. But these 'joint ventures' would be 'subject to reversion to the state once the total investment and an acceptable return have been covered by profits'. Effectively Velasco was bargaining for a more favourable rate of return to themselves, from the imperialists. Ultimately he was trying to modernize the countryside in order to:

"convert agrarian capitalists into industrial capitalists" (The law of June 24 1969) makes no distinction between agrarian capitalists and imperialist capitalist and thus allows primarily the large imperialist enterprises – since native enterprises

28 George Philip, 'Nationalism And The Rise Of Peru's General Velasco'; Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 279–293, 2013

are in fact subordinated to them – to shift their capitalists into industrial activity.”²⁹

The expropriation of the IPC subsidiary of Standard Oil was the basis of the state ‘Petro-Peru’ the principal producer. But American oil investment in Peru quickly came back to prior levels; and new lucrative exploitation contracts were offered; and there was a major imperialist shift from oil into mining especially US based Southern Peru Corporation.²⁹

By 1971 more than 80% of industrial investment in Peru was foreign.²⁹ Under the guise of ‘Peruvianisation’ – the Velasco government opened the door wide to all imperialisms, and joined the US sponsored Andean Pact. All Velasco was asking for was:

“Foreign investment that come under forms that guarantee that our countries have a fair share in the wealth that they and their people produce.”²⁹

Undoubtedly the USA was miffed and considered military action as memos from Kissinger to Nixon reveal. Kissinger rejected this concluding that “according to the CIA at the present time Velasco’s overthrow and replacement by an element more amenable to meaningful negotiations does not appear possible.”²⁸ The USA chose not to counter the Velasco overtures to other imperialisms for now, even when California fishing boats were seized.²⁹

The more far seeing sections of the American bourgeoisie recognised that it was wise to proceed with agrarian reform and that this would ‘stabilise’ Peruvian assets for their imperialist lions share.

Even the Agrarian Law reforms naturally, had limits. First the non-agricultural interests (ie industrial) of the landowning bourgeoisie was not touched. Secondly limits on land ownership were relatively high (165 hectares in the Sierra and 600 hectares on the coast) – favouring the development of a ‘broad stratum of rural petty and middle level bourgeoisie’.²⁹ This did not make life easier for the indigenous and the worker – whatever rhetoric there was about ‘Peruvianisation’.

A weak national bourgeoisie remained – dependent – upon largely USA imperialism. This saga again highlights the need for a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the national question. We will need to return to this.

6. A Glimpse of the state of Peru’s people up to 1970

Between the 1940 Census and the later 1961 Census there was little improvement in the lot of the Peruvian people. The population by 1961 was approximately 10 million. In 1940 88% of Indian youth between the ages of six and fourteen had no education. Illiteracy was rife especially since most of the peasants were speaking Quechua or Aymara. Two million peasants spoke only Quechua and half a million only Aymara. By 1961 39.8% of the population over seventeen years were illiterate; while 40% of children at school age could not attend school.³⁰

In 1970 the founder of MIR, Luis de la Puente Uceda summarized the essence of Peru:

29 Anibal Quijano, ‘Nationalism and capitalism in Peru. A Study in neo-imperialism’; 1971, Monthly Review Press N.York; p.16-17; 20-24; 37; 40-42; 45; 51-54

30 Statistics from: Gott R: ‘Guerrilla Movement In Latin America’; Ibid; p.231-233;

“There were nine million hectares of cultivable land and natural pasture... 3% of the owners possess 83% of the land; 97% possess the 17 % that remains.” The coastal lands “are in the hands of the monopolies (as in the rest of the country), and are mainly devoted to the production of cotton, sugar cane, and other foodstuffs. Peruvian industry is chiefly located (here) and about 80% is in Lima. With 4 million people, it might be considered the capitalist zone of Peru.... The Sierra is the largest and most densely populated region in the country. The latifundia system with its feudal or semi-feudal relations prevails. The indigenous communities, the primitive Ayllus of the Incas, survive in a permanent struggle against *gamonalist* (i.e. bossism) usurpation... the most important mining centers are (here) providing jobs for about seven million people, principally Indians and mestizos... The Selva (jungle) is a vast largely uninhabited region.. with barely 300,000.. the best lands have been monopolized by native or foreign enterprises under cover of supposed colonization plans, a good example being the American-owned Letuernea which controls over 40,000 hectares.”³⁰

All told, a desperate situation for the people of Peru.

7. Origins of Senderos Luminosa

Following the death of Stalin in 1953, the revisionists took final control of the CPSU(B) led by Khrushchev. Their tensions with the Communist Party of China (CPC) grew. As the world communist movement became riven by these events, the PCP became split, like all the world parties:

“In 1964, the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) split into the Partido Comunista Peruano-'Unidad' (PCP-U) and the Partido Comunista del Peni 'Bandera Roja' (PCP-BR). This split reflected the division in the international communist movement between the Soviet Union and China. At that time Abimael Guzmán was a militant of the Peruvian Communist Party and sided with the pro-Chinese PCP-BR.”³¹

When Guzmán went to China during the Cultural Revolution, he engendered the split towards forming the ‘Sendero Luminoso’ in 1970:

“One year later, the youth branch of Bandera Roja split for internal political differences into the Partido Comunista del Peni 'Patria Roja' (PC del P-PR). Guzmán remained as the leader of PCP-BR's Special Work Commission in charge of military affairs (Comision de Trabajo Especial). At the height of the Cultural Revolution, Guzmán travelled to China to attend a cadre school. Upon his return to Ayacucho, he led a faction within the PCP-BR ('Fraccion Roja'). This faction was committed to armed insurrection. In 1969 the political positions put forward by Guzmán's faction were defeated in the congress of the peasant federation controlled by PCP-BR, the Federation Departmental de Campesinos y Comunidades de Ancash (FEDCCA), as well as in the University of Huamanga student front, the Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario (FER). In these circumstances, having decided to privilege clandestine organisation and armed

struggle, Guzmán's Fraccion Roja consolidated in 1970 to become the PCP 'Sendero Luminoso'." ³¹

8. Summary of Guzmán and Sendero Luminosa (Shining Path) activities

As stated, Guzmán began the 'Sendero' movement in 1970. Although the prior communists parties had repudiated the Soviet revisionists in 1963, Guzmán argued – probably rightly - that this was in too passive a manner. From the start he envisaged a war footing inspired by the Chinese 'Cultural Revolution'. At the beginning 'Sendero Luminoso' was largely confined to the city of Ayacucho, where Guzmán was a professor of philosophy. There he infiltrated his most trusted students and cadre into surrounding villages. He recruited mainly students at first. At first peasants were impressed by the rough justice 'Sendero' delivered:

"The bulk of recruits were high school and university students from Ayacucho's shantytowns and countryside." ³²

Initially the peasantry were receptive seeing... the departure of inefficient and corrupt authorities, and the punishment by the cadre of adulterers and thieves seemed to validate the promise of a new, more just order." ³²

But the party then descended into simple terrorism, often with no legitimate grounds. For instance:

"Like the eighty peasants slaughtered in 1983 in the village of Lucanamarca on charges of collaborating with the government, those who refused submission had to be 'annihilated', in Guzmán's words, in order to channel the masses in the 'riverbed' of revolutionary correctness." ³²

Naturally such behaviours alienated the peasantry. Actually this repeated the prior mistakes such as of the Movimiento Independiente Revolucionario (MIR) and Ejército Nacional de Liberación (ELN), both founded in 1965 along Castroite lines:

Despite the Senderos having a very clear idea of the Maoist approach to the peasant, they also failed to seal unity with the peasantry. Resorting in frustration to violence against the peasantry, the Senderos isolated themselves:

"Some fighters maintained faith into the mid-1990s, even after their leader's imprisonment and apparent call for peace talks with the government 1993, for example, an armed column descended upon the town of Satipo. Cadres believed that Ashaninka Indians in this jungle settlement had collaborated with the army. This conviction, within the framework of party thought, made them into 'miserable mercenaries' to be 'annihilated by the people's justice'. With knives and guns, the guerrillas slaughtered sixty-five Indians, even spearing four children, as they shouted vivas to President Gonzalo and the 'people's war.'" ³²

31 Deborah Poole and Gerardo Renique; 'The New Chroniclers of Peru: US Scholars and Their 'Shining Path' of Peasant Rebellion'; Bulletin of Latin American Research, 1991, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1991), pp. 133-191

32 Orin Starn; 'Maoism in the Andes: The Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path and the Refusal of History'; 1995; Journal Of Latin American Studies; Vol.27 (2); p.399-421

Naïve authoritarianism included prohibitions to the peasant going to markets, spurring unrest:

“A lack of understanding of Andean villagers was a major obstacle to the struggle of the Shining Path for lasting support in the south-central highland....The prohibition on going to market proved a catalyst of resentment early on, and even sparked revolt against the Shining Path in the moors of Huanta and then Huancayo.”³²

In fact the peasantry turned *against* the Shining Path, organising their own militia. Even at times allying with the military - for self-defence against the Senderos. Although at times it is obvious that the army also brutally forced peasantry into some 'rondo'. However peasant resistance to the Senderos was a major failing and ultimately led to Guzmán's capture:

“Peasant militias against the Shining Path grew with rapid force. Weary of the pain of the war, and encouraged by a increasing emphasis in the army on cooperation with civilians, the villagers forged an unlikely alliance with the military to push the Maoists out of former strongholds, from the stony canyons of Huanta to the rainy valleys of the Apurimac River. Meanwhile, improved intelligence led the capture of Guzmán and more than half of the Central Committee Actions in 1994.”³²

“The army's counteroffensive against the Shining Path in 1983 and 1984 left a grisly trail of burned crops, homeless families and massacred village. The party responded with fierce reprisals against suspected collaborators. The slaughter at Lucanamarca was followed by mass executions villagers in Cochas, Uchuraccay, Huamanguilla, Chaca, Huayllao and Sivia. Fifteen thousand Andean peasants had perished by 1994, as the poorest Peruvians remained the principal victims of the war that Shining Path waged in their name. Six hundred thousand more fled to mean shantytowns of Lima and Ayacucho, as the dirty war turned Peru's south-central Andes into what Quechua-speaking villagers called '*manchay tiempo*' the time of fear.”³²

In the midst of this, the Senderos became involved in the cocaine traffic, earning revenue by extortion from peasant and traffickers alike:

“Shining Path's symbiotic relationship with the coca growers and producers/traffickers of cocaine has been remarkably profitable and has been used primarily to strengthen the movement internally.”³³

“Sendero is able to collect the sums (estimated at anywhere from \$6-15,000 per flight) paid by traffickers, mostly Colombians, to protect their cocaine-paste pick-up operations. The estimates of annual revenues received by Sendero from its activities range all the way from \$10-100 million.”³³

33 David Scott Palmer; 'Peru, the Drug Business and Shining Path: Between Scylla and Charybdis?'; Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs; 1992, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 65-88

Finally, for the second time, Guzmán was arrested in Lima 12 September 1992. This time he was not released. Instead, after charges of high treason by the Supreme Council of Military Justice, he was sentenced to life in prison at an island navy base. He was also fined \$25 billion.

The failures of the peasant strategy followed by Guzmán, and the deficiencies of the guerrilla units of Guzmán's "Senderosa" are evident to Marxist-Leninists. We note the resemblance to the failures of the guerrilla theories of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro.²² It is clear is that the Senderoso failed to ensure a viable bond between peasant and party. In this they failed to live up to the example of the Communist Party China during its famous Long March.

Nonetheless, having failed to implement early Maoist policy to the peasant in wartime - Guzmán invoked Chairman Mao and never revoked it. In what way did Guzmán follow Mao?

7. Chairman Gonzalo on the teaching of Chairman Mao

For Guzmán-Gonzalo, Marxism-Leninism was completely equated to Maoism. All quotes in this section are derived from an extensive interview he gave to 'El Diario' in 1988.³⁴

According to Guzmán, Mao had raised Marxism to a "a new, third and higher stage" – in three of the component parts of Marxism, but especially in 'scientific socialism' – by virtue of 'peoples war':

"Gonzalo: For us, Marxism is a process of development, and this great process has given us a new, third, and higher stage. Why do we say that we are in a new, third, and higher stage, Maoism? We say this because in examining the three component parts of Marxism, it is clearly evident that Chairman Mao Tsetung [*now Mao Ze Dong*] has developed each one of these three parts. Let's enumerate them: in Marxist philosophy ... On political economy... With regard to scientific socialism, it is enough to point to people's war, since it is with Chairman Mao Tsetung that the international proletariat has attained a fully developed military theory, giving us then the military theory of our class, the proletariat, applicable everywhere. ... We think that to be Marxists today, to be Communists, necessarily demands that we be Marxist-Leninist-Maoists and principally Maoists. Otherwise, we couldn't be genuine communists."³⁴

For Guzmán this was directly linked to 'people's war':

"We based ourselves on Maoism, which at that time was called 'Mao Tsetung' Thought, and on the establishment of a general political line. The fraction has the great distinction of having reconstituted the Party, and once ...the Party required to launch the struggle to seize Power with arms in hand through people's War.

"The People's Guerrilla Army is important. It is the principal form of organization corresponding to the people's war which is the principal form of struggle. The People's Guerrilla Army which we have founded and which is developing vigorously, is being built based on Chairman Mao Tsetung's theories..."

34 "Interview with Chairman Gonzalo": Central Committee, Communist Party of Peru; 1988; Red Banner Publishing House for 'Peru people's Movement'; at: "Red Sun" website: http://www.redsun.org/pcp_doc/pcp_0788.htm

The primacy of the countryside

What was 'people's war'? It was to create 'base areas' – 'only in the countryside' – that then allow several base areas to join into the 'New Democratic Peoples Republic' which helps the cities to also wage people's war:

We build the Revolutionary Front for the Defense of the People only in the countryside, and in the form of the People's Committees it becomes the basis of Power. And those People's Committees in an area form a Base Area, and all the Base Areas together we call the New Democratic People's Republic in formation. In the cities we have established the Revolutionary Movement for the Defense of the People which also serves to wage the people's war in the city, gather forces, undermine the reactionary order and develop the city, gather forces, undermine the reactionary order and develop the unity of class forces in preparation for the future insurrection."

To emphasise again – it is the countryside where the 'new power' develops:

“El Diario: Chairman, where has the New Power developed most, in the countryside or in the city?

Chairman Gonzalo: We are developing the New Power only in the countryside. In the cities it will be developed in the final stage of the revolution. It is a question of the process of people's war. I think that when we analyze people's war we'll be able to deal with this point a little more."

Guzmán claims this is consistent with the heritage of Mariátegui

Guzmán had no hesitation to argue that the founder of the CP Peru – Mariátegui would have been a Maoist had he lived to 1988:

“El Diario: Chairman Gonzalo, do you believe that if José Carlos Mariátegui were alive he would uphold the theories and contributions of Chairman Mao?

Chairman Gonzalo: In synthesis, Mariátegui was a Marxist-Leninist. Beyond that, in Mariátegui, the founder of the Party, we find theses similar to those that Chairman Mao has made universal. Thus, as I see it, today Mariátegui would be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. This is not speculation, it is simply the product of understanding the life and work of José Carlos Mariátegui."

This claim should be rejected. One obvious contribution of Mariátegui was to ensure that the revolutionary did not ignore the heritage and dignity of the pre-colonial peoples, the indigenous peoples of Peru. Guzmán had no space for this:

"The most obvious contrast revolves around Guzmán's pronounced disinterest in Peru's indigenous roots. Although prevented by poor health even from travel to the interior, Mariátegui was fascinated by the great civilisations of the Andean past. Perhaps in this case with a strain of romanticism, he contended that Incan ethics of collectivism and social welfare might be a foundation for Peruvian socialism. By contrast, Guzmán makes almost no mention of the pre-Columbian past."³²

Gonzalo erects the cult of personality

While Marxists-Leninists repudiate the cult of personality, Gonzalo embodied and embraced it:

El Diario: Speaking of ideology, why Gonzalo Thought?

Chairman Gonzalo: Marxism has always taught us that the problem lies in the application of universal truth. Chairman Mao Tsetung was extremely insistent on this point, that if Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is not applied to concrete reality, it is not possible to lead a revolution, not possible to transform the old order, destroy it, or create a new one. It is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the Peruvian revolution that has produced Gonzalo Thought.... Previously we called it the Guiding Thought. And if today the Party, through its Congress, has sanctioned the term Gonzalo Thought, it's because a leap has been made in the Guiding Thought through the development of the people's war. In sum, Gonzalo Thought is none other than the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our concrete reality."

Gonzalo attacks Hoxha as a revisionist

"And we have fought against revisionism... in 1964 I want to make it very clear that the vast majority of the Communist Party united behind the banner of struggle against revisionism which Mao Tse tung had unfurled... we oppose the Soviet social-imperialism of Gorbachev, the Chinese revisionism of the perverse Deng Xiaoping, the Albanian revisionism of Ramiz Alia, follower of the revisionist Hoxha, just as we oppose all revisionists, whether they follow the line of the social-imperialists, the Chinese or Albanian revisionists, or anyone else." ⁵

Character of the Peruvian state as 'Bureaucratic capitalism':

Guzmán is at pains to distinguish the 'bureaucrat capitalists' from the national bourgeoisie. This is entirely in keeping with the denial of differences between the comprador and national capitalists that was the hallmark of Trotsky's approach to the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

"The landlord-bureaucrat capitalist dictatorship is the Peruvian State of today."

"Bureaucrat capitalism began to emerge in Peru in 1895... capitalism developed on top of a semi-feudal base, and under imperialist domination. It is a capitalism born late born tied to feudalism and subordinated to imperialist domination. These are the conditions that produce what Chairman Mao Tse tung has called bureaucrat capitalism. So, bureaucrat capitalism develops bound to big monopoly capital which controls the economy of the country. This capital is made up, as Chairman Mao said, of the big capital of the large landowners, the comprador bourgeoisie, and the big bankers. Thus bureaucrat capitalism emerges, bound, I repeat, to feudalism, subordinated to imperialism, and it is monopolistic. We must keep this in mind, it is monopolistic. At a certain point in its development this capitalism is combined with state power and uses the economic means of the State, uses the State as an economic lever and this process gives rise to another faction of the big bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat

bourgeoisie. This gives rise to a further development of bureaucrat capitalism which was already monopolistic and becomes, in turn, state-owned. But this whole process gives rise to conditions which ripen the revolution. This is another important concept, politically speaking, that the Chairman laid out about bureaucrat capitalism."

"If we understand bureaucrat capitalism, we can understand very well how Peru has semi-feudal conditions, bureaucrat capitalism, and imperialist, mainly Yankee, domination. This is what we must understand, and what allows us to understand and lead the democratic revolution."

This view enables Gonzalo to separate national capitalists off from 'bureaucrat capitalism', to enable them to play a role in the 'New Democratic State':

To succeed Gonzalo must first ensure that 'bureaucrat capitalism' is somehow 'different' from 'State owned capitalism':

"To move from the democratic to the socialist revolution it is key, from an economic point of view, to confiscate all bureaucrat capital, which will permit the New State to control the economy, to direct it and, in this way, serve the development of the socialist revolution..."

It is erroneous to think that bureaucrat capitalism is the capitalism that the State develops with the economic means of production that it directly controls. This is erroneous, and it does not conform to Chairman Mao's thesis. Just think of it like this: if bureaucrat capital were only state-owned capitalism, and you confiscated this state-owned capital, in whose hands would the other, non-state-owned monopoly capital remain? In the hands of reaction, of the big bourgeoisie. This view which identifies bureaucrat capitalism with state monopoly capitalism is a revisionist concept and in our Party it was upheld by the left liquidationists."

These formulations are vague. This leads Guzmán is to deny any potential equation of the 'national bourgeoisie' with the 'big bourgeoisie':

"It allows us to differentiate very clearly between the big bourgeoisie and the national or middle bourgeoisie. And this gives us the means to understand, so that we don't pin ourselves to the tail of any faction of the big bourgeoisie, either the comprador or bureaucrat bourgeoisies, which is what revisionism and opportunism have done and continue to do in Peru. There have been decades of this perverse policy of labeling one faction of the big bourgeoisie the national bourgeoisie, hence progressive, and supporting them. Grasping bureaucrat capitalism permitted us to more clearly understand the differentiation, I repeat, between the national bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie, and grasp the correct tactics to carry out, taking up again precisely what Mariátegui had established. For this reason we consider the thesis on bureaucrat capitalism to be of utmost importance."

Such a distinction, now allows Gonzalo to insist that the 'national bourgeoisie' plays an important role in the New Democratic state:

"*El Diario*: Chairman, what will be the main characteristics of the New Democratic People's Republic that you and your Party propose?"

Chairman Gonzalo: Its characteristics are essentially those of a joint dictatorship. ... In our case, it is a joint dictatorship. Presently it is a dictatorship of only three classes, the proletariat, the peasantry and the progressives (the petty bourgeoisie). The national bourgeoisie is not taking part, but we respect their rights, this we do."

But we saw above that the national bourgeoisie were extremely small, and that the military state capitalist sector had effectively lifted up the comprador bourgeoisie.

On the timing of the launching of the 'people's war'

El Diario: Why did the Communist Party of Peru initiate the people's war in 1980? What is the military and historical explanation for this? What social, economic and political analysis did the PCP carry out in order to launch the war?

Chairman Gonzalo: The government's own analysis showed that critical questions would present themselves in the '80s. In Peru it can be seen that there is a crisis every 10 years in the second half of the decade and each crisis is worse than the one before. We also analyzed bureaucrat capitalism, which makes conditions more ripe for revolution. In 1980, the government was to change hands through elections, which meant that the new government would need a year and a half to two years to fully put in place the operations of its State. So we concluded that bureaucrat capitalism had ripened the conditions for revolution, and that the difficult decade of the '80s approached--with crisis, an elected government, etc. All this provided a very favorable conjuncture for initiating the people's war and refuted the position that armed struggle, or in our case people's war, cannot be initiated when there's a new government - events have demonstrated the incorrectness of that position. Such was our evaluation, and such was the situation as the new government took over, that is, the military, having left the government after ruling for 12 years, could not easily take up the struggle against us right away, nor could they immediately take the helm of state again because they were worn down and had become discredited. These were the concrete facts, the reality.

Prior to that time, we had already put forward that participation in the Constituent Assembly was incorrect, that the only thing to do was to boycott it, because to participate in the Constituent Assembly was simply to serve the restructuring of the Peruvian State and to produce a constitution like the one we have. ... We began the armed struggle on May 17, the day before the elections.

At the end of 1982, the armed forces came in. ...

We had prepared ourselves, but nevertheless, we had a second problem. The introduction of the armed forces had its consequences. They came in applying a policy of genocide from the beginning. They formed armed groups, called *mesnadas*, forcing the masses to join and putting them in front, using them as shields. This must be said clearly: here we see not only the policy of using masses against masses, an old reactionary policy already seen by Marx, ... That's when we established the Plan to Conquer Base Areas, and the People's Guerrilla Army was created to respond to a force that was obviously of a higher level than the police. It was there that we also raised, among other things, the problem of Front-State."

9. The theory of 'bureaucratic capitalism'

Here we cannot fully detail Mao's theories. This in our view is done well by W.B.Bland and can be found as previously published,³⁵ and shows how the 'Cultural Revolution' was designed to destroy the Communist Party of China, in order to turn it towards support of pro-USA compradors.

Here we focus on one aspect only, the *question of 'bureaucratic capitalism'*. Guzmán takes this concept directly from Mao Ze Dong. But he does not use it in the same way. Mao first promulgated the theory in 1947, but it was extensively revived in the Cultural Revolution and later the:

"Theory of a "bureaucratic ruling class," was a notion heard during the Cultural Revolution and revived by many Democracy Movement activists in the years 1979-1981";³⁶

Clearly it was a 'supple' theory and could fit many differing purposes. At core is the still confused understanding of the distinction between the first stage of the national democratic liberation struggle and the second socialist stage.

How did Mao define and interpret bureaucrat-capitalism? Originally, Mao is clear that the struggle against imperialism, feudalism, and 'bureaucrat-capitalism' - took "more than a hundred years":

"The destruction of the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives before victory in 1949."³⁷

But what exactly is "bureaucrat-capitalism"? Admittedly this term is not to be found in Lenin or Stalin. They talked in terms of a *comprador* and *national bourgeoisie*. For example, Stalin pointed out in May 1925 to the students of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East that the native bourgeoisie in some colonial-type countries

"Is splitting up into two parts, a revolutionary part (the national bourgeoisie -- Ed.) ... and a compromising part (the comprador bourgeoisie -- Ed.) ... of which the first is continuing the revolutionary struggle, whereas the second is entering into a bloc with imperialism".³⁸

In fact, Mao invented this term in 1947 to cover only one section of comprador capital. He also labeled this section as 'monopoly capital', and also 'state-monopoly capitalism' in some writing. The profusions of shifting terms effectively allowed a fog to be conjured, making it '*bu qingchu*' ('I'm not clear about that').

While these terms applied during the period of the Opium Wars (1839- 1942; and 1856- 1860) – it also applied to the later "four great families" who became the main pro-Japanese compradors also. These were "crushing the development of private capitalism":

³⁵ <http://ml-review.ca/aml/China/historymaotable.html>

³⁶ Maurice Meisner; 'Marx, Mao, And Deng On The Division Of Labor In History'; in Editors: Arif Dirlik, Maurice Meisner 'Marxism and the Chinese Experience: Issues in Contemporary Chinese Socialism - Issues in Contemporary Chinese Socialism'; Routledge; New York 1st Edition 1989; eBook 2016;

³⁷ Mao Ze Dong, "On The Question Of Whether Imperialism And All Reactionaries Are Real Tigers"; December 1, 1958; Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung: Vol. VIII at: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/sw-in-pdf/sw-kranti-v8-partial.pdf>

³⁸ J.V. Stalin: 'The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East' (May 1925), in: 'Works, Volume 7; Moscow; 1954; p. 147

“According to Hsi Ti-hsin and Ch'en Po-ta, modern bureaucratic capitalism (as distinct from primitive bureaucratic capitalism) was the product of China's semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. Bureaucratic capitalists may have been great landlords, compradors, and bankers as well; at least they represented the interests of these groups.' Often they were in alliance with warlords at home and with imperialists abroad. By illicit and corrupt means such as the appropriation of public funds they built up large individual fortunes. Bureaucratic capitalists became a recognizable force after the Opium War, that is, after the introduction of modern industry into China. They were China's modernizers. Men like Li Hung-chang, Sheng Hsuan-huai, Chang Ch'ien, Liang Shih-i busied themselves with arsenals, shipping companies, textile mills, mines, banks. . . . Bureaucratic capitalist activities reached their height during the Nanking government; by then the evils of bureaucratic capitalism became cancerous. The four great families, those of Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, H. H. Kung, and the Ch'en brothers Li-fu and Kuo-fu, monopolized the national economy, exploited the masses, stifled the creativity of the people, and crushed the development of private capitalism.”³⁹

In his own words, Mao's target of attack was undoubtedly:

“The property of the four big families of Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, H. H. Kung and the Chen... brothers”.⁴⁰

Mao meant in these years the term ‘bureaucrat capitalists’ to cover only that fraction of compradors who had actively resisted the anti-American national united front and who were classified as war-criminals. Or in other words those key comprador capitalists who had collaborated with the Japanese invaders:

"Confiscate the property of the four big families of Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, H. H. Kung and the Chen... brothers, and the property of the other chief war criminals".⁴¹

Confiscation of the pro-Japanese compradors was to be followed by turning over that property to the ‘**new democratic state**’. It was to be this state that would “protect the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie”, against the “bureaucrat-capitalist” ‘big bourgeoisie’. The latter had reached its “peak during the War of Resistance” – and was comprador:

“Confiscate the land of the feudal class and turn it over to the peasants. Confiscate monopoly capital, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, H. H. Kung and Chen Li-fu, and turn it over to the new-democratic state. Protect the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie. These are the three major economic policies of the new-democratic revolution. During their twenty-year rule, the four big families, Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen, have piled up enormous fortunes valued at ten to twenty thousand million U.S. dollars and monopolized the economic lifelines of the whole country. This monopoly capital, combined with state power, has become state-

³⁹ Madeleine Chi; 'Bureaucratic Capitalists in Operation: Ts'ao Ju-lin and His New Communications Clique, 1916-1919'; The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 34, No. 3 (May, 1975), pp. 675-688

⁴⁰ Mao Tse-tung: 'Manifesto of the Chinese Liberation Army' (October 1947), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 4; Peking; 1961; p. 150.

⁴¹ Mao Tse-tung: 'Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army' (October 1947), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 4; Peking; 1961; p. 150.

monopoly capitalism. This monopoly capitalism, closely tied up with foreign imperialism, the domestic landlord class and the old-type rich peasants, has become comprador, feudal, state-monopoly capitalism. Such is the economic base of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime. This state-monopoly capitalism oppresses not only the workers and peasants but also the urban petty bourgeoisie, and it injures the middle bourgeoisie. This state-monopoly capitalism reached the peak of its development during the War of Resistance and after the Japanese surrender; it has prepared ample material conditions for the new-democratic revolution. This capital is popularly known in China as bureaucrat-capital. This capitalist class, known as the bureaucrat-capitalist class, is the big bourgeoisie of China. Besides doing away with the special privileges of imperialism in China, the task of the new-democratic revolution at home is to abolish exploitation and oppression by the landlord class and by the bureaucrat-capitalist class (the big bourgeoisie), change the comprador, feudal relations of production and unfetter the productive forces. The upper petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, oppressed and injured by the landlords and big bourgeoisie and their state power, may take part in the new-democratic revolution or stay neutral, though they are themselves bourgeois. They have no ties, or comparatively few, with imperialism and are the genuine national bourgeoisie. " 42

This dual terminology ("bureaucratic capitalists" or "big bourgeoisie" or "state monopoly capitalist") allowed Mao's 'New Democratic State' to have both a "democratic revolutionary character" but also "socialist character". It was they that were expropriated after the founding of the Republic:

"During the War of Liberation China solved the tasks of the democratic revolution. The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the basic conclusion of the democratic revolution and the beginning of the transition to socialism. It took another three years to conclude the land reform, but at the time the Republic was founded we immediately expropriated the bureaucratic capitalist enterprises - 80 percent of the fixed assets of our industry and transport - and converted them to ownership by the whole people.

During the War of Liberation we raised anti-bureaucratic capitalist slogans as well as anti-imperialist and anti-feudal ones. The struggle against bureaucratic capitalism had a two sided character: it had a democratic revolutionary character insofar as it amounted to opposition to comprador capitalism, but it had a socialist character insofar as it amounted to opposition to the big bourgeoisie.

After the war of resistance was won, the Nationalist Party [Kuomintang] took over a very large portion of bureaucratic capital from Japan and Germany and Italy. The ratio of bureaucratic to national [i.e., Chinese] capital was 8 to 2. After liberation we expropriated all bureaucratic

42 Mao, 'The Present Situation And Our Tasks'; December 25, 1947; Volume 4; also at: https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-4/mswv4_24.htm

capital, thus eliminating the major components of Chinese capitalism.”
43

So “the major components of Chinese capitalism” were the pro-Japanese comprador capitalists who were expropriated “without compensation”:

“The only things we took without compensation were the means of production of Japanese, German and Italian imperialism, of feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism and some of the landlords’ houses, food and other means of livelihood.” 44

If the main enemy in the Chinese state itself was the pro-Japanese compradors, how did Mao advise the working class and peasantry view the position of the other classes? What about the other comprador classes – beholden to other imperialist powers than that of Japan? And what about the landlords?

These other classes were termed as the ‘**enlightened gentry**’ – allowing the CPC to ally with them:

"Different groups within this big bourgeoisie are backed by different imperialist powers, so that when contradictions among these powers becomes sharper and when the edge of the revolution is mainly directed against a particular power, the big bourgeois groups dependent upon the other powers may join the struggle against that particular imperialist power to a certain extent and for a certain time. . . . The Chinese proletariat may form a united front with these groups and should maintain it as far as possible". 45

"A good many of the enlightened gentry who are middle and small landlords and who have some capitalist colouration display some enthusiasm for the war, and we should unite with them in the common fight against Japan. Different sections of the comprador big bourgeoisie owe allegiance to different imperialist powers, so that when the contradictions among the latter become very acute and the revolution is directed mainly against one particular imperialist power, it becomes possible for the sections of the comprador class which serve other imperialist groupings to join the current anti-imperialist front to a certain extent and for a certain period". 46

"The enlightened gentry . . . are the left-wing of the landlord class. It is possible for . . . the enlightened gentry to join us in the common fight against Japan". 47

Most importantly, what about the national capitalist class?

"The people's republic will not expropriate private property other than imperialist and feudal private property, and so far from confiscating the national bourgeoisie's industrial and commercial enterprises, it will encourage their

43 'Reading Notes On The Soviet Text Political Economy, 1961-62'; Volume 8; at -https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-8/mswv8_64.htm

44 Speech At Cheng-chow February 27, 1959; at: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/sw-in-pdf/sw-kranti-v8-partial.pdf>

45 Mao Tse-tung: 'Introducing "The Communist"' (October 1939), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 2; Peking; 1965; p. 289.

46 Mao Tse-tung: 'The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party' (December 1939), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 2; Peking; 1965; p. 319-20

47 Mao Tse-tung: 'Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front' (March 1940), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 2; Peking; 1965; p. 423, 424

development. We shall protect every national capitalist who does not support the imperialists or the Chinese traitors... The labour laws of the people's republic . . . will not prevent the national bourgeoisie from making profits or developing their industrial and commercial enterprises." ⁴⁸

"The new-democratic revolution... differs from a socialist revolution in that it . . . does not destroy any section of capitalism which is capable of contributing to the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle". ⁴⁹

"Some people suspect that the Chinese Communists are opposed to... the growth of private capital and the protection of private property, but they are mistaken... It is the very task of the New Democracy we advocate to guarantee that the people can develop freely such private capitalist economy as will benefit and not 'dominate the livelihood of the people', and to protect all appropriate forms of private property.

It is not domestic capitalism but foreign imperialism and domestic feudalism which are superfluous in China today; indeed, we have too little of capitalism... Under the state system of New Democracy in China it will be necessary in the interests of social progress to facilitate the development of the private capitalist sector of the economy (provided it does not dominate the livelihood of the people)". ⁵⁰

"This, at first blush, superficially appears to be quite consistent with Lenin and Stalin up to here. But there are two major retrograde revisions made by Mao. The first obvious problem is that Mao manufactures a 'new ally' – namely non-pro-Japanese comprador capitalists - supposedly they are allies of the workers and peasants. However, there is another far more subtle but very dangerous problem introduced by Mao. For Lenin and Stalin had argued for an uninterrupted transition between the first (national democratic stage) to the second (socialist) state. This is especially so when the proletarian party is leading the national democratic revolution: "

"The proletariat pushes aside the national bourgeoisie, consolidates its hegemony and assumes the lead of the vast masses of the working people in town and country, in order to overcome the resistance of the national bourgeoisie, secure the complete victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and then gradually convert it into a socialist revolution." ⁵¹

But we should understand this adjective 'gradually'. Actually, it is 'uninterrupted' there can be no "artificial, Chinese wall between the first and the second revolutions":

"From the democratic revolution we shall at once, according to the degree of our strength. . . begin to pass over to the socialist revolution. We stand for continuous revolution. We shall not stop half way".⁵²

48 Mao Tse-tung: 'On Tactics against Japanese Imperialism' (December 1935), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; Peking: 1964; p. 169.

49 Mao Tse-tung: 'The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party' (December 1939), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 2; Peking: 1965; p. 327

50 Mao Tse-tung: 'On Coalition Government' (April 1945), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 3; Peking: 1965; p. 281, 283.

51 Josef V. Stalin: 'Questions of the Chinese Revolution' (April 1927), in: 'Works', Volume 9; Moscow; 1954; p. 225

52 Vladimir I. Lenin: 'The Attitude of Social-Democracy toward the Peasant Movement' (September 1905), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 3; London; 1946; p. 145

"To attempt to raise an artificial Chinese wall between the first and second revolutions, to separate them by anything else than the degree of preparedness of the proletariat and the degree of unity with the poor peasants, is monstrously to distort Marxism, to vulgarise it, to put liberalism in its place".⁵³

"Lenin himself maintained the point of view of uninterrupted revolution".⁵⁴

Yet what does Mao have to say?

"In the future the democratic revolution will undoubtedly be transformed into a socialist revolution. . . . It may take quite a long time. . . It is wrong to . . . expect the transition to take place soon."⁵⁵

"The Chinese revolution cannot avoid taking the two steps, first of New Democracy, and then of socialism. Moreover, the first step will need quite a long time".⁵⁶

"A new democratic state based on an alliance of the democratic classes is different in principle from a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . For a long time to come there will exist a special form of state and political power, a form that is distinguished from the Russian system, . . . namely, the new democratic form of state and political power based on the alliance of the democratic classes. Our general programme of New Democracy will remain unchanged . for several decades".⁵⁷

In other words, it was implied that the transition to a socialist revolution was not something which should follow the democratic stage of the revolution with the minimum possible interruption, but a distant prospect:

"Needless to say, private enterprise... will inevitably continue to occupy a dominant position for a considerable time".⁵⁸

"In the future the democratic revolution will inevitably be transformed into a socialist revolution... It may take quite a long time... It is wrong to... expect the transition to take place soon".⁵⁹

"For a long time to come there will exist a special form of state and political power, a form that is distinguished from the Russian system but is perfectly necessary and reasonable for us, namely, the new-democratic form of state... Our general programme of New Democracy will remain unchanged... for several decades".⁶⁰

Summary of this section:

53 Vladimir I. Lenin: 'The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky' (November 1918), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 7; London; 1946; p. 191.

54 Josef V. Stalin: 'The Foundations of Leninism' (April/May 1924), in: 'Works', Volume 6; Moscow; 1953; p. 107

55 Mao Tse-tung: 'On Tactics against Japanese Imperialism' (December 1935), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; Peking; 1964; p. 144.

56 Mao Tse-tung: 'On New Democracy' (January 1940), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 2; Peking; 1965; p. 358

57 Mao Tse-tung: 'On Coalition Government' (April 1945), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 3; Peking; 1965; p. 284, 285

58 Mao Tse-tung: 'Our Economic Policy' (January 1934), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; Peking; 1964; p. 144

59 Mao Tse-tung: 'On Tactics against Japanese Imperialism' (December 1935), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 1; Peking; 1964; p. 170

60 Mao Tse-tung: 'On Coalition Government' (April 1945), in: 'Selected Works', Volume 3; Peking; 1965; op. cit.; p. 285

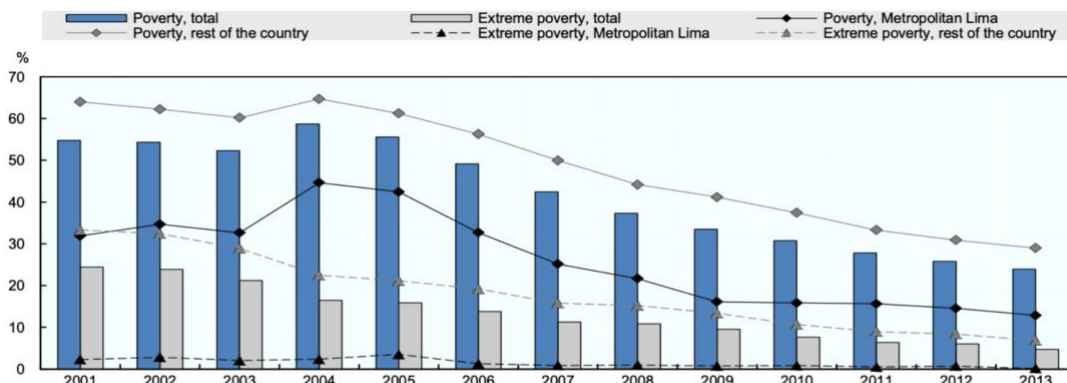
The term bureaucratic capitalism was an invention to obfuscate the class alliance between sections of capitalism and the workers and peasants – one that Mao had no intention of moving beyond the first stage of a democratic national liberation. This was only disrupted when Mao as a representative of pro-US capitalist compradors wanted to attack the CPC which had become dominated by the national capitalist class led by Liu Shao Chi.⁶¹ The use of the term by Chairman Gonzalo did not conform to the reality of Peruvian capitalism.

10. The current state of Peru

In brief neither the “Shining Path” nor the Velasco capitalists had changed life for the better for Peru’s toilers – workers and peasants. Peru ranks in the 42nd spot for the degree of inequity as measured by its gini coefficient of 42.8%. This ranges from 0% (perfect equality) to 100% (Complete inequality).⁶²

Measured in other ways, the OECD data shows that a ‘minimum basket of minimum and essential goods and services’ measure apparently shows a drop in rates of poverty from 2001 to 2013. But this is an extreme measure by any account.

Figure 2.1. Poverty and extreme poverty in Peru 2001-13



Note: 2013 data are estimates. According to INEI, total poverty includes individuals who belong to a household where either income or consumption per capita is less than the cost of a minimum basket of minimum and essential goods and services; extreme poverty includes those where this is below the value of a minimum basket of food.

Source: INEI (National Institute of Statistics).

63

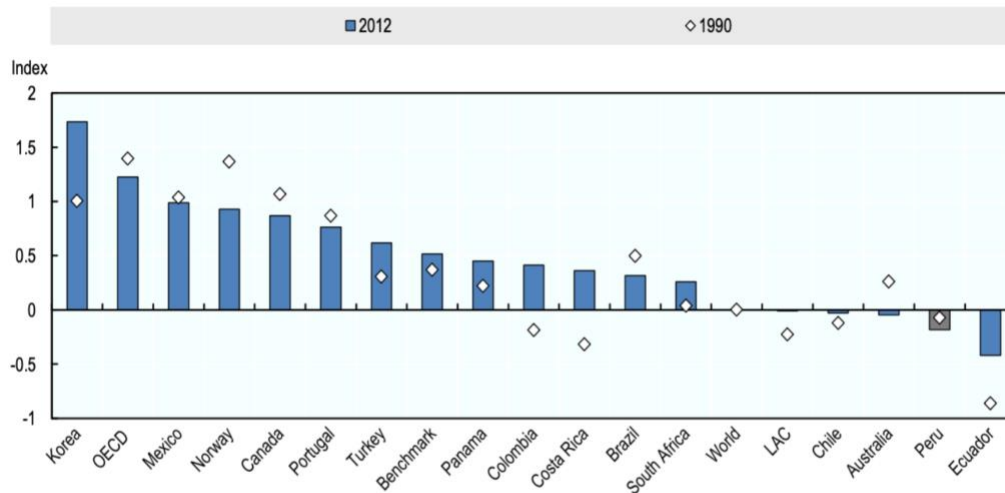
Yet, the economy of Peru shows in comparison to the rest of the world a striking continued dependence on raw material export. The strategy of Velasco in bargaining with imperialism did not change Peru’s economic structure as far as industrialization goes.

61 <http://ml-review.ca/aml/China/historyofmao.html>

62 <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/gini-coefficient-by-country?ref=vc.ru>

63 OECD Development Pathways; Multi-dimensional Review of Peru; Social inclusion and sustainable development in Peru: Volume 1. Initial Assessment; at: https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/multi-dimensional-review-of-peru_9789264243279-en#page50

Figure 3.10. Economic complexity indicator (ECI), 1990-2012



Note: ECI ranks how diversified and complex a country's export basket is. The most complex products are sophisticated chemicals and machinery, whereas the world's least complex products are raw materials or simple agricultural products.

Source: Hausmann, R. et al. (2012), *The Atlas of Economic Complexity*, Puritan Press, Cambridge, MA; Simoes, A.J.G. and C.A. Hidalgo (2012), "The Economic Complexity Observatory: An analytical tool for understanding the dynamics of economic development", Workshop at the Twenty-Fifth AAAI Conference on Artificial Intelligence, August, 2011, Cambridge, MA.

11. The View today of the Communist Party Peru (ML) *Bandejara Roja*

The view of the Communist Party Peru (ML) *Bandejara Roja*, of the ICMLOP, rejects the Maoist revisionism of the 'Senderos'. In its 2017 Programme, the Peruvian party's begins with an explicit repudiation of the adventurist line:

"The Peruvian Communist Party (Marxist - Leninist) understands that revolutionary action is carried out by the conscious and organized masses, educated on the basis of their own experience by their vanguard, for which it is alien to adventurism, terrorism and opportunist conceptions where it is intended to replace the mass action by petty-bourgeois radicalism that in practice coincides with the plans of the reaction by demobilizing the working class and truncating its advance."⁶⁴

The Peruvian revolution requires the worker-peasant alliance.

A fuller view of "Shining Path" was put by the party in 2013, which was blunt and explicit:

"The role of Shining Path"

Shining Path tried to make abroad believe that they are "victims of persecution" by the Peruvian authorities. The truth is that here no one cares about them, but they continue to do their job of betraying and discrediting the popular movement with their provocations. The press reports that all the struggles of the workers, peasants, teachers and students are led by the "Shining Path" or their arm

⁶⁴ Programa Del Partido Comunista Peruano (Marxista - Leninista) - Aprobado En La VII Conferencia Nacional De 2017; Peru, March 2017; at <https://pcpml.com/2018/02/03/programa-del-partido-comunista-peruano-marxista-leninista-aprobado-la-vii-conferencia-nacional-2017/>

called "Movadef" [Movement for Amnesty and Fundamental Rights], which is totally false. Unfortunately this confuses particular certain intellectual sectors at the same time as it creates justification to crack down with fire and sword on any protests to defend the communal territories. The terrorists have nothing to do with these struggles, but reaction achieved its goal since the press at their service publishes the names of our peasant leaders, linking them to terrorism. The truth is that Shining Path was created by the CIA to disrupt the organization of the Peruvian people, particularly of the peasantry and their communities. It is no accident that after Shining Path assassinated communal leaders and the army completed the massacres, killing the survivors. The communities were depopulated and immediately after the mining companies appeared in order to exploit the minerals without any opposition because the people who survived were forced to flee to the cities, mainly to the capital. Shining Path took charge of discrediting the name of the Communist Party and Marxism, carrying out an open propaganda that is subliminally anti-Marxist so that even today the masses are afraid to deal with issues such as scientific socialism and the class struggle for fear of being accused of being "terrorists." This means that once the law of denial is approved, fear would overtake the masses even more; this is a direct service of Shining Path to the empire. It is in charge of assassinating the main popular leaders, including many of our cadres: Misael Oré, Lorenzo Chuchón, Lorenzo Galindo, Ismael Palomino, Pablo Villanueva, Julio Gutierrez, Raul Quispe, all party members who were victims of the cowardly attack by this pseudo-revolutionary group. Shining Path did not forgive their ideological clarity and faithfulness to their Marxist-Leninist principles, as our comrades always demarcated themselves from these counter-revolutionary positions that claimed to make the revolution for the people by annihilating the people, adopting adventurist, despotic and dogmatic positions, defending ideas that never contributed nor made a theoretical contribution to Marxism, who played and still play with the enthusiasm of the youth to fulfill the work commissioned by the drug trade and the empire to discredit and tarnish Marxism. In this way, they leave the working masses leaderless, so that the government can follow the guidelines of the IMF and the World Bank, lashing out against the rights of the workers, peasants and students, privatizing health care and education, selling off our resources and handing over our country to concessions. The repression of the government and the selective assassination of the main popular leaders, executed by the Narco-Terrorist Organization Shining Path, forced our comrades and our people into an ebb that we believe has come to an end, thanks to the firmness of the ideology of the proletariat and the conscious commitment of our comrades, who never rejected the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism as a supreme science of the interests of the working class, of the class struggle, of the use of revolutionary violence, of the dictatorship of the proletariat."⁶⁵

The Programme of the PCP(ML) BR does not denote the ruling class as being the 'bureaucratic capitalist' – but notes the bourgeoisie and Creole oligarchy are linked to imperialism:

“Destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie and the Creole oligarchy; in order to implant the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as a State expression of the

65 'Situation of the CP Peru ML February 2013'; Posted by Editor Revolutionary Democracy Fri, 20 Sep 2013 08:49:49 -0700; on the: 'Marxist-Leninist List'; <https://www.mail-archive.com/marxist-leninist-list%40greenhouse.economics.utah.edu/msg02585.html>

political power of the working class, the peasantry and the other classes exploited by capitalism.”⁶⁴

The enemy of the Peruvian peoples are:

“Imperialism, the Creole bourgeoisie, the anti-national and anti-popular forces” where imperialist forces include “mainly North American imperialism, as well as the Chinese, Russian, Canadian, other powers and their front men”.⁶⁴

Capitalism and imperialism have transformed the rural landscape leaving it in the hands of the “parasitic bourgeoisie’ and ‘transnationals’:

“Anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist agrarian reform, which implies the abolition of large capitalist property over land, by confiscating it and handing it over to the agricultural proletariat that works it”.

This means that:

“common property of the lands and territories... were seized from the Peasant and Native Communities, by the parasitic bourgeoisie, land traffickers and the mining, gas, oil, hydroelectric and logging transnationals.”⁶⁴

Conclusion

Abimael Guzmán was responsible for a tragic delay of the working class and peasantry-led Peruvian revolution.

3rd October 2021.