

Elections 2021, and Peruvian reformist politicians - Promises, promises...

Recent Presidents of Peru were a lousy lot: Alberto Fujimori (*jailed 25 years for terror*); Alan García (*committed suicide charged with bribery from Brazilian firm Odebrecht*); Alejandro Toledo (*fugitive from Odebrecht*); Pedro Pablo Kuczynski (*house arrest Odebrecht*); Martin Vizcarra (*impeached twice, banned from office for jumping lines for COVID vaccination*). Who comes next?

After much delay, Pedro Castillo was declared to have won Presidential elections against Keiko Fujimori (Alberto's daughter). What can workers and peasants of Peru expect of Castillo? Capitalists aim to simply gull Peruvian toilers yet again. More false promises of fighting imperialism without revolution.

Previously, this dead-end led to another - isolated 'focos', spontaneous guerrilla-ism unlinked to workers movements. Lenin said that the wages of opportunism in the labour movement is ultra-left adventurism and anarchism – of which one key component is individual terror:

"Anarchism was often a sort of punishment for the opportunist sins of the working class movement. Both monstrosities mutually supplemented each other".¹

Both errors (i.e. right 'socialist' reformist paths and ultra-left guerrilla-ism) are rooted in avoiding the difficult but necessary path of building a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party of the workers and peasants. We review approaches to imperialism of Mariategui and Marxist-Leninists and compare them to reformist compacts with imperialism. Under the latter are various shades of national bourgeoisie. But these have repeatedly capitulated to comprador bourgeoisie and imperialism.

1. Jose Carlo Mariátegui

As the founder of the Peruvian Communist Party, Mariategui first confronted bogus leftists when opposing Victor Raul Haya de la Torre's *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*. APRA confused and distracted Peruvian toilers, claiming to reject ideologies from outside Latin America, including Lenin:

"Apristas argued that Lenin's theses on imperialism did not reflect development particular to Latin American countries. Communism was essentially a European phenomenon...The anti-imperialist state would exert control over foreign capital; it would not eliminate it."²

Torre was a *pro-USA comprador*, who argued that foreign capital could be 'regulated':

"Haya was critical of radicals who urged Latin America to reject all foreign capital..... he advocated the regulation of foreign investment to ensure that it supported national goals.... APRA leaders accepted US-led hemispheric integration."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin: "'Left-wing Communism', An Infantile Disorder", in: "Selected Works", Volume 10; London; 1946; p. 71.

² Geneviève Dorais; 'Journey to Indo-América: APRA; Cambridge; p.2-11

In contrast Mariátegui based anti-imperialism on Lenin.³:

“Profits from mining, commerce, transportation do not stay in Peru. They go outside as dividends, interest, ... “Peruvian progress depends on the price of sugar and cotton in markets in New York and London. Peru’s economic dependency is felt throughout the nation.”⁴

Mariátegui argued Peru had *three underlying economic elements*:

“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.”⁴

Succeeding colonial feudalism, a system of ‘*Gamonalismo*’ (rural bossism) had been constructed. Mariátegui uses the term ‘semi-feudal’,⁵ though 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 is the hegemony of the semi-feudal landed estate in the policy and mechanism of the government.”⁶

The weak native 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”.

Because of its weakness the small liberal (national) 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.”⁴

“The latifundistas are satisfied as foreign capital’s intermediaries in sugar and cotton.”⁴

³ Eric Helleiner & Antulio Rosales; ‘The significance of the Haya-Mariátegui debate’; *International Studies Review* [1521-9488; 2017 Vol. 19(4); p.667 -691

⁴ Jose Carlos Mariategui, “Outline of Economic Evolution”; At: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/mariategui/works/7-interpretive-essays/essay01.htm>

⁵ We will discuss in a separate piece the Marxist-Leninist validity or otherwise of the term ‘feudalism’ for non-European settings.

⁶ 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>

“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.”⁴

This long failure to transform into capitalism had long lasting effects to today, deepening Peru’s servitude to imperialism. As the CPP(ML)BR situates Peru today in a summary as a ‘backward capitalism dependent on neocolonialism in the framework of neocolonialism’:

“The concentration of the population has changed more rapidly in the last decades: due to the forced displacement to which the peasantry was subjected by the paramilitary activities of Senderista (Shining Path) terrorism and the dictatorship of Fujimoro, the robbing of their means of production to hand them over the mining, gas and oil transnational companies; the abandonment of the countryside by the State, which makes the survival of the peasantry in their places of origin unsustainable, who are pushed by necessity to migrate to the cities to sell their labor power. All these phenomena have been analyzed in our 7th National Conference that characterized Peruvian society as follows: *“The characterization which we arrived after the last studies of Peruvian society is that of backward capitalism, dependent on imperialism in the framework of neocolonialism. That is, within the framework of the existence of a multipolar world, where the Chinese and Russian imperialist powers have been contending for markets.”*⁷

By 1950, the ‘*Coidgo de Minería*’ (Mining Laws), enabled the USA to strip Peruvian raw material and assets.⁸ For Mariátegui only the organised working class and peasantry state power could control imperialism. He proposed:

“a proletarian party (of) a worker-peasant alliance... the peasant question was central with the leading role of the proletariat in the transition to socialism.”⁹

For the CPP (ML)BR the “*democratic tasks*” remains the task of “*the worker-peasant alliance*”, and only after taking “*Power*” will this be possible:

“We have a society of backward capitalism, deformed by imperialist domination, so that the tasks of the productive forces and the industrialization of the country are among the democratic tasks of the worker-peasant alliance in Power.”⁷

Even in the 1961 census peasant lands were minimal and marginal:

“1% of landowners held 80% of private land, whereas 83% of farmers held properties of 5 hectares or less, representing only 6% of private land.”¹⁰

⁷ Peruvian CP (ML)7th National Conference, April 2017; In ‘Unity and Struggle’, Journal of the ICOMLP Issue 34; June 2017; p.188-189.

⁸ S.Hunt, ‘Direct Foreign Investment’; in A.F.Lowenthal ‘Peru’s Ambiguous Revolution’; Princeton 1975; p. 302f

⁹ T.Angotti, ‘Contributions of Mariátegui’, 1986, Vol. 13(2), Perspectives Left Politics, p. 33f

¹⁰ M.Albertus, ‘Land Reform’; American Journal Political Science, Vol. 64(2), 2020, p. 256

In the 20th century, the rural, grinding poverty spurred spontaneous uprisings, from 1915 on, ¹¹ swelling by 1964, becoming occasionally guerrilla ‘focos’. ¹² ¹³ They prompted paltry reforms. Three large insurrections *failed* (Hugo Blanco; Javier Heraud and the Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN); and Luis de la Puente Uceda’s Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) ¹⁴ - because:

“guerrillas remained separated from the peasantry by an immense cultural and linguistic barrier... mutual mistrust ... prevented effective cooperation.” ¹⁵

2. General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968) - Reforms reversed in ‘neo-liberal’ era

By 1968 reforms finally began in **Juan Velasco Alvarado’s** dictatorship. But they were to be reversed, ending in great land concentration for rural comprador capitalists. Velasco had no intent to expropriate imperialism, saying in 1969:

“The government doesn’t have any money... The country needs capital for its development”. ¹³

“private investment, even if it creates economic modernization, serves as a mechanism for removing wealth from Latin America. But... Latin American development requires foreign capital.” ¹³

Velasco aimed to transform comprador rural landholding bourgeoisie, into a modern bourgeoisie:

“converting agrarian capitalists into industrial capitalists.” ¹⁶

Velasco bargained for:

“Foreign investment under forms that guarantee that our countries have a fair share in the wealth.” ¹³

Limited agrarian reforms defused many peasant risings, after ‘Agrarian Law’ #17716, placed expropriated land into cooperatives. But its scope was severely limited leaving landlord-capitalists empowered. Non-agricultural businesses of landowners were untouched; and limits on land ownership were high at 165 hectares. The CPP(ML)BR terms the limited measures as follows:

“the corporatist Agrarian Reform Law of General Velasco Alvarado.” ¹⁷

¹¹ J.C.Grijalva, ‘Paradoxes of Inka Utopianism’; 2010; *Journal Latin American Cultural Studies*, 2010; 19(3), p. 317

¹² Bland W.B; ‘Theory of Guerrilla Elite’; at: <http://ml-review.ca/aml/MLOB/GuerrillaEliteFIN.htm>

¹³ C.Harding; ‘Land Reform’; in A.F.Lowenthal, ‘Peruvian Experiment under Military’; Princeton; 1975; p.226

¹⁴ R.Gott; ‘Guerrilla Movements Latin America’; London 1970; p.231f;

¹⁵ L.G.Campbell; ‘Peruvian Guerrilla Movement, 1960-1965’; *LatAmer Research Review*, Spring, 1973, Vol. 8(1); pp. 45-70

¹⁶ A.Quijano, ‘Nationalism and capitalism Peru’; 1971, *Monthly Review Press N.York*; p.16f

¹⁷ CP Peru (M-L); ‘Unmask Senderismo’; ‘Unity & Struggle’ *Journal of ICMLPO*; Winter 2015; #30; p.83-89; <http://cipoml.net/en/?p=278>

Yet even this limited reform proved 'too much' for the landowning oligarchy. Francisco Morales Bermúdez reversed in 1975, breaking up cooperatives. Later governments (Belaúnde and García) closed more cooperatives, and neo-liberal, vicious Alberto Fujimori (1990–2000) closed the last.¹⁸ Fujimori seized the chaos of the 'Shining Path' insurgency (whose leader Abel Guzman died in prison on October 11th 2021) to instigate army massacres of progressives.

The 'Shining Path' repeated prior mistakes, in an ultra-leftist, individual terrorism inspired by Mao Ze Dong.^{17,19,20} Naïve authoritarianism included prohibiting peasants going to markets. It descended into simple illegitimate terrorism:

“eighty peasants (were) slaughtered in Lucanamarca (for) collaborating with government.”²⁰

The theory of 'countryside encircling the towns' justified such horrendous betrayal of workers and peasants. Senderos became cocaine-traffic revenue extorters.²¹ The peasantry turned against them using their own militia. The 'Shining Path' enabled by giving a 'pretext' for the repressive, murderous government of Alberto Fujimori, his secret service (SIN) chief Vladimiro Montesino to take ruthless steps against workers and peasants.

As the CPP (ML)BR summarizes the role of the 'Shining Path':

“The acts of sabotage and terrorism against the people have undoubtedly been initiated by an enemy group in our Party and the working people, "Shining Path," whose main leaders were expelled from our organization for a number of serious reasons. Among these were: ideological and political disagreement, having become a factional group within the Party, betraying the proletarian cause, trying to involve the Party with drug trafficking, never having undertaken as cadres, the leadership of a truly mass movement, a task assigned by the Party. It ('Shining Path' - ed) organizationally liquidated the Regional Committee of Ayacucho of the Peruvian Communist Youth (Marxist-Leninist), after it had made efforts to fulfill the directive of the CC of the Party, to promote actions in defense of free education on June 21 and 22, 1969, in Huanta and Ayacucho, along with organizing the peasant movement against the imposition of the corporatist Agrarian Reform Law of General Velasco Alvarado and against.. agrarian debt as directed by the Party...”¹⁷

Combined it ended in: “the massacre of Fujimori-Montesino and Shining Path.”²²

What was the fate of Velasco's 'corporatist land reforms'? By Alan García's second presidency (2006–2011), “re-concentrators” of land were instituted:

¹⁸ Cant, A.; 'Land Without Masters'; U Texas Press 2021; p.153f

¹⁹ D.Poole; 'New Chroniclers Peru: US'; Bulletin Latin American Research, 1991, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1991), pp. 133-191

²⁰ O.Starn; 'Maoism in Andes'; 1995, Journal LatAmer Studies; Vol.27 (2); p.399-421

²¹ D.S.Palmer; 'Peru, Drug Business, Shining Path'; 1992, Journal Interamerican Studies; Vol. 34(3), p.65

²² 'Without an organized Communist Party there is no Revolution', 'Unity & Struggle' #36 Journal of ICMLPO, August 6, 2018; p.139f

“limiting land ownership to 40,000 hectares... far exceeding the largest latifundios before reform.... In re-concentration of land... 60,000 hectares was acquired by seven companies. In Piura, the Romero group - whose vast estates were expropriated by agrarian reform - owns 10,000 hectares. The transnational enterprise Maple Etanol SRL owns 12,000 hectares, to grow sugarcane for bio-combustibles industries.”¹⁸

Indigenous land seizures or predatory purchasing in indigenous forests by multinationals, resulted in forest “concessions” of 400 square kilometers for use over 40 years to 2010.²³ A further 64 lots ‘conceded’ 500,000 square kilometers (72% of Peru’s Amazonia) but was halted by peoples fronts. In elections of 2006 and 2011, Ollanta Humala Tasso also posed as a military reformer, but when he gained power he pursued neo-liberalism.

Currently Peru ranks 42nd in inequity measures (‘gini coefficient’ of 42.8%).²⁴ True, OECD poverty data of a ‘minimum basket of minimum essential goods’, shows poverty rates dropped to 2013.²⁵ But this is an extreme measure, and was before COVID. At 614 deaths per 100,000 population, Peru has the highest death rate from COVID.²⁶ Even by 2020, an alarming rise in the poverty rate by 6 percentage points in 2020 had “pushed almost two million people into poverty.”²⁷ Peru is typical of countries who depend on raw material export, Peru on minerals. Velasco’s bargain did not reduce imperialist hold.

3. What are the new promises?

In the modern era, the working class and peasants of Peru have been subjected to several tricks. The trickery of Velasco’s reforms were exposed by the reality of the re-concentrations of land.

The trickery of the Fujimoro repressions against the workers and peasant masses on the pretext of ‘protecting them against ‘Shining Path’ was also seen through. This can be seen from the huge protests against Fujimoro’s ‘pardon’. The killings by the ‘Grupo Collina’ death squads of Montesino-Fujimoro led to Fujimoro’s conviction of murder in 2009, and sentence to 25 years in prison. After 10 years then President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski (the president now under house arrest for charges related to Odebrecht corruption) ‘pardoned’ Fujimoro, but this was reversed after huge people’s demonstrations. As PCP (ML) BR says, the camouflage of the bourgeoisie now shows several gaping holes:

“The events that have taken place since December 2017: The pardon for the genocidal, robber and corrupt Alberto Fujimori, the declaration of the places where the popular protests are taking place as emergency zones, the determination of the amounts of dollars given as bribes from ODEBRECHT to Peruvian politicians, the negotiations to avoid the presidential vacancy, the laws

²³ G.Rénique’, *Law of Jungle in Peru: Indigenous Amazonian Uprising*, 2009 *Socialism and Democracy*, 23(3) p.117

²⁴ <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/gini-coefficient-by-country?ref=vc.ru>

²⁵ OECD, ‘Development Pathways; Peru’; at: https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/multi-dimensional-review-of-peru_9789264243279-en#page50

²⁶ *Cases and mortality by Country*; Johns Hopkins; 15 October 2021; <https://coronavirus.jhu.edu/data/mortality>

²⁷ *The World Bank In Peru*; <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/peru/overview#1> April, 2021; Accessed 15 October 2021

that Congress has enacted to criminalize popular protest, the approval of the Juvenile Slavery Bill, the exemption from the payment of taxes to the big transnational corporations, the law that prevents audits of Parliament for its expenses and contracts, the authorization of the entry of U.S. troops, etc., have shown the Peruvian people more clearly how the country has been led. The CONFIEP (Association of the biggest business owners and their Peruvian figureheads) is the body that represents the interests of the intermediary bourgeoisie and the transnationals; they are the true holders of the political power of the State and the various rulers and parliamentarians have been no more than their puppets. This is also true of the Police, Army, Navy and Air Force, who are also defenders of their neoliberal constitutional order; they are not, as they say, defenders of national sovereignty and the interests of the Peruvian people.“²²

Under such exposure ever more sophisticated masquerades of reformism need to be evolved to disguise true extents of class collaboration. Fortunately for the bourgeoisie, Vladimir Roy Cerrón Rojas, founded Peru Libre in 2007.

As a regional governor, of Junin, Cerron was convicted of corruption and is barred from election. Pedro Castillo of the teachers' union of 350,000 members²⁸ stood for 'Peru Libre' who won. But Keiko Fujimori, the army and most press media alleged electoral fraud, and that Castillo and Cerron were really 'Shining Path-ers'. After intense scrutiny Castillo was declared the winner having received 50.13% of votes against Keiko Fujimori's 49.87%. 'Peru Libre' now holds 37/130 seats in Congress. What does Cerronism, and then President Castillo stand for? We start with Cerronism.

Cerron's program calls the party: "socialist, Marxist, Leninist and Mariáteguist".²⁹ It calls for a new Constituent Assembly to "dismantle neo-liberalism" in a:

"Wealth redistributing state. Change of the accumulating state that favors the transnational business community by attempting to improve wages by a redistributing state of wealth favoring the national business community that improves wages. *Introduction*"²⁹

Nationalization will achieve 'redistribution' by:

"renegotiating the distribution of profits, (now) the transnational companies keep 70%... up to 80% and 90% of profits... We propose to reverse the distribution of profits, 20% in favor of the transnational and 80% in favor of the State; *Chapter 3.*"²⁹

The word 'expropriation' does not appear. To further avert misunderstandings as to its limited vision of 'socialism' it states:

"Every revolution promotes, supports and defends their national public or private business, it is a political conspiracy to say that socialism is against them. The socialist state exercises a protective role over our private companies with respect

²⁸ Farid Kahha; 'Interviewed; 'Pedro Castillo Can Help End Neoliberalism in Peru,' Jacobin 06.01.2021

²⁹ <http://www.perulibre.pe/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/ideario-peru-libre.pdf>

to transnational capital. *Chapter XIX Our Posture In Front Of The Private Entrepreneur.*"²⁹

This is yet again – Torres' *Aprism* 'negotiating' - as is the sections on concessions and indigenous stolen lands by imperialism:

"private companies and concessionaires (in) prospecting, exploration and exploitation of natural resources in the sphere of the indigenous peoples and peasants, must comply with the binding consultation of the peoples... (in 'partnerships') *XIX: Posture.*"²⁹

True, the programme pays a certain lip-service to Lenin and Castro:

"Lenin was very right when he declared that true freedom of the press in a society is only possible when it is freed from the yoke of capital. Likewise, Fidel: "The problem is not that they lie, the problem is how we tell the truths" *VI. Media.*"²⁹

But how this 'press freedom' is achieved is not clarified. There is no clear path described that any Marxists recognize. How workers and peasants would take state power – is deliberately not explained.

The 'Peru Libre' programme appears typical of a **vacillating national bourgeois nature**. Even with such programmatic shallowness, there are rapid backslides and watering down. It is apparent that Castillo is even more accommodating to the imperialist forces.

In his 'Message to the Nation' on assuming the presidency in Congress, Castillo said:

"We do not even remotely intend to nationalize our economy or make an exchange control policy."³⁰

Such open repudiations of the programme of 'Peru Libre' have provoked crises. As key ministers attended the Organisation of American States (OAS) meeting, the 'Cerronist' Prime Minister Guido Bellido announced pre-emptively that:

"(unless) the Camisea natural-gas project did not renegotiate its contract to increase the state's share of the project's profits, it would seek to "nationalise" the firm (consortium of six gas companies)."³¹

He was quickly contradicted by Castillo and his economy minister Pedro Francke (formerly of the Peruvian Central Bank and World Bank), and foreign minister Óscar Maúrtua, the foreign minister. In his first speech at OAS Castillo soothingly said:

³⁰ *Message to Nation, five keys to his first speech' July 28, 2021, Memesita; <https://www.memesita.com/message-to-the-nation-pedro-castillo-assumed-the-presidency-the-five-keys-to-his-first-speech-free-peru-july-28-peru-politics/>*

³¹ *Economist Intelligence Unit; 'Prime minister threatens nationalisation'; Oct 4, 2021; at <https://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=151461998>*

“We are not communists. We have not come to expropriate anyone. We have not come to scare away investments. On the contrary, call large investors, businessmen, to go to Peru.”³²

Castillo has already removed members found most ‘unacceptable’ to the Peruvian ruling class, from his cabinet:

“Guido Bellido ... and Minister of Labor, Iber Maraví... fell (But) ... lawyer Luis Barranzuela Vite (Ministry of Interior) is of great concern... (defending) Cerrón, Bellido and Perú Libre in investigations for money laundering.”³³

Naturally enough the comprador bosses in Peru feel quite relaxed about matters:

“Roque Benavides, chief executive of local miner Buenaventura, told Reuters that... “I think that neither of the two candidates can impose their position and therefore I think that the idea of them making dramatic, drastic changes is very debatable,” he said.”³⁴

Conclusion

While Castillo is preferable to Fujimoro, there will be no fundamental changes for the workers and peasants of Peru under his tenure. What is being played out currently is another battle between a weak national bourgeoisie (represented at the moment by Cerronism) and a comprador bourgeoisie (represented by Castillo and Francke) allied to imperialism (mainly USA). While Castillo has some credibility with workers and peasants – he cannot maintain this – however big a peasant hat he wears. Even the narrow electoral margin he won shows this clearly. Workers and peasants must organise their independent path with their Marxist-Leninist party.

There have been attempts by a weak national bourgeoisie to ‘negotiate’ better terms with imperialism, in especial the regime of Velasco. However, ultimately power in Peru has remained with a comprador bourgeoisie in alliance with imperialism.

As Marxist-Leninists in Peru note, the bourgeoisie and Creole oligarchy are linked to imperialism and oppose the ‘political power of the working class, the peasantry and the other classes exploited by capitalism’:

“the political power of the bourgeoisie and the Creole oligarchy; (with) Imperialism, (and) 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”.³⁵

³² ‘Pedro Castillo at OAS: Internationalists point to ambiguity’; at <https://today.in-24.com/News/379881.html> and: ‘Promises of new President’; at: <https://usmediapress.com/the-promises-of-the-new-peruvian-president/>

³³ Editorial: Cerron is still present: The exit of Bellido and Marvi from the cabinet look cloudy with the arrival of Luis Barranzuela in a sensitive sector; *El Comercio*; October 7, 2021; <https://elcomercio.pe/opinion/editorial/editorial-cerron-sigue-presente-editorial-vladimir-cerron-pedro-castillo-mirtha-vasquez-luis-barranzuela-noticia/>

³⁴ *Latin America News*; ‘Peru markets and miners fear Castillo’; June 8, 2021; ‘Rio Times’; <https://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/mercosur/peru/analysis-peru-markets-and-miners-fear-castillo-see-silver-lining-in-split-vote/>

³⁵ *Programa Del Partido Comunista Peruano (Marxista–Leninista) March 2017*; at

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

“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.”³⁵

Shilly-shallying around the issue of workers and peasant power - is a false promise. The CPP(ML) BR continues to build the blunt, correct path forward.

<https://pcpml.com/2018/02/03/programa-del-partido-comunista-peruano-marxista-leninista-aprobado-la-vii-conferencia-nacional-2017/>