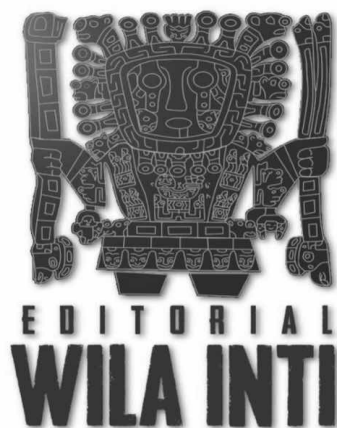


BANDERA ROJA

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English Preface by translators and producers of this translated version

When trying to understand current events in the ferment of South America today, the struggles and movements that have galvanised the peoples of Bolivia are important. The character of Evo Morales from outside of Bolivia, was difficult for us to understand without the guide of this document. It contains a class based history of Bolivia up to the time of its publication in March 2020.

This Founding Document of the Partido Comunista Revolucionario De Bolivia (PCR Bolivia) was extremely useful to us. We felt it may also prove of use to others. The Spanish original is to be found at this page of their web-site:

<https://tinta-roja.com/1-documentos-fundamentales/>

Evo Morales makes his first appearance in this Founding Document from the PCR Bolivia on p. 44.

The PCR Bolivia is a member of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations (CIPOML or ICMLOP). Their website is at:

<http://cipoml.net/en/?cat=3>

This Founding Document was translated using Google-Translate. We fully acknowledge that this is very far from a perfect and fluid translation. However, the most egregious potential errors we hope, have been removed. We remain responsible for any remaining errors.

A glossary and abbreviations page has been added for the non-Bolivian reader. We have tried to conform to the 'feel' of the original using copies of the photographs and the quotations.

Hari Kumar, Mike B.

For *Marxist-Leninist Currents Today*

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PRESENTATION - INTRODUCTION

Red Flag was between 1926 and 1927 the organ of the proletariat, a left-wing newspaper that reflected on its pages the communiqués of workers', popular and student organizations, provocative articles against the liberal and conservative elites and even documents of the Communist International. It was an instrument of struggle of the incipient communist movement in Bolivia until its persecution and closure by the national government.

The Revolutionary Communist Party has made the decision to rescue and vindicate the pioneers of communism in our country, and it is in this sense that the Theoretical Magazine of the PCR bears the historical name of Red Flag. This magazine aims to be a space for theoretical, political and ideological debate since it is governed by the principles of the RCP, that is, by Marxism-Leninism. In conjunctural moments like the one our country is currently experiencing, it is even more important to ideologically forge communist militancy to build a patriotic and popular alternative.

This first issue of Red Flag is dedicated in a special way to the complete publication of the fundamental documents of the Party, approved in the First Congress of the PCR, including the international greetings of our sister Parties of the CIPOML. Given the drastic changes in the national situation, after the oligarchic and fascist coup, the Second Plenary of the Central Committee met to develop the party line, the texts approved in that Plenary are incorporated. The III Plenary of the Central Committee developed the Program, the tasks of the Bolivian Revolution and the Popular Patriotic Front, which are also in this compilation.

By making our documents fully known, we are sure that we are providing the Bolivian peoples with an important tool to systematize our knowledge of the history of popular struggles and the horizon of the Bolivian revolution.

La Paz, March 2020 Central Committee Secretariat

¡He ahí la "noble" labor burguesa de ayer!

Corromper al proletariado, mediante el cohecho!



Dibujado en madera (tricomía) de Pablo Iturri Jurado (Román Latino)

Los candidatos distribuyen "su dinero", con prodigalidad sólo en elecciones!.....

Su desesperación por triunfar no es "patriótico" ni desinteresado, sino por enriquecerse más aún, mediante el saqueo de los dineros depositados por el pueblo, en las arcas municipales y fiscales, y si no, veí ahí el gesto amenazador y zocarrón que el burgués tiene para el elector proletario!.....

VICTORIOUS FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE PCR

The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR) communicates to the communists, the working classes, the youth and the peoples of Bolivia that the First National Congress of the PCR has successfully concluded its tasks. With the presence of delegates from all regions of the country, young people, women, workers and professionals, from the city and the countryside, the important task of debating and approving the fundamental documents of our Party has been fulfilled: the Program, the Declaration of Principles and the Organic Statute. Likewise, the democratic election of the Central Committee of the Party, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat has been carried out, with the task of directing the party work until the Second National Congress is held. The need for a Marxist-Leninist youth organization led to the approval of the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) as the youth arm of the Party.

The fraternal debate dealt with issues of the historical development of the left forces in our country, from the popular struggles from the anti-colonial movements hundreds of years ago to the anti-neoliberal mobilizations at the beginning of the 2000s, which left important lessons for the peoples. from Bolivia. The urgent need to continue with party construction was highlighted, which will equip the working majorities of our country with the Party that will lead the Socialist Revolution, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, demarcating with the positions of revisionism and modern reformism (Socialism of the Century XXI). The need to forge the Patriotic Popular Front was resolved to unite the popular sectors under the banners of struggle for democratic, popular, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist and anti-patriarchal demands.

The participation of international delegates from our sister parties the Peruvian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the Marxist Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador and the Communist Party of Mexico (Marxist-Leninist); Together with the greetings we receive from the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of the Workers of France and the Communist Platform - for the Communist Party of the Proletariat of Italy they reinforce our ties of camaraderie and proletarian internationalism within the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations (CIPOML).

Today the international communist movement has its detachment organized in Bolivia to raise the revolutionary flags high. This First National Congress of the PCR will go down in history together with the formation of the first Bolivian Communist Party (1926-1931), the breakdown of the PIR to give rise to the Communist Party of Bolivia (1950), the First Extraordinary Congress of the PCB (1964) and the Second Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist) (1983).

Long live the First National Congress of the PCR !!
Long live the CIPOML !!
Long live Marxism-Leninism !!
Peoples of Bolivia ... to combat, against the masista farce, for
popular democracy and the Socialist Revolution !!

Achocalla, La Paz, July 14, 2019

Secretariat of the Central Committee Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR)



Secretariado del Comité Central
Partido Comunista Revolucionario (PCR)



DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

HISTORICAL JUNCTURE

The first communist groups in Bolivia were organized from the second decade of the 20th century, driven by the victory of the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917; from the Center for Workers' Studies, 'Red Flag' newspaper, communist cells, Provisional Central Committee, Communist Parties (First PCs, PCB, PCB (ml)), Revolutionary Left Party (PIR), National Liberation Army (PRTB) -ELN, CNPZ-ELN), among other groups that historically have given the best cadres to the revolutionary struggle. Bolivian communists have a legacy of fighting for agrarian reform, fuller democratic freedoms, better living, study and work conditions for the broad popular majorities, and finally for popular democracy and the socialist revolution.

Faced with the surrender, disappearance and lack of revolutionary leadership in the country, the Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR) organized ourselves, collecting the historical experiences of the Bolivian peoples: overcoming errors (through permanent criticism and self-criticism) and rescuing the successes of the historical struggles of the exploited and oppressed; of the men and women who dreamed of a red dawn. Today the RCP constitutes ourselves in the vanguard of the Bolivian working class, of the peoples and of the youth in the revolutionary struggle.

MARXISM-LENINISM

The RCP are Marxist-Leninists, we maintain that the engine of history is the class struggle and that the historical objective of the working class is the seizure of power (through the combination of all forms of struggle) and the construction of socialism. scientific. The RCP recognizes as classics of Marxism-Leninism the four great teachers of the world proletariat: Carlos Marx, Federico Engels, Vladimir Lenin and José Stalin; thus we also recognize the contributions of great revolutionaries worldwide.

We fight for a society without exploitation or oppression of any kind; Communists fight gender violence, patriarchal oppression, seeking equal rights and obligations between women and men, defending the full rights of sexual and gender diversity. We fight against excessive overexploitation of the environment that responds to extractive policies that put social, environmental, and food security at risk, generating a crisis at the national and global level, we fight for the planned and rational use of natural, renewable and non-renewable resources .

We reject all forms of revisionism (petty-bourgeois tendencies that deviate and degenerate the struggle for scientific socialism), the theory of permanent revolution, class conciliation, the parliamentary path to socialism, peaceful coexistence, the theory of the three worlds and others. theories that have led to the disorganization and

demobilization of the working peoples. The return to capitalism in the ex-USSR and socialist countries were the result of the revisionist capitulations formally initiated in the XX Congress of the CPSU, these transitory defeats do not mark the end of socialism as a societal horizon. Marxist-Leninist communists hold high the red flags, with hammer and sickle, in the struggle for revolution and socialism, as the only alternative to capitalist barbarism.

"¡Proletarios de
todos los países,
uníos!"

Marx/Engels
Manifiesto del Partido Comunista

Caption: "Workers of the world Unite!" Marx & Engels Communist Manifesto

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The PCR are internationalists, we know that the working class at the level world is one, and our future is jointly also - the revolution and socialism. The PCR - is a full member of the Conference International Parties (Partidos) and Marxist-Leninist Organizations (CIPOML). As such, we fully ascribe to the Communist Proclamation (Quito, 1994) and the Communist Platform (Copenhagen, 2016), we defend the independence and equality of communist parties and organizations (Marxist-Leninists).

"Proletarians of all countries, unite! "

ANTI-IMPERIALISM

Imperialism is capitalism monopoly that generates the division of the world between the powers of the imperialists; currently the neocolonialism, through multinational corporations, denigrates national sovereignty and plunder natural resources. As Bolivian communists we fight against any expression of powers or imperialist blocs (both the US-European Union such as China-Russia) and we militate in solidarity with all anti-imperialist struggles and national and social liberation.

"El imperialismo es la fase superior y última del capitalismo."

Lenin

Imperialismo, fase superior del capitalismo

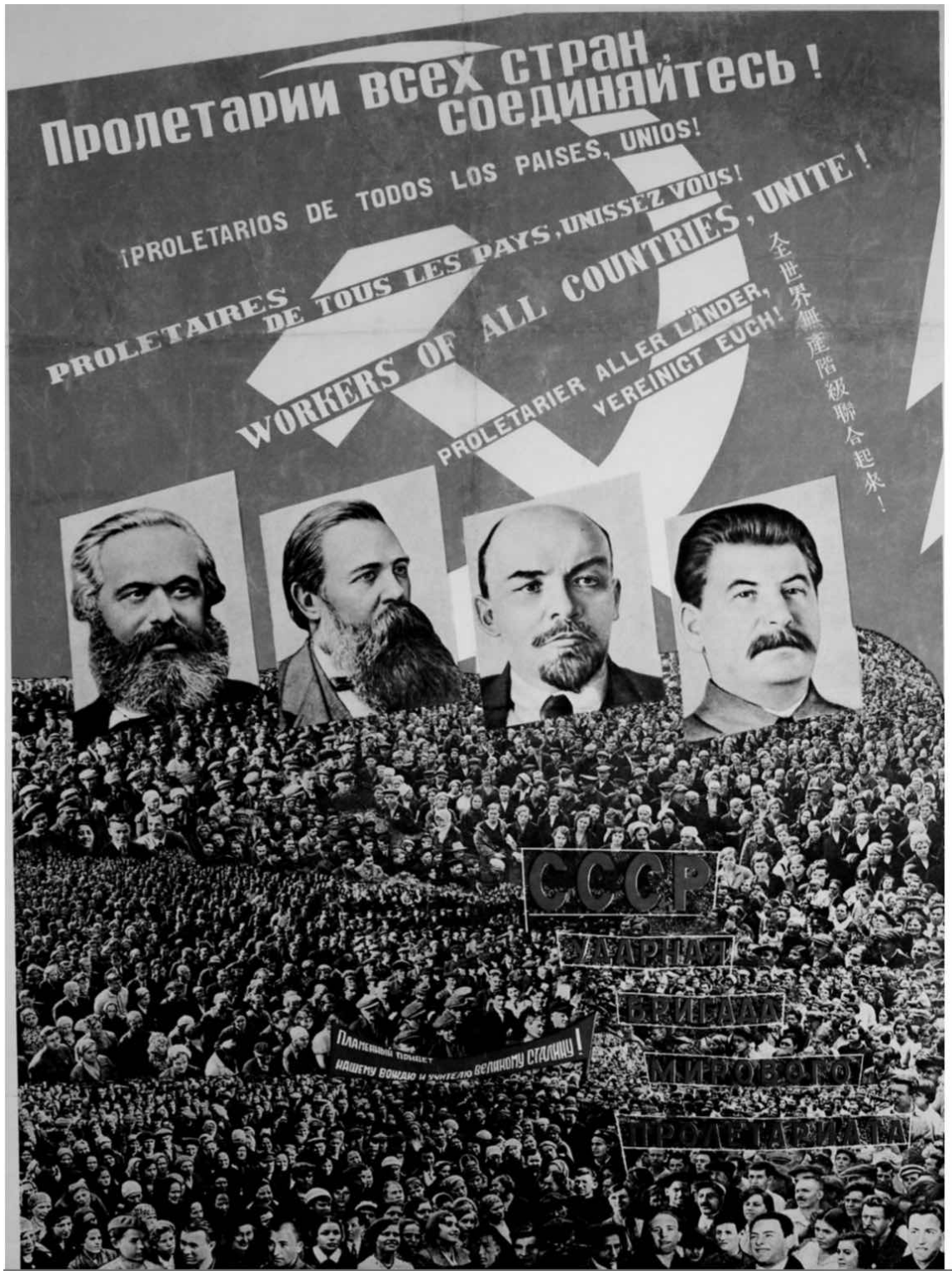
"El fascismo es la dictadura terrorista abierta de los elementos más reaccionarios, más chovinistas y más imperialistas del capital financiero."

Dimitrov

La ofensiva del fascismo

ANTI-FASCISM

The PCR fights against all expressions of national chauvinism, all forms of racism, oppression and discrimination; against the corporatization of the trade union movement, the criminalization of women protest and capitalism, and today's attack of capitalism on the labouring classes (las clases trabajadores).



ORGANIC STATUTES

CHAPTER I: THE PARTY AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

Article 1. The Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR) is the vanguard organization of the working classes of Bolivia, it is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, anti-imperialism, anti-fascism and proletarian internationalism. It is constituted in a party of cadres, of a select and secret character, whose historical task is the seizure of power through the combination of all forms of struggle, the conquest of popular democracy and the socialist revolution.

Article 2. The PCR and its militants are governed by the Declaration of Principles, Organic Statute, Program and the documents of political line, approved in accordance with this statute.

Article 3. The PCR is a full member of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations (CIPOML), ascribed to the Communist Proclamation (Quito, 1994), the Organization Norms (Quito, 2015) and the Communist Platform (Copenhagen, 2016).

Article 4. The PCR has as symbols:

1. Flag: Red, in the center the image of the hammer and sickle in yellow, with the Party's initials.
2. Colors: Red representing the blood shed in the struggle for a new society and Yellow for the wealth produced by the workers.
3. Symbols: Hammer and sickle representing the unity of the workers of the city and the countryside. Also the star, representing the unity of the workers of the five continents.
4. Anthem: The International

Article 5. It is established as an anniversary day commemorating the founding of the Party, on August 31, the date of the first Public Manifesto of the PCR (2014).

CHAPTER II: OF THE MILITANTS

Article 6. Any person who accepts and complies with the present statute, adheres to the program, is a Marxist-Leninist, who does not live from the exploitation of the work of others, permanently attends its structure and makes the corresponding contributions. For his admission, the candidate must comply with at least three months of trial and the endorsement of two active militants, his application for admission is put into consideration by his cell, later he will be sworn in as a full militant.

Article 7. The rights are equal for all militants:

1. Receive Marxist-Leninist political training, in theory and practice.
2. Participate with their opinions and positions in the meetings of their structure, for the elaboration of the party line.
3. Express their criticism and self-criticism within the organic spaces (never outside the Party) about party life, being able to address themselves to higher authorities.
4. Be respected, not suffer discrimination of any kind.
5. Elect and be elected to any position or body of the Party in accordance with this statute.
6. Be present in any process that judges their behavior with the right to defense.
7. Appeal to the immediate superior body the decisions with which you are not satisfied, having to abide by this decision while the appeal lasts.

Article 8. The duties of Party members are:

1. Exercise criticism and self-criticism, in the spaces in accordance with this Statute.
2. To train as a communist militant, in theory and practice, tempered in their revolutionary convictions.
3. Participate in party activities in a disciplined manner, at all levels, demonstrating an attitude of honesty and transparency.
4. Apply, disseminate and defend the Political Line, the Statute, Declaration of Principles and supporting documents.
5. Solidarity with the struggles of the working class, the working people, and other oppressed and exploited sectors, taking the line of the Party.
6. Carry out the tasks dispensed by the party organizations and resolutions in a disciplined manner.
7. Ensure party unity and integrity.
8. Discuss the party line in the spaces provided by the Statute.
9. Keep confidential information entrusted to it by the Party.
10. Contribute to finances, contributing to its structure and supporting financial campaigns
11. Maintain proletarian morale.
12. Party members who are candidates for publicly elected positions or for a mass front must have the approval of the immediately superior body.

CHAPTER III: ON THE LENINIST LABOR RULES

Article 9. Being a party oriented to conspiratorial work and insurrectionary preparation, all Party structures and militants must strictly observe the Leninist labor norms:

1. Personal knowledge among militants is limited to those who make up the same structure.
2. There are no horizontal relationships, they should not be known between agencies or structures, except for the cases established in this statute.
3. Not being interested more than is strictly necessary for the fulfillment of tasks.
4. Not to disclose the reserved affairs of the Party, nor among militants, nor to provide information to those who do not correspond, to respect the regular conduct and the organic spaces for this purpose.
5. Comply with the digital security regulations in the handling of cell phones, computers, social networks and others; do not disclose organic information by insecure electronic means.

CHAPTER IV: PARTY DISCIPLINE

Article 10. The Party must submit to a single discipline, which emanates from democratic-centralism, the militant is subordinate to the organization, minorities to the majority, lower bodies to superiors, tasks must be performed quickly and discreetly, respecting party secrecy.

Article 11. The activists who:

1. Failure to comply with the provisions of the Statute.
2. Attack the Political Line.
3. Act against the interests of the working class or betray the Party.
4. Do factional or ideological degeneracy work.

Article 12. The sanctions will be:

1. Verbal or written wake-up call.
2. Dismissal or suspension of management positions.
3. Temporary suspension.
4. Expulsion.

Article 13. Infringements must be judged in the first instance by the structure in which the accused is active, reporting to the immediate superior body and to the Control and Staff Commission of the C.C. In the case of members of the C.C. the measures must be taken with a two-thirds agreement and endorsed at the next Congress.

CHAPTER V: ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY

Article 14. The PCR is organized with the norms of democratic centralism:

1. Ideological, political and organic unity.
2. Extensive internal debate and strict unitary discipline.
3. Collective management and individual responsibility
4. Election and democratic removal of leaders.

5. Criticism and self-criticism at all levels of militancy. *Original p.17*

Of the Cells:

Article 15. The basic organism that constitutes the Party's oxygen is the cell, which has the following characteristics:

1. It is made up of three or more militants in work centers, study centers, neighborhoods and localities.
2. The militants must analyze the political situation, train in Marxism-Leninism, propose and carry out tasks related to the work space of their cell.
3. The highest instance of the cell is the Cell Assembly, in which all militants participate, the Cell Assembly must meet every two weeks at least.
4. The cells are organized, appointing their secretariat, which must be made up of the political manager, the organization manager and the security manager.

Of the Intermediate Organizations:

Article 16. The intermediate Organisms of the Party are:

1. Local committee.
2. Regional committee.
3. Special committee.

Article 17. These organizations group and coordinate the work of two or more cells, whether of a region, municipality, department, etc. Its jurisdiction will be determined by the Central Committee.

Article 18. The highest instance is the Congress that will be held every three years with delegates from all cells:

1. It must be summoned by the Intermediate Committee with the authorization of the Central Committee.
2. You will receive the reports of the Committee
3. Discuss the political situation
4. Elects the members of the Intermediate Committee, which internally appoints its Secretariat and the Commissions that they deem necessary.

Article 19. Between Congress and Congress, a Conference may be held 18 to bring together the members of a certain jurisdiction:

1. It must be summoned by the Intermediate Committee, with the authorization of the Political Bureau.
2. You will be able to touch on specific topics and;
3. Modify up to one third of the Committee.

Of the National Organizations:

Article 20. The highest instance of the Party is the National Congress:

1. It will be held at the call of the Central Committee, ordinarily every three years, being that if circumstances require it, it may be advanced, delayed or convened in an extraordinary way.

2. The members of the Central Committee are full members.
3. The base and intermediate structures must democratically elect their titular and attached delegates to participate in said congress according to the call.
4. The National Congress is the only instance that can approve and modify the Political Line, Declaration of Principles and the Organic Statute of the Party.
5. The National Congress determines the number and appoints the members of the Central Committee.

Article 21. The Central Committee is the highest instance between Congress and Congress and meets at least three times a year to debate the political and organic situation. The Central Committee appoints the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the Secretary General, as well as conforms the commissions it deems necessary.

Article 22. The Political Bureau is the national leadership body of the Party that receives the reports and guides the work of the Intermediate Committees, the National Commissions and the Mass Fronts, analyzes the political situation and guides the militancy through documents and releases.

Article 23. The Secretariat is the permanent collective leadership body of the Party and the body for coordinating tasks at the level.

Original p.19

It is also the highest representation of the Party both inside and outside the country.

Article 24. The Control and Panel Commission is made up of members of the Central Committee among the most prominent, disciplined and tempered militants in the class struggle. Its objective is to carry out the Party's cadre policy and to ensure party principles against all kinds of deviations and breaches.

Article 25. The National Conference, to bring together the militancy: 1. According to the convocation of the C.C.

2. You will be able to touch on specific topics and;
3. Modify up to one third of the Central Committee.

CHAPTER VI: OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH (JCR)

Article 26. The Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) is the youth detachment of the Party, in which the young communists militate and are trained, it depends on the political line of the PCR and its organizational structure it is based on this statute, responding to party structures.

Article 27. The Party may create fronts to participate permanently or temporarily in the popular spaces that it deems necessary, complying with the political line and with the democratic, anti-imperialist and unitary character; the militants appointed to these fronts must answer to their party structure for their actions.

CHAPTER VIII: FINANCE

Article 28. All economic management must be carried out with accountability in the corresponding structure, maintaining the principles of communist morality.

Article 29. The Party is financed with the contributions of its members. All militants must contribute to the Party in accordance with the minimum guidelines established by the C.C. The contributions will be distributed by agreement of the Central Committee according to the political development.



POLITICAL LINE AND PROGRAM

I. HISTORY OF RESISTANCE AND STRUGGLES

The history of resistance and struggles of the peoples that today inhabit the Bolivian territory is a living teaching of our collective conscience, of our mettle and of our deep conviction of freedom. The scientific understanding of our history from historical materialism (class struggle as the engine of history) shows us the role of the organized popular classes in the revolutionary struggle. The experiences of party building and combat, the lessons and the legacy of our popular heroes and heroines, guide us on the path of strengthening the Party with an eye fixed on the Revolution.

1. PRE-COLOMBIAN PEOPLES

More than 10,000 years ago, the first human societies with settlement in the current Bolivian territory emerged, the Viscachani culture was the first, it was characterized by being hunters and gatherers. This culture and its advances became the economic base of future agricultural cultures in the highlands of the country. Along with the development of the productive forces, herding and agriculture, there was a sexual division of labor, this socio-economic fact became the principle of patriarchy in our territory.

Approximately 3,500 years ago the Tiwanaku culture spread in the Andean region with the bases of a state organization, development of agriculture, ceramics, stone and metal smelting, the coexistence between communities, together with the control of the various ecological floors, gives place to barter as a mechanism of exchange and trade. It is important to highlight the capacity for self-development from our peoples, which left its mark on the lands that today make up Bolivia.

In the Andean region, the base of the economy was the ayllu, which initially comprised common property over land, the means of production and products of labor. As the family nuclei became rural communities, the instruments of production, household utensils and animals became individual property. Common property over land was maintained, an essential element to understand economic development and social struggles in the country.

In the lowlands there was a wide diversity of peoples and cultures, the form of socio-economic organization in the lowlands was one of complementarity and the balance between the human being and the earth, the result of a spiritual and time-space vision oriented by the principles as the *ivy imaraei* (land without evil).

2. RESISTANCE TO INCARIO EXPANSION

The expansion of the *Incario* (formation of the **Tawantinsuyo**) that took place since the 15th century, used as domination mechanisms the confrontation between peoples, the cooptation of social layers rulers of the same peoples,



the mitimaes system (massive relocation in which spread the Quechua language) and a strong military organization. At Tawantinsuyo they carried out exchanges with coins-merchandise, mainly corn, fish dry, copper, cotton, chuño, feathers, salt and coke. The Inca State at the service of the theocratic aristocracy established as main forms of tribute the cultivation of the lands of the Sol y del Inca, the tribute in kind (handicrafts, agricultural products) and the sending of yanacunas and women in the service of the State (collected from girls for domestic and personal services in favor of the ruling classes); there was a distribution system through which the State provided food.

There was a system of collective work and individual appropriation with three forms of work: minga (cultivation and raising of animals at the service of the state and priests), mita (work shifts in favor of the state, this model was maintained during the colony) and the ayni (voluntary collective work with a commitment to reciprocity, which is maintained to date). The Inca expansion in the territory that today corresponds to Bolivia (Kollasuyo) produced an arduous resistance from the Kolla people that had already become a confederation with a common language (Aymara) and was consolidating as a nationality; likewise, the lowland peoples resisted the Inca expansion, among them the Chiriguano and Sirionó peoples.

3. ANTI-COLONIAL RESISTANCE

While in the bowels of feudal Europe embryos of capitalism were gestating, in Tawantinsuyo, the development of slavery was manifest and internal struggles emerged in the Inca ruling classes. The Spanish crown took advantage of the conflicts between peoples and the desire for liberty against the Inca. This context made possible a virtual replacement of the Inca aristocracy by that of the Spanish, the existing slave and tributary institutions were maintained. The *encomienda* system, the *obrajes*, and the manufacturing institutions established by the Spanish fulfilled the role of forming a colonial system on top of an Inca society. The tributes for the crown were in the form of personal benefits, species and later in money.

The peoples that were still living under a community organization when the Spaniards arrived had two fates: the reduction to slavery and progressive extermination or the prolonged war against them, maintaining relative independence until the Republic.

In the Royal Courts of Spain the dispute between the slavery conception that considered the Indians as property and the feudal vision that posited that the Indians had souls and were people was manifested. In the *Great Encomenderos Rebellion* in 1544, the slave owners installed their own government for 4 years, which was later defeated by royalist forces. The transition between slavery and feudalism occurred alongside the discovery and exploitation of Cerro Rico de Potosí, an icon of colonial looting. The conquest represents not only relations of production but also national relations, the fruit of which appears an intermediate Creole-mestizo people, which would later become the Bolivian nation.

The city of Potosí became an important commercial center, with the Casa de la Moneda founded in 1572, for the minting of silver coins. Close to Potosí it was consolidated Charcas, seat of the Royal Court for the colonial administration, whose dependence was disputed by the Viceroyalties Lima and Buenos Aires for the economic importance of mineral exports. While feudal relations were established in America, in Europe processes of primitive accumulation of capital developed based on the resources looted from our continent.



The exploitation of the mine was through the *mitayo*, the shifts of labor imposed on peasants in very poor conditions, with almost non-existent remuneration. The extraction of men for the mitayo led to a contradiction between the consignees of the *mita* and the

encomenderos, due to the workforce lost in agriculture. In addition, for work in the mine, African slaves were brought to the country, who due to environmental factors were transferred to lower lands (*Yungas*).

At the end of the seventeenth century the Jesuits established a new form of colonization primarily in the lowlands - the missions. At various times and under various conditions, the mission reductions with the towns of Apolobamba, Moxos, Guarayos, Chiquitos and Chiriguano. The missions started from the existing production relations and promoted the formation of private property, social classes and state traits. Agricultural, livestock and artisan goods entered the market through the clergy who directed the external trade of the communities with relative autonomy. *Cabildos* or assemblies with local management power were organized, subject to the authority of the missionaries.

The imposition of levies (revista) on the part of the Spanish crown, provoked in 1730 a rebellion of urban unions and peasants in the city of Cochabamba. This rebellion led by **Alejo Calatayud**, was the first popular struggle in the national territory that raised the red flag as a symbol of the anti-colonial resistance. In 1739, the Orureño people rebelled, under the direction of *Juan Vela de Córdoba*, issued the 'Grievance Manifesto' to report abuses of the Spanish crown. The movements of indigenous people in the highlands organized against the tributes taxes from the Spanish crown. In 1780 there was the rebellion of Chayanta directed by *Tomás Katari*. Between 1780-1781 insurrections broke out led by *Julián Apaza* (Tupac Katari), *Bartolina Sisa* and *Gregoria Apaza*, which besieged the city of La Paz for 109 days.



In this historical context, the Bank of San Carlos was founded (1782) to centralize the management of Potosi silver, years before free trade was decreed in America. At the political level, reforms were made with the establishment of the municipalities, aimed at weakening the democratic councils.

At the beginning of the early nineteenth century the Creole political thought de Charcas was nourished by the ideology of liberal republicans and developing capitalists living in Europe. The Napoleonic invasion in Spain prompted pronouncements from the Creoles initially in favor of re-establishing the Bourbon monarchy, and developed towards cries of demand for full freedom and independence at the continental level.

The battles, guerrillas and republiquetas lasted between 1809 and independence of 1825. They demonstrated the courage and tenacity of the Bolivian peoples. Emerging as leaders were such as *Pedro Domingo Murillo*, *Esteban Arce*, *Eustaquio Moto Méndez*, *Juana Azurduy de Padilla*, the *heroines of La Coronilla*, *Ignacio Warnes* and *José Miguel Lanza*. The arrival of the Liberation Army under the command of *Simón Bolívar* and *Antonio José de Sucre* sealed the Upper Peruvian destiny in the Battles of Junín and Ayacucho. The forms of organization through the open councils, assemblies and republiquetas and the armed resistance during the War of National Liberation contribute to our collective memory of struggle. We are an indomitable people, insubordinate, with a libertarian spirit.

4. LAND FEUDAL REPUBLIC

The War of Independence in Latin America was an expression of the contradiction between the Creole nationalities (about to become nations) and the Spanish crown. Creole nationalities already had economic ties, unity of language, community of territory, and similar cultural traits. Bolivian national identity differed from Spanish, indigenous, and border identities. The interests of the Creoles to form an independent Republic were faced with the Bolivarian dream of Latin American Unity, the imperialist powers sought to expand their spheres of influence by subjecting the new republics.

"El pueblo que no
había modificado su
forma de vida, empieza
a ver que la 'revolución
libertaria' no era más
que la obtención de la
libertad feudal para
servilizar y explotar al
pueblo. Ciento
cincuenta mil criollos
viven a costa del
trabajo de trescientos
mil mestizos y cerca de
un millón de
indígenas."

Roberto Alvarado Daza

The War of Independence caused heavy financial costs, which was loaded on the backs of the natives through the taxes imposed. The Republic was born with the so-called 'Patriotic Debt' contracted during the war, which also assumed the debts of the Spanish State with individuals. The penetration of English capital since the beginning of the Republic, expressed in the interests in guano and nitrate from the Littoral along with silver mining, kept the country as a semi-colony since its foundation.

The mandate of the Chief Marshal *Andrés de Santa Cruz y Calahumana* which lasted a decade (1829 - 1839) laid the foundations of the organization Republican state - approving the Penal, Civil, Procedural, Mining and Mercantile Codes, promoting public education and reorganizing the National Army. In his last years the Peru-Bolivian Confederation was formed (1836-1839) that united the republics of North Peru, South Peru and Bolivia. The battles fought between the Confederacy and the restorative forces are a reflection of the competing interests between regional oligarchic groups.

Creole feudal landowners sought to seize community lands that had been maintained during the colony, for which during the nineteenth century the governments of the day (beginning with Bolívar) had legislated, aiming to liquidate community property over the land. The ruling classes did not reach an agreement on the most effective way to liquidate the communities. They applied different policies such as individual securitization (to subsequently generate purchases by the landowners); the nationalization of lands; the alienation through *enfiteusis* (state property awarded to indigenous people for their usufruct in exchange for taxes); the so-called comprador 'land buyers' linked to the nascent bourgeoisie, as well as the indigenous tribute (which constituted about half of the income to the National Budget).

Indigenous resistance manifested itself through the refusal to qualify individually, local insurrections also broke out that were repressed and ended in massacres such as in San Pedro, Guaychu, Ancoraimes and Jesús de Machaca. In the eastern part of the country, the State still did not have a hegemonic presence where Brazil influenced social and economic terms.

The mines of Cerro Rico de Potosí were appropriated by Argentine, Peruvian and English capital, but the machinery imported by the English company was abandoned in Arica due to transportation difficulties. Starting in 1860, silver mining was reactivated, and guano, saltpeter and copper on the coast began to grow as a result of the investment of English and Chilean capital. The first banks with Chilean, English and Bolivian capital were created: the National Bank of Bolivia, the Banco de Crédito Hipotecario de Bolivia and the Banco Boliviano. The first railway is built in Bolivian territory from Antofagasta to the Salar de El Carmen.



In 1878, before the decline in indigenous taxes, the Assembly National Constituent dictated the tax of 10 cents per quintal of exported saltpeter, causing a reaction in the English oligarchy and its Chilean partners. The Chilean invasion of the Littoral and its subsequent annexation, left the Republic of Bolivia (*como país mediterráneo*), isolated from the trade represented by access to the Pacific Ocean. The inability of the ruling classes of Bolivia was expressed in its submissive, anti-patriotic, usurious and dependent essence, without the ability to promote development own economic.

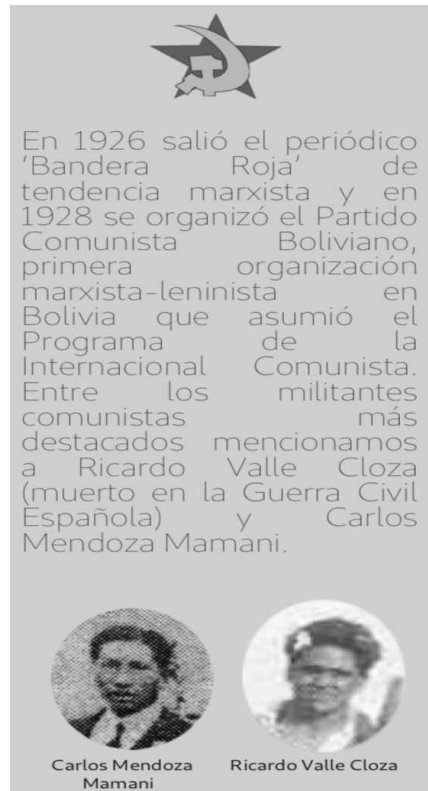
5. FEUDAL MINING REPUBLIC

The Melgarejo Ex-Linkage Law (1874), enabled the systematic seizure of land giving a transfer from the countryside to urban centers of the landowners and ranchers with pongueaje relationships. Arriving at 20th century contradictions in the bosom of the ruling class, expressed in the struggle between liberals (federalists) and conservatives (unitary), led the country to the **Federal War**. Both sides were financed by Chilean capital and English alike. The peasants formerly linked to their lands, under the direction of *Zárate Willka* organized under the demands land ownership and liberation, and formed an alliance with the liberalism of *Manuel Pando*. The victory of those liberal forces in Alliance with Zárate, meant the transfer of the seat of government to La Paz in accordance with the change from the economic axis of silver (Potosí-Chuquisaca) to the axis of tin (Oruro-La Paz). The liberal government betrayed the indigenous people, ordered to arrest and execute Zárate Willka, the policy of territorial usurpation remained in force in the slow step towards the consolidation of capitalism in Bolivia.

The rubber and rubber boom in the north of the country led to the consolidation of bourgeois groups linked to foreign capital, the Acre War and the loss of an important territory in the hands of Brazil. The tin barons (Patiño, Hochschild and Aramayo) were consolidated as majority owners of the tin mines, closely linked with European capitals, with a determining weight in national politics.



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Caption, originally p.33: "In 1926 the Marxist-oriented newspaper 'Red Flag' came out and in 1928 the Bolivian Communist Party was organized, the first Marxist-Leninist organization in Bolivia to take over the Program of the Communist International. Among the most prominent communist militants we mention Ricardo Valle Cloza (killed in the Spanish Civil War) and Carlos Mendoza Mamani."

The victory of the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, was a boost for the Bolivian labor movement. Among the first labor organizations in the country were constituted on the basis of mutual aid societies: graphic unions, florists and miners, among others, grouped in the Local Workers' Federation and the Feminine Workers' Federation. In this same period the first Student Federations were organized in Cochabamba, Uncía and La Paz, likewise in 1928 the Bolivian University Federation was organized, which leads the struggle for university autonomy and co-government, among the leaders *José Antonio Arze y Ricardo Anaya* stood out. In the intelligentsia, women's protest voices emerged, such as *Adela Zamudio*, who demanded equal political, economic and social rights. The school-ayllu of Warisata that existed between 1931 and 1940 was the pedagogical project of *Elizardo Pérez y Avelino Siñani* that integrated productive education with community values.

In 1932, the claws of English and US imperialism were fixed in the Chaco, due to its oil potential, the 'Chaco War', against Paraguay. It was a manifestation of interest in the distribution of natural resources, but it was also a key moment in the formation of the Bolivian national identity. The international communist movement and the embryonic Bolivian Communist Party campaigned actively against the fratricidal war, which led to intense anti-communist persecution, the exile of communist leaders, and the disorganization of the Party.



When the war ended nuclei of nationalist, Marxist and Trotskyist thought, began to emerge, that led to the formation of a new generation of political organizations (FSB, POR, MNR and PIR); as well as the CSTB (Trade Union Confederation of Bolivian workers, related to the PIR and to the Red Trade Union International), and the first peasant unions in the valley of Cochabamba. In the regional context of fascist nationalist populism emergence (including *Getulio Vargas*, *Juan Domingo Perón* and others), within the Forces Armed emerged the lodge of **RADEPA** (Razón de Patria) that contested power with the old decadent political order. The 'socialist' military governments dictated measures such as the creation of Bolivian Fiscal Oil Fields (YPFB), nationalization of resources, labor legislation, constitutional reform and expansion of women's political rights. The intense ideologization of the mining movement was expressed in the political documents of the FSTMB (Trade Union Federation of Mining Workers of Bolivia) such as the **Pulacayo Thesis** (1946) that posits the Proletarian Revolution as the horizon of the struggle.

The Radepa-ista government of Villarroel (1943-1946), of a populist nature and with fascist sympathies, generated discontent both on the Marxist left as well as in the mining and liberal oligarchy. The PIR mechanically proposed the creation of a front next to the mining thread. This in the name of the democracy that defeated Villarroel and hung him from a pole in the Plaza Murillo. The PIR did not understand that the Popular Front from Dimitrov's conceptions must be against fascism and war, but also against capital. This

decision, together with the shaky positions of the leadership, sealed the political death of the PIR.



Caption: "In 1950 a group of the PIR Youth resigned and formed the Communist Party of Bolivia (PCB), at that time of the Marxist-Leninist line, under the leadership of Jorge Alejandro Ovando Sanz, Sergio Almaraz, Nestor Taboada Terán and Luis Tellería."

6. UNFINISHED NATIONAL REVOLUTION

The 1951 elections (still with a qualified vote) was won by the pair *Paz Estenssoro and Siles Suazo* of the MNR. However the mining oligarchy prevented their assumption through a military coup. Faced with this usurpation of power, on April 9, 1952, the police and carabinieri forces related to the MNR carried out a counter-coup that became a popular insurrection, with armed workers and peasants militias. The combat extended to the popular neighborhoods such as Villa Victoria and miners arrived in the city of La Paz, the communist factory leader *Manuel Miranda* fell fighting, the militia forces managed to defeat the National Army militarily and take the 'Burned Palace'. Amidst the internal struggles of the MNR, the government of Peace of Estenssoro is proclaimed with the support of the American embassy. The workers' and popular organizations were unified in the monolithic **Central Obrera Boliviana** (COB), which since its beginnings were characterized by ideological plurality and organic unity. The Peace government

Estenssoro, under constant popular pressure, nationalized tin mining giving rise to the creation of **COMIBOL**; decreed the Agrarian Reform ("the land belongs to those who work it"); decreed the Educational Reform to implement rural schools and established the universal vote.



The National Revolution, due to the measures it took in its early years, represented a break with the mining oligarchs and the landowners (from the west and the valleys). But it strengthened the fractions of the bureaucratic and commercial bourgeoisie. The 'national' bourgeoisie linked to the MNR transformed the triumphant insurrection into a reformist process that degenerated into a counter-revolutionary government. The measures dictated under the pressure of the mobilized masses soon succumbed to surrender to US imperialism. An example of servility before the United States was the government's refusal of the Soviet proposal to install a Tin Smelter in Vinto, a rejection that delayed the industrialization of the country and maintained the role of exporting raw materials.

The Agrarian Reform of 1953 broke with collective property by imposing individual property titles. Thus in the West and the valleys of the country they went from large estates to smallholdings, under the technical guidance of US advisers. In the eastern part of the country, the Agrarian Reform was applied jointly with state investments in infrastructure, credits, and internal colonization programs aimed at strengthening agribusiness. With the Educational Reform, the teachers' union was divided between urban and rural, and discrimination against original nationalities was maintained, using native languages only to facilitate the teaching of Spanish and differentiating the educational level between urban and rural.

The MNR governments lasted until 1964, with the progressive application of anti-worker measures and repression of popular organizations, even attempted formation of a parallel Bolivian Workers' Center. In 1962, the United States Peace Corps arrived in the country with plans for birth control and forced sterilizations, as part of the application of the 'Alliance for Progress'. The popular resistance in the mines to the high cost of living encourages the organization of women in the 'Housewives Committee'. This Committee carried out a kidnapping of American technicians in 1963, to achieve the liberation of the imprisoned mining leaders. The coup of Barrientos in 1964 intensified the living conditions of the working class and established the peasant-military pact.



La realización del XX Congreso del PCUS (1956) formalizó el golpe de Estado del revisionismo jrushchovista en la URSS, la defensa magistral del marxismo-leninismo que hizo Enver Hoxha en nombre del PTA en la Reunión de Partidos Comunistas (1961) marcó el inicio del deslinde entre posturas revolucionarias y revisionistas en el movimiento comunista internacional. En Bolivia, la camarilla revisionista y traidora (Monje, Kolle, Otero) que se apoderó del PCB se alineó con Jrushchov, y en 1965 los militantes marxistas-leninistas convocaron al Primer Congreso Extraordinario en el Centro Minero 'Siglo XX' que formó el PCB (ml) y nombró como Primer Secretario a Federico Escobar Zapata. La muerte de Escobar en 1966 deja la dirección partidaria en manos del oportunismo del 'Motete' Zamora.

Caption: "The holding of the XX Congress of the CPSU (1956) formalized the coup d'état of Khrushchov revisionism in the USSR. The magisterial defense of Marxism-Leninism made by Enver Hoxha on behalf of the PTA at the Meeting of Communist Parties (1961) marked the beginning of the demarcation between revolutionary and revisionist positions in the international communist movement. In Bolivia, the revisionist and treacherous clique (Monje, Kolle, Otero) that seized the PCB aligned itself with Khrushchev, and in 1965 Marxist-Leninist militants convened the First Extraordinary Congress at the 'Siglo XX' Mining Center that formed the PCB (ml) and appointed Federico Escobar Zapata as First Secretary. Escobar's death in 1966 left the party leadership in the hands of the opportunism of 'Motete' Zamora."

In 1966 Commander *Ernesto Che Guevara* arrived in the country with his libertarian project to lead the popular forces towards a victory over Yankee imperialism.

*The discussion between organizations and leftist leaders around the path of the Bolivian revolution at that time could be summarized in **three general trends**:*

1. The line of peaceful parliamentary transition posed by Khrushchev revisionism (PCB - *Monje*), with the electoral experience of the FLIN in 1966 (3.35%).
2. The Prolonged People's War line mechanically transplanted from Maoist revisionism (PCML - *Zamora*), advocated but which was never materialized.
3. The line of Guevarista guerrilla foquismo (which the ELN took), the only line that was executed in fact, which has plenty of courage and heroic people - but which was not a correct path - due to the lack of ties with the masses.

In the report presented to C.C. Monje argued that:

"the Party does not know the arrival to the country of Che Guevara; he never invited him, so therefore, he (i.e. Monje) was not responsible for his (i.e. Che's) presence ... the Party did not inspire, nor planned, nor did he (Monje) unleash the fight; did not subscribe any commitment to Che Guevara." (*copy of Monje's report, written on a typewriter, 1967*).



Despite having held meetings in Havana and contacts through many links, the revisionist leadership denied any political responsibility for the libertarian feat, expelling from its ranks the courageous militants who made the decision to join the guerrilla ranks. Monje himself volunteered as a combatant in command of Che, first resigning as the First Secretariat; but he then retracted and stated three conditions (National meeting of the left; preserving the name 'Latin American Meeting of pro-Soviet Parties'; subjecting historical command of those soldiering in Bolivia to the political command within Bolivia). Also participating in these meetings with Che were revisionist leaders like Kalle, Otero and Ramírez. Monje concluded by stating:

"it cannot be said that: 'they should not have tried right to make the revolution.' If, instead, It might be stated: Yes, instead, it must be affirmed that: 'it was necessary to have tried to make the revolution in a new way.'

(December 9, 1967 from magazine 'Rojo y Negro', Montevideo Year 1, No. 1).

Of course, the new way he (Monje) referred to is a peaceful and parliamentary transition, to the extent of Moscow revisionism, renouncing the historical need for revolutionary violence for the transformation of society.

"Era vacilante y
acomodaticia y
preservaba el nombre
histórico de quienes
debían ser
condenados por su
posición claudicante.
El tiempo me daría la
razón.""

Ernesto "Che" Guevara
Refiriéndose a Monje (31/12/1966)

Ernest Che Guevara referring to Monje: 31/12/1966; "He was hesitant and accommodating and presented the historical name of those who should be condemned for her qualifying position. The tempo would prove me right.

The action of Bolivian Maoism, like the PCB, was to expel from its ranks the militants who had enlisted in the ranks of the ELN. In his 'Necessary Response' addressed to Fidel Castro, Zamora as First Secretary of the PCML deals as a revisionist to all the armed experience in Bolivia, adhering to the 'Mao Tse Tung Thought' and claiming that the tactical difference exonerates his organization from responsibility for what happened.

Despite the shameful positions of the revisionist leaderships, the Bolivian labor movement demonstrated its level of revolutionary militancy. The miners were convinced morally and materially supported Che's libertarian deed. This would have substantially changed the fate of the guerrillas, had the working class been organic incorporated by the vanguard of Che. On the night of San Juan (June 23, 1967) the Army entered the "Siglo XX" Mining Camp to massacre the miners. Among those killed was the communist leader *Rosendo García Maisman* with a rifle in his hands, defending the Radio "The Voice of the Miner".



Rosendo García Maisman
Martyr of the Bolivian Working Class

The guerrilla established in Ñancahuazú, lacked the support of the local peasants, and at the same time had few urban support networks. As of August the CIA sent logistical support to the Barrientos government to catch the heroic guerrilla. The advance of the guerrilla column reached La Higuera, where Commander Ernesto Guevara was trapped and assassinated.

In 1969, *Ovando* took office as President and applied a policy of sovereignty in the oil field. Together with his Minister of Mines and Petroleum *Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz*, he nationalized the oil of the American Gulf Oil Co. At this juncture the conditions were set for the second Guevarista guerrilla – *Teoponte*. With the support of Cuba and Chile, the bases were laid for the incursion, with strong support from the student youth and own University Bolivian Confederation. But as he was unable to start activity as he was assassinated, *Inti Peredo*, assumed his place as ELN Commander *Chato Peredo*. The military incursion started was of an ephemeral duration. And it provoked a fierce reaction from the army, and the hostage-taking in Bolivian Working Class.

Ingenuity allowed a swap that freed elenos prisoners but did not avoid the fatal outcome of the raid.

In October 1970, a group of officers with a fascist tendency led by *Miranda* tried to carry out a coup against *Ovando*. The Central Obrera Boliviana called an indefinite general strike, and together with the patriotic sectors of the Armed Forces they managed to defeat the fascist attempt and General *Juan José Torres* assumed the presidency. The ten months of the government of J.J. Torres were a fundamental experience in the history of the Bolivian popular movement for the creation of the Popular Assembly.

"Las masas obreras habían intervenido con éxito en la lucha de fracciones en el seno del ejército que, al hacer monopolizado el poder político, eran también fracciones del Estado burgués creado por la revolución de 1952... Preparada en el Comando Político, la Asamblea Popular existió entonces, en efecto, con carácter de soviét y superó con creces la experiencia del 52."

René Zavaleta Mercado



Original p. 38: "Caption: Rene Zvaleta Mercado: "The working masses had successfully intervened in the struggle of fractions within the army which, by making political power monopolized, were also fractions of the bourgeois State created by the 1952 revolution ... Prepared in the Political Command, the People's Assembly then existed , indeed, with a Soviet character and far surpassed the experience of 52.

At the beginning of his government J.J. Torres offered to the Central Obrera Boliviana (CBO), half of the new cabinet. They took time to answer the proposal because of their distrust,. The Popular Assembly was a space in which delegates of the organizations trade unions and left parties debated the future of the country and the features it should have in the revolution. It exercised a undeniable authority over the masses of organized workers. However, Torres failed to impose his authority over the state apparatus.

The People's Assembly was an "Advanced embryo of dual power and not properly a dual power, an outline and not the figure itself."(Zavaleta).

7. MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS AND POPULAR RESISTANCE

Before the advance of the movement, popular reaction was organized in the Nationalist Popular Front (MNR - Paz Estenssoro, FSB and the Confederation of Employers of Bolivia) to support the coup d'etat that took place on August 21, 1971 under the command of Banzer. The resistance to the coup fought to the last consequences in the UMSA and on the Laikakota hill.



The seven years of the Banzer dictatorship were characterized by the repression of popular organizations that dared to fight. Bolivia with Banzer was part of the '**Cóndor Plan**' directed from the Pentagon to persecute the revolutionary militants throughout the Southern Cone.

Banzerism promoted the expansion towards the east of the country with the strengthening of the financial oligarchy linked to agro-industry and the penetration of foreign capital. A vicious cycle was established in which large private companies were the beneficiaries of state contracts and awards. The increase in the country's foreign debt during the Banzerian seven-year period was 297%. While private banking had an accumulated growth of 444.5 million Bolivian pesos, the state bank ran with an accumulated loss of 43.5 million Bolivian pesos at the same time, due to the unpaid loans that benefited the large agro-industrials of Santa Cruz and the Beni.

To keep the popular movement under control, Banzerismo outlawed political-union activity and instituted a system of union coordinators to intervene in the unions. The persecution of union leaders, factories, miners, teachers and students as more ideological sectors was a constant. At the end of 1977, the Housewives Committee decided to enter into a Hunger Strike, the first women to take on this radical measure were *Luzmila de Pimentel*, *Nelly de Paniagua*, *Aurora de Lora* y *Angélica de Flores*. The strike massed more than 1,500 people throughout the country who joined the pressure and managed to bend the arm of the dictatorship. It marked the beginning of the complex transition towards formal democracy.



Between 1978 and 1980, three general elections took place with the objective to institutionalize political power in the country. In the 1978 election an electoral fraud was imposed in favor of the official *Juan Pereda Asbún*. In July 21, 1978, Banzer left the presidency in the hands of commanders of the Armed Forces, who on the same day handed over the mandate to Pereda Asbún. The fractions within the Armed Forces fought over the means of institutionalization, and on November 24 of the same year the coup d'état of *David Padilla Arancibia* took place. He called new elections in 1979. In the 1979 elections, The alliance of the UDP (Popular Democratic Unit, made up of the MIR, MNR-I, PCB, PRIN, PRTB, MRTK) was the winner with 35.97%, compared to the MNR Paz Estenssoro with 35.87%. At the National Congress he was unable to resolve the President by a majority vote and on August 8, 1979 he chose to appoint the President of Congress, *Walter Guevara Arce*, as Interim President. The parliamentary bench of the Socialist Party 1, headed by *Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz*, initiated a 'Responsibility Trial' against the former dictator Banzer for the social and economic damage during his seven-year term. The officers related to Banzer wished to avoid this trial, and on November 1 of the same year *Natusch Busch* led a coup that bathed the popular neighborhoods of La Paz in blood, known as the 'Todos Santos Massacre'. The de facto government lasted just two weeks and *Lidia Gueiler Tejada* became the first female President. Gueiler Tejada called General Elections in 1980, in which she again beat the UDP this time with 38.74% compared to 20.15% for the MNR. A few days after the elections were held, another coup d'état took place, led by *Luis García Meza Tejada*.

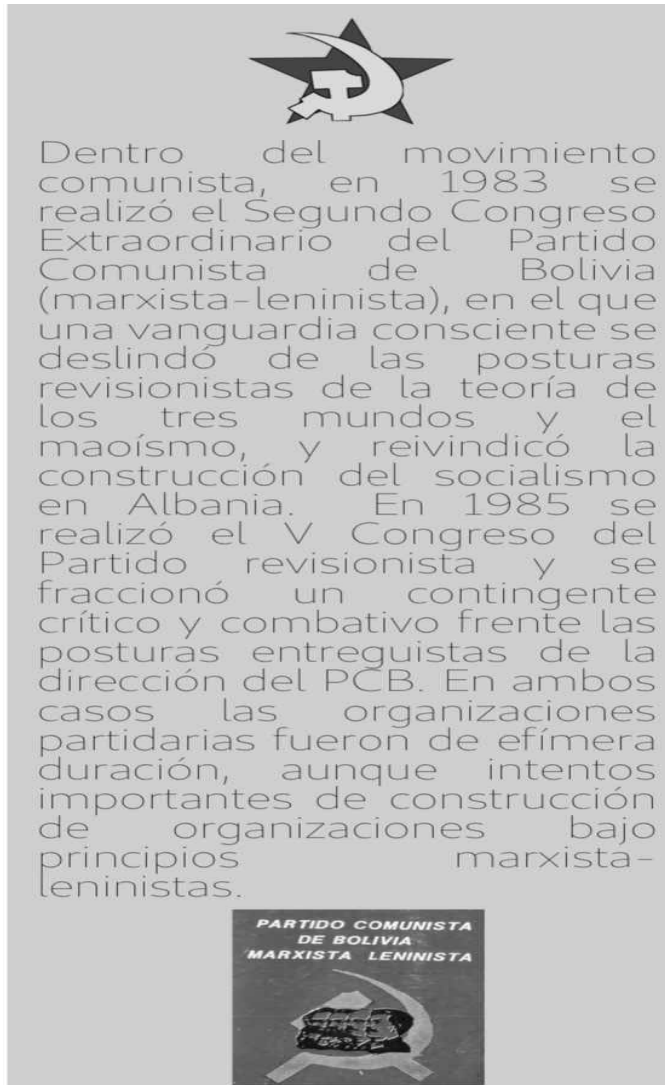
In the coup d'état of García Meza (July 17, 1980) groups paramilitaries transported in ambulances stormed the headquarters of the COB where CONADE met (National Committee for the Defense of Democracy). They 'disappeared' political leaders of the left including *Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz* and *Juan Carlos Flores Bedregal*. The dictatorship of García Meza was intimately tied to drug trafficking and together with the Minister of Interior *Arce Gómez* unleashed a bloody persecution against popular forces. The internal struggles among military (banzeristas, garciamezistas and generationalistas) together with external pressure from the US Embassy led to the resignation of García Meza on August 4, 1981.



For a month the Commanders of the Armed Forces assumed the presidency, then they appointed *Celso Torrelio Villa* to assume the position. During the government of Torrelio Villa, which lasted ten months, the floating of the Bolivian peso, the re-establishment of democratic and union freedoms and the return of the exiles were ordered. Under pressure from his comrades, Torrelio yielded the presidency to a brief military triumvirate that entrusted the Presidency to *Guido Vildoso* with the task of institutionalizing the return to democracy.

8. RETURN TO FORMAL DEMOCRACY AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEO-LIBERAL MODEL

On October 10, 1982, *Hernán Siles Suazo* (UDP) assumed the Presidency, forming the National Congress elected in 1980, with an opposition majority. The UDP government arrived at a time of socio-economic instability as a result of the inflation that began in 1978. The UDP government carried out important infrastructure projects such as the Viru Viru International Airport and highways in the east of the country. It implemented social programs such as literacy. The application of the de-dollarization of the economy unleashed losses for small savers while favoring businessmen creditors of the State. Hyperinflation reached 27,000%, massive protests by the COB were unleashed and the MIR and the PCB left the government. In 1984, before the successive general strike of the COB, President Siles went on a hunger strike and with the mediation of the Church an agreement was reached to shorten the constitutional mandate and advance the call for general elections.



Caption: "Within the communist movement, in 1983 the Second Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist) was held, in which a conscious vanguard detached itself from the revisionist positions of the theory of the three worlds and Maoism, and vindicated the construction of socialism in Albania. In 1985, the V Congress of the revisionist Party was held and a critical and combative contingent was divided against the surrender positions of the PCB leadership. In both cases the party organizations were short-lived, although important attempts to build organizations under Marxist-Leninist principles.

In 1985 the early elections gave Banzer as the winner (ADN, 32.83%) and in second place was Paz Estenssoro (MNR, 30.36%). But in the National Congress was decided in favor of Paz Estenssoro. The economic package of the MNR imposed by the D.S. 21,060 (August 29, 1985) marked the beginning of neo-liberalism in the country; with the change of currency ('Bolivian' instead of 'Bolivian peso'); the decentralization and dissolution of state companies and basic services; relocation (massive dismissal) of miners; the establishment of free hiring and free dismissal. These measures paved the way for the opening of negotiations with the IMF. Resistance to D.S. 21,060 was so

arduous that Paz Estenssoro decreed a state of siege and confined more than 150 leaders in the north of the country.



The drop in the international price of tin and the COMIBOL reengineering caused the dismissal of 25,000 miners, who in August 1986 started the 'March for Life'. The massive march produced a popular solidarity movement throughout the country, incorporating miners, union, peasant, teachers and students marchers. When they arrived in Calamarca they found soldiers, tanks and assault cars to prevent them from passing. The leadership of the FSTMB and the COB resolved the dissolution of the march to avoid a potential massacre. The defeat of the mobilization meant the massive transfer of miners to the interior of the country.

Forced migration resulted in the growth of informal workers in the cities and coca growers in the Cochabambino chapare, leaving the mining camps empty. The disorganization of the relocated miners led to the emergence of new struggles such as the peasant and indigenous movement and the urban middle classes (teachers, etc.). The new populist cycle gave rise to new political movements such as CONDEPA and UCS, and leftist forces (PCB, MBL, ASP, EJE, PS-1) grouped into 'United Left'. In 1988 the first armed actions broke out announced on urban radio, with the attack by the FAL-ZW (Armed Forces of Liberation - Zárate Willka) against the delegation of the United States Secretary of State. The same year, Law 1,008 was approved. Under the pretext of regulating coca and controlled substances, it established a State policy to combat coca growers, with a strengthened participation of DEA forces.

The general elections of 1989 gave *Sánchez de Lozada* the win in the popular vote (MNR, 26.64%), followed by Banzer (ADN, 25.23%) and in third place *Paz Zamora* (MIR, 21.82%). The MIR crossed rivers of blood when agreeing with the DNA, to obtain a majority in the National Congress to appoint Paz Zamora as President (1989-1993). The lowland indigenous movement, organized in the CIDOB (Guaranízoceños, Chiquitanos, Ayoreos and Guarayos) undertook in August 1990 the 'March for the Territory and Dignity', from the Beni to La Paz. They achieved great power over their territories and state recognition. In August 1990 CNPZ (Nestor Commission Paz Zamora) began to carry out political-military actions under the slogan of "Bolivia dignified and sovereign". In the month of December of the same year the kidnapping of businessman *Lonsdale* resulted in the police operation that massacred the guerrillas. Katarism, the political-ideological development led to the formation of the *EGTK (Tupac Katari Guerrilla Army)*,



but its main leaders were arrested in 1992. The approval of the Privatization Law (1992) was the beginning of the sale and dissolution of state companies. The corruption scandals and narco-ties of the MIR's management, led to the imprisonment of Mirista leaders such as *Oscar Eid* (the historical leader of the CUB).

The MNR returned to government in the 1993 elections, with *Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada* as President (33.8%) and *Katarista Víctor Hugo Cárdenas* as Vice President, who promoted a series of reforms structural. The first months of the MNR government were marked by the scandal of the bank-links, illegally financing political campaigns. The Capitalization Law (1994) transferred 50% of the shares of strategic companies (ENFE, YPFB, ENTEL, ENDE and LAB) to the AFPs (Pension Fund Administrators), 49% were handed over to the private sector (both oligarchs nationals and transnationals) and the remaining 1% to workers. In social terms, the Educational Reform (1994) imposed the project designed by the IMF of administrative decentralization and greater private



participation. The teachers put up a firm resistance to the Reform with strong mobilizations at the national level. The entry of transnational companies into mining in Amayapampa and Capacirca (Potosí) in 1996, generated a resistance from the workers that was repressed by military and police forces. It resulted in 11 deaths, known as the Amayapampa Massacre. The Popular Participation Law (1997) transformed the political administration of the State with municipalization.

In 1997, former dictator Banzer was elected with 22.3% of the vote and the

congressional alliance of the Agreement Patriotic (DNA, MIR, UCS, PDC, NFR and CONDEPA), its main policy was the eradication of coca leaf that caused massive mobilizations of *cocaleros* throughout his government. In 2000 the government signed an agreement with a business consortium (the American companies Bechtel and Edison, the Spanish Abengoa and others) for the privatization of water in Cochabamba, known as Aguas del Tunari. Popular resistance to the privatization of water was organized in the Coordinadora del Agua, with the participation of peasants, workers, irrigators, unions, students and other sectors.



The declaration of a state of siege and repression resulted in the death of 17-year-old *Victor Hugo Daza*, and mass social discontent, to which *Felipe Quispe's* CSTUCB joined with its own demands. The popular victory was achieved with the withdrawal of the consortium and the regularization of the water service in the city. After Banzer's resignation in 2001, his Vice President *Jorge Quiroga* took office, whose government intensified the presence of special forces in the Chapare, with a death toll of more than 10. The economic situation worsened with the drop in the international price of raw materials, low foreign investment and growing dependence and indebtedness.



In 2002 he turned the government over to *Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada* with a vote of 22.5% and parliamentary support from the MNR, MIR, UCS, MBL and NFR. The economic crisis led the government to the tax that caused in February 2003 a police riot and popular protest. That led to a confrontation between the police and the military in the center of La Paz with about thirty deaths. The government of Sánchez de Lozada announced plans to sell gas abroad through Chilean ports. That generated social discontent starting on the shores of Lake Titicaca in September 2003. Military intervention in Warisata caused four deaths, and triggered the calls for a general strike

by the COB and the CSUTCB. The city of El Alto declared an indefinite civic strike on October 8, and three days later the government militarized the rebel city to allow the passage of a military convoy alongside cisterns. The conflicts that lasted until October 17 and claimed the lives of more than 63 people. They resulted in resignation of Sánchez de Lozada and the succession of Constitutional Vice President *Carlos de Mesa Gisbert*. This insurrectional experience left incomplete the Agenda of October (Constituent Assembly, nationalization and industrialization of natural resources, expulsion of transnationals). But also the lesson that without the Revolutionary Party the horizon of the insurrection does not materialize in the seizure of power.



The Mesa government called for a Referendum on gas and its management, but did not want to enact the new Hydrocarbons Law. This had generated strong protests from the COB and FEJUVE El Alto. In response it tried to convene a Constituent Assembly (under the constitutional changes that it promoted) and open dialogue around the autonomies. The Mesa administration ended with his resignation amid strong social mobilizations. When the presidents of both chambers of the National Congress waived their possible constitutional succession, the President of the Supreme Court of Justice, *Eduardo Rodríguez Veltzé*, took office on June 9, 2005. The elections held in December 2005 resulted in the election of *Evo Morales Ayma* (MAS-IPSP) with 54% popular support. This was the first election to include the democratic election of Departmental Prefects, leaving the majority in the hands of the opposition. The parliament in its lower house had a pro-government majority, but in the upper house the opposition maintained its majority.

9. POPULISM OF THE "PROCESS OF CHANGE"

With the lack of a revolutionary organization capable of channeling popular discontent and the insurrectionary movement of 2003, came the MAS government. The MAS began with a broad social base in the peasantry (Unity Pact). It arrived in a heterogeneous project incorporating the most diverse expressions of reformism and revisionism; the existing state technocracy (ADN, MNR, MIR, NFR, UCS, CONDEPA, etc); recycled fascist shock groups (Unión Juvenil Cruceñista, barra bravas, etc). The unitary force of the MAS resided solely in the figure of Evo Morales, without whom it does not exist. The role played by Evo Morales, is as a populist leader as a conciliation body between the

different fractions of the bourgeoisie. It generated a unitary feeling, together with the corporatization of social movements and the use of shock groups to impose his thinking. It leads to a characterization of being semi-Bonapartist from the Marxist point of view. This government did not stop being capitalist, it only modernized the form of state administration.



Semi-Bonapartism manifested the centralization of the state in the personality of Evo Morales, that is, the discretionary execution of projects through the 'Evo Cumple' program. It exaggeratedly handles the president's image in all state works, and shamefully submits the legislative, judicial and electoral bodies to the personal will of the highest executive. Along with the centralization of the state, the ranks of the state bureaucracy have swelled, through the prebendalization of public offices, and there is a growing authoritarian and repressive tendency. The iron control over the union leaderships through prebend and corporatization, uses the 'social movements' as a shock group in necessary cases, resorting to political persecution and prosecution to keep the rebel sectors silent.

"Las nacionalizaciones hechas por tales gobiernos, del mismo modo que su lenguaje al rojo vivo del primer periodo de oposici3n contra el imperialismo y la reacci3n concluyeron siempre siendo reemplazados por el pedido de perdon por su pasado anti-imperialista. Los representantes de la burguesia o de la pequena burguesia en el poder no pueden comprender que el desarrollo industrial integral, dentro de los marcos del r3gimen capitalista de producci3n y en la 3rbita del capitalismo, ya no es posible y conduce a la traici3n de los intereses nacionales."

Tesis Socialista de la COB (1970)



captions: "The nationalizations made by such governments, as well as their red-hot language of the first period of opposition against imperialism and reaction, always end up being replaced by the apology for their anti-imperialist past. The representatives of the bourgeoisie of the petty bourgeoisie in power cannot understand that integral industrial development, within the framework of the capitalist production regime and in the orbit of capitalism, is no longer possible and leads to the betrayal of national interests." COB Socialist Thesis (1970)“.

The government of Evo Morales took office on January 22, 2006, as a product of the historical accumulation of forces of social discontent and anti-neoliberal resistance. The potential danger that it represented due to its popular origin, polarized the country during the first years of government, between the so-called ‘crescent’ governed by the right-wing opposition and the central government. In April 2006, elections were held of constituent assembly members, in which the MAS-IPSP achieved a simple majority but not two thirds as required for approval. The Constituent Assembly was a focus conflicts and despite having been installed in the city of Sucre, it was transferred to a barracks in the city from Oruro where Morales approved in December 2007 the first version of the constitutional text.

That text resulted from agreements between MAS-IPSP, UN and other organizations with regional representation. But this text was later modified by a Senate commission with the participation of MAS-IPSP and PODEMOS. Negotiations of the text by constitutional representatives represented in reality, negotiations between the MAS and the financial oligarchy and landlord of the (la media ‘luna’) ‘half-moon. The polarization

with the 'half-moon' was characterized by racist speech and regionalism. It reached its greatest intensity with social conflicts of 2007-2008; the confrontation of January 11, 2007 in Cochabamba that left three deaths, the Calancha in Sucre between November 24 and 26, 2007 with three deaths, and the Porvenir Massacre on September 11, 2008 with 19 deaths.

Although the Political Constitution of the State, approved by Referendum on January 25, 2009 (promulgated on February 7, 2009) included a progressive advance in social rights, its essence was respect for the great private property over production, that is to say of the capitalist system. After approval of the new CPE, the most radicalized of the oligarchy sectors were forced to enter into consensus with the national government was the assembly. A later government assault on Hotel Las Americas (April 16, 2009) resulted in the death of three alleged international hitmen hired by civic-prefectural groups for an assassination.



After the approval of the new Constitution, the bourgeois opposition was unable to articulate a national political project. But this was not due only to the incapacity of the political operators but an organic break between the extra-parliamentary bourgeoisie and the bourgeois opposition at the national level. The bourgeoisie kept its political structures for municipal and departmental political administration. However, it did not consider it necessary to dispute the executive power, because its economic interests were protected by the MAS government, clearly exemplified by the unprecedented growth in the agro-industrial and banking sectors.

In a context of growing inter-imperialist contradictions, the government had a rapprochement with the emerging China-Russia bloc. This was complemented by the President's anti-American speech. However, this approach did not endanger the great transnational private property in the country. This was guaranteed, all share purchases were remunerated according to market conditions and the operations, exploration and services contracts were insured.

The Bolivian State has undergone reorganization and modernization as of the 2009 Constitution, as agreed between the ruling party and the bourgeois opposition within capitalist production relations. The State assumed the full protection and guarantee of large private property in the country, under the concept of 'complementarity'. The discourse of 'living well' and 'community socialism' or of the 21st century, are elements incorporated into the dominant ideological apparatus at the service of the bourgeoisie.

The MAS seized all the organs of state power, placing them at the disposal of the caudillismo of Evo Morales, and it has also sought to take over social and union organizations through corporatization. During the MAS government, the repressive forces modernized and strengthened as guarantors of the regime with large economic benefits, within the increase in criminalization and prosecution of social struggles.

After approving the new CPE, constant repressions of the MAS-IPSP government were unleashed against social movements. Some main ones are mentioned. In 2010, the conflict between residents of Alto Beni and Caranavi over electoral promises of a citrus plant resulted in a brutal repression with two deaths and dozens of detainees. In 2011, police repression against leaders in Mallku Khota (Norte Potosí) resulted in the criminal prosecution of the Sacaca kuraca. On September 2011 was one of the most repressions emblematic of the Evista government, as the march progressed of the TIPNIS against the road project; in Chaparina at least 40 were arrested leaders and injured at least 70 marchers. At the end of the year, the government launched a petrol bomb sparking a wave of indignation and protests, forcing the government to take a step back and annul the measure. However the rise in prices for public transport and other items was not reversed.

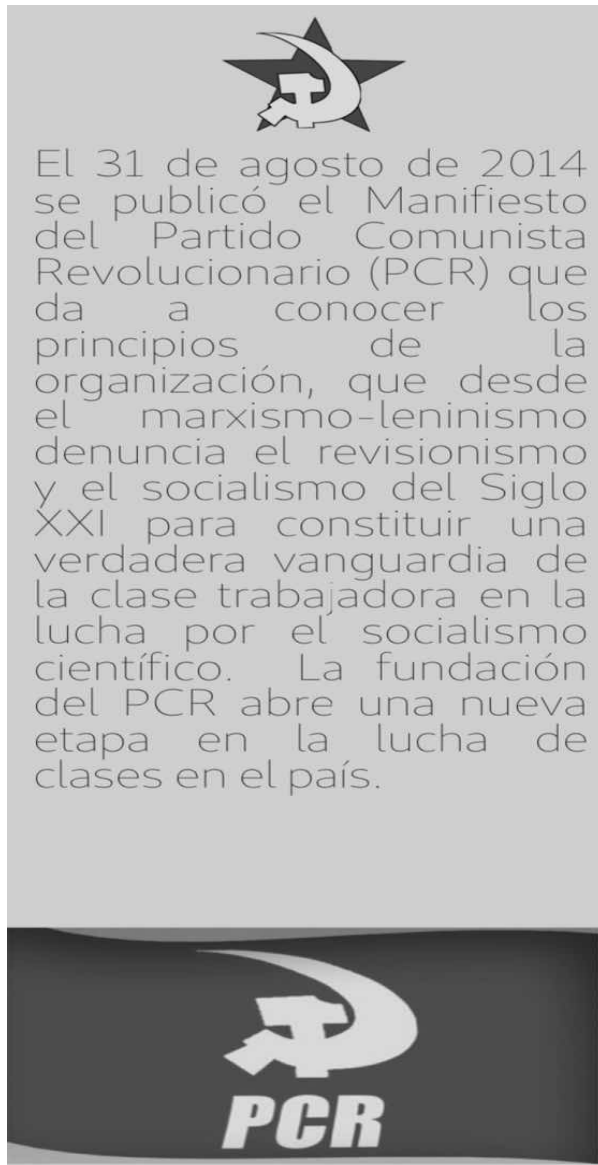


In 2012 the repression in Yapacaní in a town hall demanded the resignation of a Masista mayor, resulting in three deaths. The same year, the Vigil of Social Fighters against impunity began, for justice and historical memory, demanding reparation for the state violence exercised since the military dictatorships. The vigil is maintained till now, with more than 25 activists dying and without achieving the goal. The repression unleashed by the government to eradicate coca in Apolo (October 2013) with the Joint Task Forces resulted in four dead, 30 injured, 17 detained, and more than 100 refugee children in the church. 2014 started with the seizure of offices of CONAMAQ (National Council of Ayllus and Markas) and the attempted seizure of offices of the APDHB (Permanent Assembly of Human Rights of Bolivia). This was consistent with the policy of eradicating opposition or critical social organizations to the MAS. At the end of the year, the elections resulted in the third presidency of Evo Morales with an electoral support of 61.4%, controlling both chambers with more than two thirds (by annulling two seats of opposition). The 2015 sub-national elections were instead an electoral setback for the MAS, as the opposition won 8 of the top 10 mayors in the country.

The university movement marked 2015 with conflicts that arose in the UMSS (Universidad Mayor de San Simón) generated by the certification of teachers without exams, the takeover of the University and the constitution of a Transitory University Council. A nationwide protest lasted almost seven months, the repression left thirteen wounded. The civic movement of Potosí began in July 2015 demanding greater attention for its department. After an extended civic strike, the march to La Paz started, met there with strong repression. In August of the same year the government intervened in the Captainia Takovo Mora (Guaraní) at the protests against the oil intervention, arresting more than 18 people. The year ended with the largest corruption scandal that the masista government had faced, of the FONDIOC (Indigenous Fund), exceeding 187 million dollars and involving more than 200 official leaders.

In 2016, the proposal to modify article 168 of the CPE was submitted to a referendum to enable a second presidential re-election. The popular rejection expressed on February 21 (at 51.3%), was a defeat for the MAS, in the midst of the CAMCE-Zapata corruption scandal. The socio-economic situation of people with disabilities led them to carry out a series of protests that culminated in a national march to La Paz, where vigils were met by excessive repression. The bankruptcy and closure of ENATEX (National Textile Business Agency) due to economic mismanagement left hundreds of workers on the streets, and generated a massive factory protest under the leadership of the COB.





Caption reads: "On August 31, 2014, the Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR) was published, which makes known the principles of the organization, which from Marxism-Leninism denounces the revisionism and socialism of the XXI century to constitute a true vanguard of the class worker in the struggle for scientific socialism. The founding of the PCR opens a new stage in the class struggle in the country."

At the beginning of the 2017 administration, the national urban teachers went in a national march to the city of La Paz demanding better working conditions and better educational quality. The protests by the population of Achacachi since August 2017 against its corrupt mayor were targeted by police repression and judicial persecution. The controversial Penal Code approved by the government violated the rights of professionals, and the right to protest. It generated a fierce mobilization of the health sector together with the COB. During these protests the government violated the

university autonomy. But the protests did bend Morales's arm and the Masista Penal Code was completely abrogated. The government's onslaught aimed to assemble a COB congress to ensure its total control of this highest union entity in the country.

On November 28, 2017, the Plurinational Constitutional Court (TCP) released Plurinational Constitutional Sentence 0084/2017, instructed the preferential application of Article 23 of the American Convention on Human Rights over Articles 156, 168, 285.II and 288 of the Constitution in the phrases “for a single time continuously”; and “continuously for a single time”; then it declared of the same sentences as unconstitutional in the Electoral Regime Law. What this ruling means in fact, is that the authorities elected at the national level will not have to abide by the constitutional and legal norms that limit re-election. The popular rejection was again expressed in the judicial elections of December 2017, which registered more than 66% between valid and null (or invalid) votes and more than 15% abstention.

Amid protests over a larger university budget in May 2018, police forces assassinated UPEA student *Jonathan Quispe*, which unleashed a wave of intense protests at the government headquarters. The new Coca Law triggered protests among Yungueño coca producers, leaving three dead and the arrest of the top leader of ADEPCOCA - *Franklin Gutiérrez*. The Political Organizations Law approved in September 2018 caused the citizen movement to protest its anti-democratic character. This law instituted the primary election mandate of presidential candidates, whose first application in early 2019 had been a resounding failure from the very low participation. The student youth burst onto the national scene rejecting the government's attempts to intervene in the FES La Paz and the recovery of the FES Cochabamba office. The youth aimed to recover union independence and demonstrate that youth is not limited to the servile and rogue expressions found in the MAS-IPSP. In 2018, 111 feminicides were registered in the country. There is no efficient State policy to combat gender-based violence as seen from the denigrating ‘jokes’ that the president makes in his speeches, to the cases of high government officials, police and military. All enjoy impunity in their acts of domestic violence, rapes and femicides.



The political context of 2019 was marked by high electoral participating and a lack of unifying entities that unify social struggles. Evo Morales had a clear path to once again be a presidential candidate in the 2019 general elections, also counting on the open

support of the OAS Secretary General, *Luis Almagro*. The electoral opposition in its various expressions focused on his discourse of abstract democracy, without specifying the essence or characteristics of democracy. The national disaster of the forest fires in the Chiquitanía and the country's Amazon (coinciding with the fires in Brazil) were not casual, but the product of MAS government environmental policy in close alliance with eastern agribusiness. Law 1098 established a series of favorable conditions for production and sale of additives of vegetable origin (biofuels). Together with Law 741 and Supreme Decree 3973 they legalized clearing and controlled burning in order to expand the agricultural frontier.

The electoral results of October 20, in the first place, showed the limits of representative liberal democracy as a mechanism for resolving the deep contradictions that the country is experiencing. The vote was polarized between the ruling party (MAS-IPSP) and the 'Useful vote' by ex-President *Mesa* (running mate of the neoliberal businessman *Sánchez de Lozada* in 2002). It is worth mentioning the surprising vote for the conservative, misogynist and religious fundamentalist candidate of the Christian Democratic Party. That coincides with the regional trend of a reactionary wave.

During its almost 14 years in state power, the MAS-IPSP has demobilized and disorganized the popular movement, by co-opting the main leaders, dividing social organizations, and subjecting the interests of social organizations to the interests of the government leadership. As well as demobilizing the popular sector, it has promulgated laws that benefit the financial oligarchy and enabled its unprecedented growth. It has not broken with capitalist production relations or monopoly accumulation. This generated an accumulated discontent in popular sectors, who have come out to fight for their wage, territorial, budgetary demands, etc.. They were responded to with repression from the masista government.

In the context of Latin America as a scene of inter-imperialist disputes (US, European, Chinese, Russian, etc.), the side of the financial oligarchy aligned with US and European imperialism took advantage of the situation of popular discontent to perpetrate a coup. oligarchic and fascist. The coup recipe of the CIA aimed to generate a state of panic and fear. It was carried out precisely, they fulfilled their role in the polarization scenario both the MAS and the opposition, with a violent escalation, psychological warfare and massive confrontations. which ended in the rise of paramilitary groups financed by the oligarchy (UJC, RJC, etc.), the militarization of the country and the fascist rise.

II. THE RISE OF THE FASCIST OLIGARCHY TO GOVERNMENT

The new ruling regime represents the most reactionary, conservative, fascist and religious fundamentalist oligarchy, which responds to the interests of US and European imperialism. The illegitimate regime that assumed control of state power on November

12, 2019 at the head of the right-wing senator *Jeanine Añez*, is an organic representative of the financial oligarchy (agro-industrial, livestock and banking), strongly influenced by Christian religious fundamentalism. The financial oligarchy has returned to the executive power of the country, the economic ministers of the first cabinet appointed by Senator Añez (UD) have strong ties with CAINCO, Banco Ganadero, Grupo Nacional Vida and with the Democratic party. The main business entities in the country (CEPB, CNI, CNC, CAINCO) have expressed their full support for the Añez regime, going so far as to support the police and the military with equipment. The first days of the Añez regime had the objective to pacify the country, bringing the peace of the victors, crushing all resistance. The peasant and popular movement in Sacaba and Senkata were victims of the massacres perpetrated by the military, police and paramilitaries. In the first two weeks of the regime, we saw more than 30 deaths, 800 wounded and 1,500 arrested from the repression. The illegitimate government of Añez has set itself the objective of building the 'internal enemy' (peasants, terrorists, looters, seditious, Marxists, communists) to justify its heavy-handed policy to 'protect' the interests of the nation and disqualify all resistance.



The current rulers have suddenly mutated. Days ago they declared that the *wiphala* did not represent them and that they sought to liberate the country from the 'satanic rites' of the Indians. Now they come out to embrace the wiphala, they incorporate the flag of the *patujú* (of the lowland peoples) and speak of unity and tolerance. The oligarchic right in the country builds a hate-racist supremacism, which reached a cusp in the conflicts of 2008-09. Despite a constitutionally Secular State, the new regime uses Judeo-Christian symbols with Bibles, crucifixes and candles in all public acts. It uses the language that 'God has returned to the palace'. Members of the cabinet have spoken out vehemently against abortion and the rights of the LGBT community.

The call for elections, as agreed between the MAS parliamentarians and the government of the day, keeps all the traditional parties in force under the Law of Political Organizations. It thus excludes the participation of new political forces. This election serves to legitimize the next ruler and clothe him with a 'democratic' aura. The nomination of candidates is in the power of the old party. The government of Añez has not yet established the term of its management nor does it specify an election date. Despite the fact that the legislature ends its mandate on 01/21/2020, the regime argues the need to 'institutionalize' the country, meanwhile determining significant changes in the national policy.

The Foreign Ministry, headed by the former director of the 'Idea Foundation' (funded by USAID and the NED), has determined to break relations with the Maduro government, ALBA and UNASUR, and reestablish relations with the State of Israel. From the Ministries of Government and Communication, a threat has been launched against all 'seditions'. The new president of the Servicio de Impuestos Nacionales is a former director of Grupo Nacional Vida; the new managers of Boliviana de Aviación and Servicios de Aeropuertos are former executives of the Amazonas airline; the military has assumed the management of the National Hydrocarbons Agency in a new distribution of state power.

Regarding the national economic situation, since 2015 there has been a pattern of increasing external indebtedness and reduction of Net International Reserves; natural gas reserves are lower than projections. This in a context of an international economic recession trend from the law of the decreasing trend of the rate of profit; and moreover the devaluation of the currency at the regional level. Macroeconomic indicators point to an economic crisis in the coming months, which will lead to a series of anti-popular economic measures. For example the devaluation of the national currency that soy producers have demanded for months, the loss of purchasing power of wages and the worsening of working conditions. The CAINCO proposes to modify the legal reserve of the bank; eliminate the Tax on Financial Transactions (ITF) in addition to adjustments to the Tax on Business Profits (IUE); private administration of state projects; finance the private sector from the banks and pension funds and reduce the regulatory presence of the State. The proposed economic adjustments are clear: tax cuts for large businessmen and less state presence. These proposals are in addition to the announcement by the Ministries of Productive Development and Rural Development of the release of exports.

Strategic natural resources, like the lithium from the Salar de Uyuni or the iron and manganese from Mutún, are still in a preliminary phase assembly of equipment for exploitation, by companies German and Chinese transnationals, respectively, who received the state contracts under the government of the MAS. In the coming years, lithium, iron, manganese, livestock and biofuels will be key in the national economy. The lack of industrialization will keep Bolivia as an extractive country, an exporter of raw materials, and a predator of the environment in favor of the transnationals. A context of regrouping of the popular movement for anti-fascist resistance, fight against neoliberal adjustments, defense of natural resources and state companies opens.



"Bolivia es un país multicultural formado por una nación opresora y numerosas nacionalidades y tribus oprimidas. Un Estado de tan compleja estructura nacional tiene también una compleja historia económica, pues ésta no comprende solamente la historia económica de la nación boliviana, sino también la de los pueblos indígenas sometidos. Comprende igualmente la historia de la dominación española, de la penetración del imperialismo inglés y de la explotación del país por el capital financiero norteamericano. El estudio de la estructura económica de Bolivia comprende las relaciones de producción de la comunidad primitiva, del esclavismo, del feudalismo y del capitalismo. Y todo ello en forma simultánea, pues los diferentes pueblos que componen el país se hallan en diferentes estadios de evolución económico-social."

Jorge Alejandro Ovando Sanz



Originals pp. 62-

Caption: "Brazil is a multicultural country made up of an oppressive nation and numerous oppressed nationalities and tribes. A state with such a complex national structure also has a complex economic history, since it not only includes the economic history of the Bolivian nation, but also that of the subject indigenous peoples. It also includes the history of Spanish domination, the penetration of English imperialism and the exploitation of the country by North American finance capital. The study of the economic structure of Bolivia includes the relations of production of the primitive community, of slavery, feudalism and capitalism. And all this simultaneously, since the different peoples that make up the country are at different stages of economic-social evolution." Jorge Alejandro Ovando Sanz

III. SOCIAL ECONOMIC FORMATION: MOTTLED CAPITALISM

The social economic formation of Bolivia is mottled or variegated (*ABIGARRADO*) capitalism. This variegation occurs due to the co-existence of capitalist and pre-capitalist modes of production (under the dominion of the former), as well as due to the dual

relationship of national oppression. The Bolivian nation, oppressed by imperialism and yet oppressor of the nations, nationalities and indigenous peoples. The role of Bolivia within the international division of labor, as an expression of the law of uneven development of capitalism, explains our features of dependency and technological backwardness that coexist with the merger and concentration of capital in the hands of the financial oligarchy.

1. NATIONAL OPPRESSION

The multi-national character of Bolivian society is manifested, as a dominant Bolivian nation, which exerts oppression on the nationalities and indigenous peoples and the Afro-Bolivian people. The Bolivian nation (Creole-mestizo) has undergone a long process of formation and creation of the national identity, the turning point of which was the 'War of the Chaco'. From that moment on the prototype of Boliviana was formed - being anti-Chilean, anti-indigenous, speaking Spanish, etc. The Bolivian mestizo nation was born denying its own existence, seeking to emulate Europeans, Americans. Today the Bolivian nation is the oppressor of indigenous nationalities and at the same time is oppressed by imperialism. Today Bolivia must be revalued, we must value our traditions and cultures, our particularities.

According to the last national census (2012), 58.2% of the national Bolivian population does not self-identify with any indigenous people. Of those who do self-identify with a people, 46% are Quechua, 42% Aymara, 3% are Chiquitanos, 2% Guaraní, 1% Mojeño, and 0.58% are Afro-Bolivian. Each nationality has experienced its own processes of socio-economic and cultural formation, of resistance to colonization processes. What unites peoples and nationalities is the historical resistance to European colonization and the subsequent internal colonization as exercised by the national state. The thesis of linguistic reductionism trumpeted by the government ignores the complex process of formation of nations, nationalities and peoples in which language is a single factor, along with economic development and historical cultural ties (*Stalin, Marxism and the National Question*). The existence of social classes within the towns is exemplified in the Aymara case, since it has its own bourgeois layer (*qhamiris*) with its own characteristics and aspirations, as a class and as a nation.

The resistance of the indigenous peoples of the country against all colonial oppression has been a factor determinant in the collective consciousness. The struggles for self-determination and respect for indigenous peoples have promoted important transformations in the country. To understand the construction of struggles that incorporate class claims and national struggles is essential for Bolivian communists.

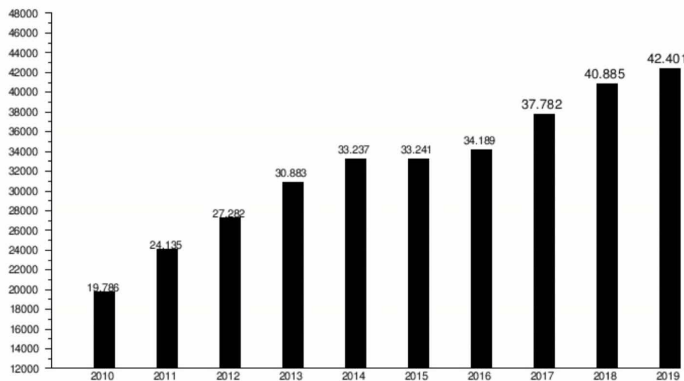
2. ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

The variegated capitalism is the product of the law of uneven development that manifests itself in the imperialist stage of capitalism, since our role is manifested within the international division of labor. The variegated capitalism is characterized by

technological backwardness and Bolivia's economic dependence on imperialist powers. This is mainly through external debts and an extractive economic model and exporter of raw materials (minerals and hydrocarbons). Along with the primary mode of production (capitalism) there coexists in a secondary way pre-capitalist modes of production (communal forms, semi-feudal peonage, mercantile forms), subject to the internal and external capitalist market.

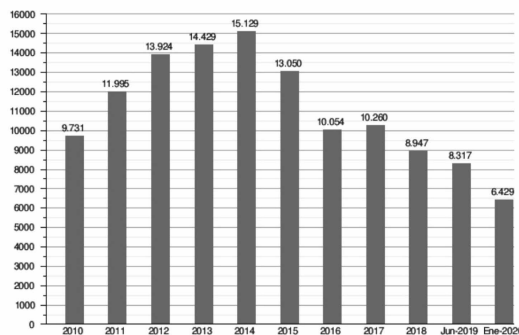
Gross Domestic Product between 2010 and 2019

Producto Interno Bruto entre 2010 y 2019



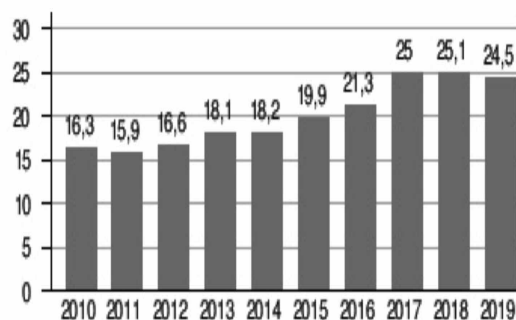
El PIB (Producto Interno Bruto) GDP (Gross Domestic Product) has registered a growth trend of more than 3.4% since 2004, which reached its highest point in 2013 with 6.8% and has fallen steadily since then reaching 4.3 % in 2016. Banking is living a moment of growth, registering a growth greater than 375% during the 14 years of the MAS government, driven by agro-industrial capital. Close to 45% of the country's exports correspond to natural gas and derivatives, 10% correspond to zinc, 8% to gold, 7% to silver, 3% to tin, 1.5% to lead; As for agro-industries, 9% corresponds to soybeans, 2% to chestnuts and 1% to quinoa. These data reaffirm our role as an exporter of raw materials, without real industrialization.

Reservas Internacionales Netas entre 2010 y 2020



% de Deuda Externa/PIB entre 2010 y 2019

% de Deuda Externa/PIB entre 2010 y 2019



The high international prices of raw materials that benefited the country during the first years of masista administration were squandered without having industrialized the country. At present, to maintain public spending, the use of international reserves is used (which have dropped from 15 billion dollars in 2014 to \$ 8 billion in 2018), the increase in external debt (which was \$2 billion in 2007 and exceeds \$ 10 billion in 2018).

The 'nationalizations' made by the MAS government, were in fact a purchase of a majority share package - and the re-negotiation of service contracts with transnational companies. Examples of this practice include the shareholding compositions of YPFB Andina (48.3% of its shares are owned by REPSOL) and YPFB Transierra S.A. (21.49% of its shares are owned by REPSOL), there are service contracts with transnational companies such as Shell, Matpetrol, Petrobras, Pluspetrol, Repsol E&P, Vintage Petroleum, and Total E&P aimed at the exploration and exploitation of hydrocarbons, including in wind farms, national and indigenous territories.

Large private mining accounts for 63.6% of the mineral production value in the country, through the presence of large transnational companies such as Glencore (Sinchi Wayra), Sumitomo (San 65 Cristóbal), Manquiri and Pan American Silver. In mining production, 27.7% corresponds to the cooperative sector, whose composition varies from small subsistence groups to large cooperatives in which the partners hire employees without minimum labor rights and do not comply with tax obligations. State participation in mining production is only 8.7% through COMIBOL.

3. SOCIAL CLASSES

Financial Oligarchy: It is the upper layer of the bourgeoisie, the result of the fusion of bank capital with productive capital, it has its roots in the original accumulation processes of land and capital since colonization. It is a more reactionary layer and more subservient to imperialism.

Commercial bourgeoisie: It is the bourgeois layer that is dedicated to the importation, distribution and commercialization of products, exercising control of the internal market, its role is of intermediation and is intimately linked with the imperialist capital, it does not contribute to national production.

Bureaucratic bourgeoisie: It is the bourgeois layer linked to the technocratic-military leadership and the sale of services to state entities and obtain enrichment from prebendary (*ecclesiastical*) and corrupt processes; it is also related to multinational companies that provide services to the State.

Mining, industrial, agro-industrial bourgeoisie: These are the bourgeois layers linked to the incipient productive development in the country. This includes sectors of the medium-sized and cooperative mining, the small manufacturing industry, the landowners

and cattle ranchers (in pre-capitalist relations), the agro-industry in the East of the country, to a large extent they are linked with multi-national capital.

Petty Bourgeoisie: In the urban area, a petty bourgeoisie has developed based on public employees, teachers, professionals, students, and small merchants. This social class vacillates between revolutionary and reactionary positions. There are different layers of this petty bourgeoisie (upper, middle, lower) according to their economic conditions.

Peasant: There are various sectors of the peasantry in Bolivia, differentiated by their relationship with land ownership. Those who have large and medium-sized extensions of fertile lands and exploit the labor force of others for production (rich peasants); community peasants with collective ownership of the land, whose relationship is therefore communal; poor peasants with little or no land whose economy is subsistence.

Working classes: The working classes in Bolivia include the formal sector, that is, mining, factory, agrarian, oil and construction workers who constitute the proletariat in Bolivia, and have their historical organization in the Central Obrera Boliviana. They also include the laborious layers of the informal sector: helpers, masons, services, employed drivers, domestic workers, retail traders. This social layer has a temporary migration relationship with the peasantry, moving from living in the countryside to working in urban centers. according to the seasons of the year, that is, the semi-proletariat.

4. SUPERSTRUCTURE

The Pluri-national State and its constitutional framework is the product of the pact reached between the MAS government and the oligarchy in 2008-09, and reflects the correlation of forces of each party at that time. The existence of 36 nations and peoples that coexist in the national territory is nominally recognized, and the *wiphala* is recognized as a patriotic symbol. Limits are established between the role of the State and the private sector, guaranteeing the legal security of large private property. Territorial autonomies are established at their different levels and competences. The CPE guarantees a wide range of individual and collective human rights. The state structure has four organs: executive, legislative, judicial and electoral; a strong presidentialism and liberal representative democracy are maintained as an election mechanism. The inheritance of the MAS government in legislative terms will condition the new regime, forcing it to negotiate in Parliament, govern by decree or appeal to the Judicial Branch, until it has satisfied a new Legislative Assembly.

The Armed Forces and the Police entered the new regime with a restriction, its high command was modified even before the formation of a cabinet of ministers. the D.S. 4078 was a *carte blanche* that freed them from all criminal responsibility for their actions. Despite their being restricted in the negotiations, this Decree represents total support between repressive forces and the government. The promise of salary leveling (with the Armed Forces) and retirement with 100% was one of the hooks that ensured the police riot, the new government has not yet fulfilled them. The fascist-inspired paramilitary

groups have re-emerged and are in close coordination with the repressive forces against popular mobilizations.

The educational system was reformed by Law 070 of the MAS government, which imposed a postmodern and Pachamamist vision of reality (*Note: Pachama: 'a goddess revered by the indigenous peoples of the Andes. In Inca mythology she is an "Earth Mother" type goddess, and a fertility goddess who presides over planting and harvesting, embodies the mountains, and causes earthquakes' – Wikipedia*). It will undoubtedly be subject to changes as soon as there is a new Parliament. The Public University at the national level is de-institutionalized, does not have elected authorities, carries within it serious contradictions regarding class interests and commitment to popular struggles in this new context. Private education at all its levels was strengthened with the MAS, it has important representatives within the current ministerial cabinet to defend its interests.

The religious apparatus within the country is heterogeneous, the Catholic Church with a historical legacy of struggle represented by *Lefebvre y Espinal*, has an Episcopal Council that responds to the Creole bourgeoisie while the Cardinal in office openly declared in favor of the MAS. The different Protestant tendencies have a high growth in peri-urban and rural sectors, taking advantage of the situation of poverty and despair. The church has once again played a leading role in national politics with the 'return of the Bible to the palace', imposing a fundamentalist political agenda in the country.

The battle unleashed in the cultural and communicational field is reflected in the media and social networks. The large private communication media was obedient to the MAS due to the advertising contracts. With the change of regime the editorial lines have taken a substantial turn. Bankers and agro-industrialists are the owners of the large mass media (Unitel, Red Uno, El Deber, Página Siete, etc.) and use them to defend their class interests. Social networks are an important space for the exchange of ideas, they have been instrumentalized for the massive dissemination of fake news and psychological warfare.

Party organization is closely related to state management at its various levels. Authorities at the state, departmental and municipal levels use the state apparatus to build their party organization. These legalize electoral acronyms, but without real political validity while making complicated regulations to prevent the electoral participation of left-wing alternatives. Organizations such as citizen platforms, collectives, civic committees become other spaces for political intervention. Their protagonism in electoral times is apparently subordinated to any partisanship. They become potential spaces to disseminate reactionary, racist and discriminatory ideas inspired by the discourses of the half-Moon media ("la media luna").

The union and popular organizations are weakened and divided, with leaders who were co-opted by the MAS lacking grassroots legitimacy. The reorganization of the popular movement is necessary guided by principles of political independence, organic unity,

accountability and ideological plurality. The civic and business structures respond monolithically to the new regime and have expressed their support and support from the outset.

IV. POPULAR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

1. TYPE OF THE REVOLUTION

This era is characterized by the collapse of imperialism and for the triumph of revolutions proletarians. The crisis of capitalism worldwide leads to an exacerbation of the fundamental contradictions, the inter-imperialist struggles for the control of the Bolivian economy next to the anti-national characteristic of the bourgeoisie.

"Hay que saber
combinar la lucha
por la democracia
con la lucha por la
revolución
socialista,
subordinando lo
primero a lo
segundo"

Lenin

Caption: "It is necessary to know how to combine the struggle for democracy with the struggle for the socialist revolution, subordinating the former to the former." Lenin

The principal contradiction is the one that exists between imperialism and the peoples of Bolivia, this contradiction can only be resolved with a Revolution that accomplish tasks popular and democratic national liberation, and deepen with socialist tasks. Bolivian popular majorities have always been rebellious and insurgent in the fight for a society with greater social justice. In Bolivia, we propose an uninterrupted Revolution that fulfills the democratic-popular and socialist tasks, under the political leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party, as a political expression of the working classes.

2. PROGRAM OF THE BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION

The objective of the Revolutionary Communist Party is to put an end to the imperialist regime of exploitation and domination and to conquer the Political Power of the State for the working class and its organized allies of the Patriotic Popular Front under the

hegemony of the working class and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. for the construction of Scientific Socialism as the first stage of Communism.

Scientific socialism is understood as the first phase of the construction of communism; it is the socialization of the means of production and political power in the hands of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It bears no resemblance to the aberrations of 21st century socialism, community socialism or "living well" proclaimed by populism - that in fact have kept capitalist exploitation in force.

The crisis of world capitalism leads to a sharpening of the fundamental contradictions, the inter-imperialist struggles for control of the Bolivian economy together with the anti-national characteristics of the bourgeoisie. The main contradiction is the one that exists between imperialism and the Bolivian peoples. This contradiction can only be resolved with a Revolution that fulfills the popular democratic tasks and national liberation, and is deepened with tasks of scientific socialism. The Bolivian popular majorities have always been rebellious and insurgent in the fight for a society with greater social justice. To overcome the social economic formation of 'Variegated Capitalism' in Bolivia, we propose an uninterrupted Revolution that fulfills the pending democratic-popular tasks together with meeting the horizon in the tasks of construction of scientific socialism, as the first phase of communism; under the political leadership of the Communist Party. Revolutionary, as a political expression of the working classes.

The PCR understands that revolutionary action is carried out by the conscious and organized masses, educated on the basis of their own experience by their vanguard. Which is why it is alien to adventurism, terrorism and opportunist conceptions - where this replaces mass action with radicalism petty bourgeois. In practice that coincides with the plans of the reaction by demobilizing the working class and truncating its advance.

Through the revolutionary armed struggle, a Popular Democratic Government and National Liberation will be formed, under the hegemony of the working class, to ensure and consolidate its political power, will have to fulfill a series of tasks in the economic, political and social fields. These tasks will be the following:

Establishing the Popular Democratic State as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat through the popular-democratic government and the new State will guarantee the broadest democracy for the workers and peasants, for the workers and popular masses; at the same time it will repress the reactionary and pro-imperialist classes.

Conquer full independence and national sovereignty, by recovering all strategic resources and nationalizing without compensation all transnational and imperialist companies. Expel all the imperialist powers (American, Chinese, Russian, European and others) together with their lackeys, who have been looting our natural resources and exploiting the people.

The Popular Democratic Government and National Liberation will cancel the service, exploration, or operation contracts that YPF, COMIBOL, YLB and other state companies have with subsidiary companies of large transnational corporations, restoring the effective possession of the new State over the country's resources.

Ignore the foreign debt of our country by the new State, because said debt was contracted by a reactionary government enemies of the national interest and funds used not in productive activities but in the enrichment of the dominant layers of our country.

Disregard all international agreements and treaties that violate national sovereignty and the right to self-determination.

The People's Democratic Government and National Liberation Government must apply the October Agenda (2003) by confiscating, without the right to compensation, companies belonging to imperialism and big international capital, as well as hydrocarbon, mining, big industry, agribusiness and banking of the financial oligarchy. These measures seek to suppress the dominant positions of foreign capital and mainly US imperialism, since the action of this capital tends to preserve the conditions of dependency, since its mere presence defines its situation of dependency.

Socialize the most advanced means of production, expropriating bourgeois imperialist property without compensation.

Nationalize the banks that constitute the motor nerve of capitalism, in order to exercise control and vigilance over operations and eliminate the shuffling of balance sheets that evade their obligations to the State. Through the single state banking system, exercise a strict foreign exchange control policy

Establish a state monopoly of foreign trade. In this way, speculation in imports with capital flight abroad will be put to an end, and sovereign industrialization will be promoted.

Energetically fight crime and corruption. Confiscation of property and popular lawsuits against those who have enriched themselves through acts of corruption, drug trafficking or treason.

The Popular Democratic State will expand the democratic and union freedoms for the working people to strengthen the People's Power. The People's Democratic and National Liberation Government will exercise vigilant control against the overthrown exploiting classes to fight their counter-revolutionary and pro-imperialist activities.

Dissolve the repressive forces (Armed Forces and Police) of the Bourgeois State. Constitute and develop the Armed Forces of National Liberation as a guarantee of national sovereignty.

Establish a new form of state and legal organization, at all levels, that takes up the path of the People's Assembly (1970-71), as an expression of People's Power, with delegates elected in Popular Assemblies by territory and by labor sector. Decision-making in each factory, neighborhood, city, region from the Popular Assemblies to eliminate the state bureaucracy.

Define a planned, sustainable and independent economic policy that responds to the real needs of the concrete situation and to the aspirations for liberation, in order to progressively overcome backwardness, misery, unhealthiness and ignorance; that surpasses the extractivist and mono-producer capitalism.

Promote the industrialization of the country with the development of sovereign technologies within a planned, sustainable and independent economic policy; under direct control of the workers through the Popular Assemblies.

Provide special attention to the regions of the country that have been historically relegated and forgotten by the State in order to have an integral national development.

Expand and strengthen state companies (COMIBOL, YLB, YPFB and others), nationalized and nationalized, rationalizing and restructuring their administration at the service of independent economic and social development. Eliminate excessive bureaucracy and establish social control of workers' organizations over the correct use of the means of production and production at the service of the national interest.

Socialize the large latifundist property (greater than 5,000 hectares) and give land to poor peasants. Organize agricultural cooperatives, assisted technically and economically by the new State, in order to raise labor productivity, increase production and raise the standard of living of the masses of poor and middle peasants. Eliminate intermediaries and punish usury through the commercialization of agricultural products through the State.

The Popular Democratic Government and National Liberation will promote a policy of food sovereignty, that agriculture produces what the people consume and not for the big transnationals.

Restore ownership of lands that were historically illegally taken from peasant communities.

The People's Democratic State will improve the material and social living conditions of the people, raising their standard of living. The new State will assume the management of the integrated social security system (short and long term) to guarantee universal access to a new free and quality health system, popular housing programs and decent retirement for the entire working population.

The Popular Democratic Government and National Liberation will guarantee full and effective equality of rights between women and men in economic, political, social, cultural and family matters. Women will enjoy the same rights as men at work, equal pay, vacations, social security, education.

Promote efficient policies against sexist violence and femicide; full respect for equal rights for gender-gender diversities.

The Popular Democratic Government and of National Liberation will legalize the voluntary interruption of pregnancy, accompanied by sexual and reproductive education policies and access to contraceptive methods.

The new State will guarantee full conditions to protect the rights of the elderly, disabled and vulnerable populations.

Children, adolescents and youth will enjoy support and protection for their integral development and training as protagonists in the construction of the future socialist society.

The Popular Democratic State will promote the development of culture and democratic, scientific and productive education, which unites practice and theory, with the conception of the School-Ayllu of Warisata.

The Bolivian University at the service of National Liberation will be fully incorporated into the public policy planning processes, with the exclusive role of training professionals, engineers and technicians for sovereign national development.

The Popular Democratic Government and National Liberation Government will promote the digitization of the country with the democratization of access to the internet, telecommunications and computer equipment.

Promote a comprehensive metropolitan planning policy in the large cities of the country; urban planning and development for medium and small cities; and rural planning that guarantees full access to all basic services for dispersed areas.

The new State will recognize the multi-nationality, the full self-determination of the peoples and nationalities that coexist within Bolivia; full respect for the territory, culture, languages, educational processes, judicial procedures, economic relations and others.

The Popular Democratic State recognizes nature as the primary source of wealth, the use of which must be planned at the national level in a rational way, guaranteeing its preservation for future generations.

The Popular Democratic Government and National Liberation claim the principle of the Water War (Cochabamba, 2000): "The water is ours", the management of this vital resource must be the product of the agreements between the State and the communities.

Develop clean energy generation, modern irrigation systems, and policies to guarantee the sustainability of agricultural production.

In the international field, the People's Democratic State must exercise an independent and sovereign policy, establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with all the States and peoples of the world, under the principles of proletarian internationalism, equality, non-intervention, national self-determination, mutual respect and benefit, clearly defining itself against colonialism and neocolonialism, against imperialist wars and aggression by the superpowers, against the arms race and in defense of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples of the world.

Fight for the maritime claim of Bolivia, seeking a solution among the working peoples to resolve the historical injustices caused by imperialism and the oligarchy.

3. ROAD OF REVOLUTION: POPULAR ARMED INSURRECTION

In Bolivia, the People's Armed Insurrection is the way of revolution, history has shown this on numerous occasions since the founding of the Republic. The armed, organized and mobilized people have faced the Armed Forces to conquer power; in the Federal War the peasants and liberals defeated the Army; in the 1952 Revolution the peasants and armed workers defeated the Army; in 1971 the armed people faced military gorillismo to defend the democratic process and the People's Assembly. In the anti-neoliberal resistance, the people faced the Armed Forces. We are a country whose history is written with the blood of the popular classes and history teaches us that keeping the people defenseless is a betrayal that ends with massacres, torture, exiles.

"La revolución es
imposible sin una
situación
revolucionaria;
además, no toda
situación
revolucionaria
desemboca en
una revolución."

Lenin

Caption: "Revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; Furthermore, not every revolutionary situation leads to a revolution."

We consider it necessary to specify concepts from Marxism-Leninism that differentiates the way focus of the approaches programmatic of the PCR. The role of the revolutionary is to prepare the working people for the revolution in the objective and subjective conditions.

There is no other way than that of revolutionary violence. For the taking of Leninism teaches us about power, and the Revolution, for doing so, only taking steps which must be carried out with a measured and safe combination of all forms of fight to strengthen our correlation of forces, the union struggle, the electoral struggle and the armed struggle. The Party must have the political-ideological clarity to face the different forms of struggle according to the historical moment, combine legal work with clandestine work. The revolution will always be the work of the organized masses, tempered in combat and guided by the revolutionary program. To guarantee victory, the unitary action of the peoples is essential, to incorporate the broad majorities in the revolutionary insurrectional struggle to overthrow the class enemy and take power, conquering popular democracy and building socialism.

"El marxismo-leninismo nos enseña que sólo dando pasos medidos y seguros, y únicamente apoyándose con firmeza en los principios de la teoría marxista-leninista y haciendo que las masas adquieran conciencia, es posible conquistar éxitos en la preparación y el desencadenamiento de la insurrección armada, y no caer jamás en el aventurerismo."

Enver Hoxha

Caption: "Marxism-Leninism teaches us about power, and the Revolution, to do so only by taking steps which must be complied with with a measured and safe and only by firmly relying on the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory and making the masses acquire consciousness, is it possible to achieve success in the preparation and unleashing of armed insurrection, and never fall into adventurism. "

4. THE PARTY

In the class struggle, the working class needs a General Staff, an organized vanguard to move from an economic struggle to a political and ideological struggle, for the seizure of power; that vanguard is the Revolutionary Communist Party. The PCR becomes the political-military organization that will lead the Bolivian Revolution.

The Bolivian Communist Party was organized in 1928 in Bolivia, based on the existing Marxist cells in the country. During the Chaco War this group was renamed the Communist Group. The first Bolivian Communist Congress was held in 1933. In 1935 the Provisional Committee of the Communist Groups of Bolivia was organized. Four years later the Party of the Revolutionary Left (PIR) was founded, whose youth rebelled between 1949 and 1950 to found the Communist Party of Bolivia, which would end up assuming revisionist and capitulating positions. The First Extraordinary Congress of the

Communist Party in the 20th century in 1965 broke with Khrushhovite revisionism; and the Second Extraordinary Congress of the PCB (ml) in 1983 denounced Maoist revisionism and the theory of the three worlds - raising high the flags of Marxism - Leninism. The founding of the PCR in 2014 represents a qualitative leap in the reorganization of the popular majorities of Bolivia in the struggle for the Revolution and Socialism.

Today's context is one in which the revisionist parties have capitulated to the 'Socialism of the XXI Century', abandoning all traces of Marxism; faced with a discourse of polarization that raises populism and a return to the old neo-liberal model as the only solutions. In the face of this, there is an objective need to continue building the Revolutionary Communist Party, as the vanguard of the Bolivian proletariat in the struggle for scientific socialism.

5. PATRIOTIC POPULAR FRONT

The revolution is the victory of the organized people. The Party is a cadre organization, it is the conscious vanguard forged in Marxism-Leninism. The masses must have their own bodies that allow democratic, progressive and patriotic men and women to unite in defense of their legitimate economic demands and channel their collective political aspirations. The Party must bring its line to the popular majorities, it cannot remain an organization with desk or cabinet resolutions, it must reach the masses with concrete guidelines for the struggle. The PCR should be the vanguard of the Popular Patriotic Front, which will be the General Staff of the revolutionary struggles of the Bolivian peoples.

The rich unitary tradition of the Bolivian trade union movement, despite suffering severe blows from the MAS government that has tried to divide and co-opt the leadership, maintains a general conception of: one trade union per factory, one Federation/Confederation per sector and a single Central Obrera Boliviana. There are no ideological currents with a serious organic presence within the trade union movement, but conjunctural fronts that dispute the leaderships. These revolve mainly around adherence to differing 'caudillo' affinities.

Revolutionary Party forces are still too few and weak (incipient) to disperse them in small and isolated efforts reduced to particular fronts. The recent experience teaches us of the danger of petty-bourgeois deviations when political work is focused exclusively on the front student without being rooted in the class worker and peasantry. It is necessary to develop a coherent mass policy to bring the line from the Party to the people; objectively considering the real scope of our forces and relying on the real advances we have; with the ability to adapt and adapt to the conditions in each sector, raising as a banner, the history of our liberators' struggle and the red flag of *Alejo Calatayud*.

"La Internacional Comunista no pone para la unidad de acción ninguna clase de condiciones, con excepción de una elemental, aceptable para todos los obreros, a saber: que la unidad de acción vaya encaminada contra el fascismo, contra la ofensiva del capital, contra la amenaza de guerra, contra el enemigo de clase. He ahí nuestra condición."

Dimitrov

Original p. 80; Caption: "The International Communist does not put for the unit of action no class of conditions, with exception of one elementary, acceptable for all the workers, namely: that unity of action go on track against fascism, capital, against the threat of war, against the class enemy. This is our condition."

To fulfill the popular democratic, anti-fascist and national revolution, for the sovereignty of the Homeland, against the offensive of the National liberation, against all imperialist expression - the unity of the working class, youth, peoples and oppressed nationalities is needed. This unity will take place in the Patriotic Popular Front, a broad and democratic entity that brings together social and political organizations. The Popular Patriotic Front will have an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, anti-capitalist and anti-patriarchal essence, rescuing the traditions of struggle of the Bolivian peoples against all oppressive forces.

The formation of a mass movement that incorporates workers, peasants, neighborhoods, students, women, self-employed workers, committed professionals, young people, democratic, patriotic and progressive men and women; Instead of working on different fronts, unifying the work of the masses with diverse sectoral expressions according to the development that occurs in each case.



SALUDOS INTERNACIONALES

SALUDO DE LAS DELEGACIONES INTERNACIONALES AL PRIMER CONGRESO DEL PCR



The formal constitution of Communist Party Revolutionary of Bolivia, fulfill the responsibility of endowing the working class, the workers and peoples of Bolivia of the vanguard organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution. It is an important contribution to organization process international revolution of proletariat, is the expression of the growth and strengthening of the International Conference of Marxist Leninist Parties and Organizations, CIPOML, is a victory for the proletariat, the revolution and socialism.

We have witnessed the level of frank and sincere debate that has developed in the First Congress of the RCP, which shows us the affirmation along the Marxist-Leninist line that this detachment of the CIPOML has managed to develop; the criticisms and self-criticisms mentioned in the event show the commitment that exists to fulfill the historical tasks of the working class. This victorious Congress leaves us with certain hope in a socialist tomorrow in Bolivia.

Comrades, let us return to our combat trenches with healthy joy at having fulfilled a historic mission, you know that the eyes of the working class at the international level are closely following your progress, we will learn from your experiences of struggle and we are sure that they will fill with heroic pages the history of the struggle of the working class and the peoples for their social and national liberation.

Long live the Victorious First Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Bolivia!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the invincible Marxism - Leninism!

Long live the International Conference of Marxist Leninist Parties and Organizations!

Fraternally,



Partido Comunista Marxista Leninista del Ecuador



Partido Comunista de México (marxista-leninista)



Partido Comunista Peruano (marxista-leninista)

There follow also messages from the Partido Comunista De España (Marxista-leninista); La Plataforma Comunista Por El Partido

Comunista Del Proletariado De Italia; Partido Estadounidense Del Trabajo; Partido Del Trabajo De Irán; Partido Comunista Marxista Leninista De Uruguay;

LA INTERNACIONAL

Letra: Eugène Pottier / Música: Pierre Degeyter

¡Arriba, parias de la tierra!
¡En pie, famélica legión!
Atruena la razón en marcha:
Es el fin de la opresión.

Para hacer que el tirano caiga
y el mundo siervo liberar,
soplemos la potente fragua
Que al hombre libre ha de forjar.

Del pasado hay que hacer añicos,
¡Legión esclava en pie, a vencer!
El mundo va a cambiar de base,
Los nadie de hoy todo han de ser.

Agrupémonos todos...

La ley nos burla y el Estado
oprime y sangra al productor;
nos da derechos ilusorios;
no hay deberes del señor.

**Agrupémonos todos
en la lucha final;
el género humano
es La Internacional.**

Basta ya de tutela odiosa,
que la igualdad ley ha de ser:
«No más deberes sin derechos,
ningún derecho sin deber.»

Ni en dioses, reyes ni tribunos,
está el supremo salvador.
Nosotros mismos realicemos
El esfuerzo redentor.

Agrupémonos todos...





