

# We Begin to Topple the Walls and Unfold a New Dawn\*†

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## 1 The Masses Clamor to Organize the Rebellion

Since ancient times, the masses have been subjected to exploitation and oppression. They have always rebelled, it is a long and inexhaustible history. The class struggle is constant. It cannot be suppressed. For ages, since they began struggling, the masses have clamored to organize the rebellion, to be armed, to rise up, to be led. It has always been this way and will continue to be. Even afterwards, in the new world, there will be struggle but in different forms.

Misery exists together with fabulous riches. Even the utopians knew that both are linked: enormous wealth tied to condemnable and flagrant poverty. It is like this because exploitation exists. Exploitation is tied to oppression and this too exists, killing the masses, consuming them with hunger, shackling and garrotting them. But the masses are not sheep. They are people grouped into classes who organize themselves, develop their parties and the latter its leaders.

The leadership should listen to the most minor murmur of the masses, listen to their movement, try to scan the future from a distance and stand

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\*[https://web.archive.org/web/20110922210104/http://www.blythe.org/peru-pcp/docs\\_en/flag.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20110922210104/http://www.blythe.org/peru-pcp/docs_en/flag.htm)

†From the II Plenary Session of the Central Committee.

firmly on the ground in order to record the faintest tremor of the masses. A leader that does not do this is not a leader.

We are Communists, Marx taught us that as revolutionaries we have the professional obligation to organize misery in order to topple the old order. Our obligation is to carry it out scientifically in accordance with the laws of class struggle and with awareness of the goal towards which the class and people march. That is our obligation, we have come here in order to organize the clamor of the masses, to organize and arm them. In this way the disorganized power of the masses expresses its strength, its invincible power, and the masses become the creators of new orders, thereby undermining and boisterously toppling the strongest walls.

We can not call ourselves Communists if we do not act in such a manner. There can be no leaders who are deaf to the clamor of the masses, blind to their strength, harsh or indifferent. This is unacceptable. Nevertheless, what have we seen? Blind, harsh, indifferent and deaf leaders; are they losing their status as Communists? The souls of Communists should tremble like the souls of the masses tremble, should become happy with what brings them joy, be hurt by what hurts them, become impassioned by what impassions them, uplifted by what uplifts the masses. If not, the militant's character becomes a mere formality, an insignia, a rubber stamp, a kind of etiquette.

There can be no Communists, much less leaders, that dare to lose confidence in the masses; that is to lose confidence in the only force of history. The "reasons" could be very elaborate ones but they would be hollow, an unacceptable emptiness. The Party cannot continue to allow those militants, and the leaders who deny the role of the masses. We cannot permit that. While the bourgeoisie sees the waves of strikes and the reawakening of the peasants, the Communists deny what their eyes see, and what their hands make. It makes no sense and cannot be permitted for the Communist to deny the masses.

More and more we must be advisors, we should see things in perspective, have sensitive ears to hear what the masses have to say, a penetrating insight, a sharp and piercing talent to discover the transformation of the masses. Without this, we cannot accomplish our mission. Should we follow the road of the old opportunism? Do we have the callous hearts of reaction? From those comrades who act that way what can we expect tomorrow? They are dark and sinister opportunists who traffick with the masses. Never again shall we allow such a thing to occur, much less with our leaders.

There is a powerful reality in this country of ours, it is the masses. They

have a magnificent history that is often ignored; but each time the masses speak up the land trembles, and each time the peasant masses rise-up the foundations of the old system rocks, Reactionaries worry in a thousand ways when they rebel but only with blood and fire have they placated the masses. Reaction is helped by its cunning opportunists who misdirect and obstruct the struggle; but they can only appease the masses, never contain them.

Engels taught us that there are two forces in the world, the armed force of reaction and the disorganized masses. If we organize the powerful force of the masses, their potential develops into actions, what was a possibility becomes a reality. What is a law and a necessity becomes forceful deeds which sweep away all that is believed to be firm. Nothing is permanent. Everything is a house of cards, if it is not sustained by the masses. And when the masses speak up everything shudders, the order begins to tremble, the high summits stoop and the stars change their course, because the masses are capable of anything.

If this conviction begins to falter within us, the Communist spirit commences to fall apart. We must be vigilant and what we have lived through in this Plenary Session should be a warning to us: it must never happen again. If a Party has leaders who are deaf to the masses, its days are numbered! If it occurs, our duty is to crush and destroy such a bureaucratic machine since it is not a Party any longer, but a monster that must be dismantled. What did Chairman Mao tell us on this matter? He said, we atheists have only one divinity, the masses; we invoke those Gods in order for them to hear us so when that happens exploitation will be eliminated. We must forge our militants with this view today more than ever, and even more so tomorrow.

The masses clamor to organize the rebellion. Therefore, the Party, its leaders, cadres and militants have an urgent obligation and destiny: to organize the disorganized force of the masses and this will only be accomplished with arms in hands. The masses must be armed gradually, part by part, until the arming of the entire people and when this comes about there will be no more exploitation on Earth.

## **2 Let the Actions Speak**

The II Plenary Session of the Central Committee has already a timbre of glory, a timbre that characterized it with the decision to develop the militarization of the Party through actions.

The Communists have paid dearly through their violent struggle to establish a new flag: **initiate the armed struggle**. We are all witnesses to the tough ideological struggle to conclude the development of our line: Initiate the Armed Struggle (ILA).

We have taken firm and decisive steps in as much as we are sure of what we want and where we go. Let us remember Lenin: we will triumph because we know what we want.

It is good to pause for a few minutes and ask ourselves. How have we arrived at this great determination to develop the militarization of the Party through actions? It has been in the midst of an intense struggle, perhaps it has not been as strident as others, but it is deeper, more turbulent and it has a very wide perspective.

Two positions have been in clear contention. Those of us who since the VI Plenum have inculcated the idea of converting words into actions, today convert the verb into armed actions. That is a decisive materialization and transcendental development. What we have agreed upon is to develop military actions, which ring in our minds, palpitate in our hearts, clamor in our heads and agitates our wills when we speak about action.

Some of us have struggled for agreement on passing over to the language of military actions and others have obstinately opposed this with sophisticated maneuvers and even slyness. But this decision has been imposed on us and determined because our country demands determination, because our people demand actions. Our people clamor and we respond to that cry, to their demand, we feel what they feel and want what they want, they want their hands to speak the precise and convincing language of armed deeds. Yes! Developing actions are always the deeds of the masses, of the people: when the trench is dug it is the action that speaks, when the anvil is forged it is the action that speaks, when men investigate they derive laws, it is the action that speaks and when armed hands are raised it is the people who fight. First comes the deed and then the idea, and that idea will carry you to higher levels of action each time. We are sure and just reflections of our reality. We have preached extensively, called to arms for the armed struggle. Our voices have not fallen in the desert, the seed fell in a good furrow and has begun to sprout. The voices we launch are very powerful and with growing echoes that will thunder throughout our land. Those who we called upon to stand up, to rise up in arms, to sow with their wills, respond: we are here ready, lead us, organize us, let us act together! And each day we will continue to progress and do more. Either we fulfill our promises or we will

become the laughing stock and unfaithful traitors. And surely we are not these.

If we have planted, preached and organized and all this bears fruit, then our obligation is to lead, because the march has begun. Let the armed actions confirm our words. May our blood be joined with the blood of those who must shed it, we don't have the right to let that blood shiver alone, let its frigidity mix with the warmth of our own, or else we are not what we are.

In an almost insensible form we became Communists. It is like a long trail, like walking. Moving with one foot demands you step with the other, and if you get tired, it is not to straggle but to take a smooth and calm rest, and then continue climbing. Tomorrow matter will take us in with its belligerent peace, there we can rest definitively.

That is why we have been formed as Communists, for this reason Marx, Lenin and Mao came forward to teach the rest, to teach them to fulfill their responsibilities, in order to assemble others, organize them, and raise them up; for this reason the class generated us.

What have we seen here? Some comrades and leaders have opposed the Party's most decisive step of its history "to initiate the armed struggle." On what grounds? Because of the supposed "lack of conditions?" And in their trembling voices who speaks? It was the black gullet of oppression and exploitation, the black gullets filled with bile and blood. Don't forget, that reaction needs to shed torrents of blood in order to pacify and subdue the people, it is their dream of fire and steel, but that sinister dream is the most obvious proof that it is in decomposition.

And when comrades and leaders want to steal our souls and minds, should we permit it? No. Their "arguments" went up in smoke, their threadbare "considerations" and their paper "steadfastness" are rotting in the sun.

Never again in our Party should we have to listen to those sinister voices among Communists and even less so among leaders. And all those daring to stand up, crush and destroy them like they deserve. Today this is much more urgent, this is less permissible now because it is undermining and destroying the hopes of the masses, the labor of five years, and precisely when the masses begin to express themselves concretely in reality. In these times these pacifists are shameful.

Many lessons are obtained for all of us from these meetings, for some there should be deafening warnings and forceful calls to our attention. Never again. We have a clear and definite orientation: let actions speak. To Develop the Militarization of the Party through actions. To convert this into reality is an

urgent task. It is a call to order, the class, history and the people demand it. We cannot work in any other way. It is a necessity. What we have accomplished in the past has brought us here. The road is defined and the actions are established: let us carry them out. We have no other right. This is the order of the day: let actions speak.

### **3 We Begin the Toppling of the Walls**

We have already agreed to the Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions. What shall we do next? We should commence to topple the walls. Now is the time, at once. There are those who have opposed, resisted, and even someone who fled in cowardice, deserting for a second time, and who has been defended. Will it be useful for our Party to defend cowardice and betrayal? Think of those who have committed such acts. Remember “Prometheus,” the Oceanids and Hermes: we ask for everything except cowardice and betrayal. Like 2,500 years ago, Communists in the XX Century in a Communist Party that strives for the launching of armed struggle, debating its development through armed actions, we heard leaders who praised, supported, nourished, and protected betrayal. Will this political behavior be of any use to us? No. Let us root out the poisonous weeds. It is pure poison, a cancer which corrodes and we must not permit this. It is a sinister and decaying pus that we must never allow within our ranks, much less now. Let us remove these sinister, harmful vipers. We can permit neither cowardice nor betrayal; they are asps. It is impossible to tolerate this. It manifests itself within us and in our leaders. This is unacceptable, condemnable and marked for fire. We must begin to root out that poison. We must forge ourselves in another temperament and with another spirit. Let us root out and burn the leeches, otherwise the poison will be general. If we don’t destroy it, the vigor of the Party’s healthy body will dissipate.

It is urgent and pressing to finish with this. We must not leave a trace, a purge should serve this purpose, clarified with facts. Those who have exhibited that behavior should be the first ones to leave. It will be a sign of our advancement. In order to topple the walls, we should sweep away the debris and eliminate poisons. In order to begin the toppling of the walls, we need to fortify ourselves and this fortification is to sweep away the rot of rightism in general. Let us take this challenge very seriously so that we can accomplish our tasks with the highest vigilance. We must preserve the Left,

and those with difficulties will advance. That will be the sign of our actions, our commitment.

We will go to our bases. We will transmit to them our message to raise actions. Having unleashed the struggle against a beheaded Right is a great and magnificent step forward. We along with those with problems will exemplify our determination and assurance as part of the Left and be ever vigilant. It is essential to do this in order to advance, and fortify ourselves and become powerful.

There is no need to call those with problems powerless. Power will come from actions. Action is the toppling of the walls. Let us carry out military actions. We will be tempered by them. From the novices we are we will become experienced combatants.

Thus, by applying the development of the militarization of the Party through actions, the walls will be profoundly undermined and their toppling will begin. The keys to this are the armed groups, the armed groups without arms. May your unarmed hands snatch away the arms of those who own them with creativity, then utilize them shrewdly and with clear ideas.

Let us expand the groups, let us act in boycotts, harvests, land seizures, sabotage, terrorism and principally with guerilla actions. This is our desire and destiny. We have all pledged: let the violence flourish as elaborated in the initiation of the armed struggle (ILA), we will carry it forward with armed groups, beginning with unarmed groups, and from those ardent seeds will sprout forth ardent sunflowers. We have a sun that will illuminate us, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, we have a fertile land that will fortify us: the increase of the class struggle of the masses.

What do we lack? The sprouting and flourishing of armed groups without arms! From those humble seeds and blossoms, monuments of the class capable of toppling the walls will grow. That's the way the dawn will appear in our country.

The key to our success: the groups; of vital importance: our decision; the base: the masses.

May the armed groups without arms flourish! That is the order of the day.

## 4 Unfurl Optimism and Overflow with Enthusiasm

We are Communists of a distinct temperament and special material, we are Communists ready for everything and we know what needs to be fought. We have already fought it and will fight it again tomorrow. What will be confronted tomorrow will be the child of the present, it will be harder but by then we will be tempered by the past and as we forge ourselves today. We will temper our souls in the revolution, this is the only flame capable of forging us.

We need a great deal of optimism and there is a reason for it. We are the makers of tomorrow, we are guides, the garrison of the invincible triumph of the class. This is why we are optimists.

We are enthusiastic by nature. We are nurtured by the ideology of our class: Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. We live the life of the class. We participate in its heroic deeds. The blood of our people flow and burns within us.

We are like a powerful and palpitating blood. Let us take the unbendable iron and steel, the class, and mix it together with the unwithering light of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. Enthusiasm means to participate in the force of the Gods, therefore, we are full of enthusiasm. We participate in the divinities of the real world: The masses, the class, Marxism and the revolution. That is why we have inexhaustible enthusiasm. That is why we have strength, optimism, and a vigorous spirit overflowing with enthusiasm.

And what have we seen here? Militants and leaders without optimism. Dead spirits and deciduous wills with fleeting passions. This is unacceptable. We know well their roots: Their support is not Marxism, the class, nor the masses, rather it is the corrosive individualism, the reactionary rot that makes them fearful, the sewage mold of the old order, the expression of the dying world, the lethal swamp gasses of reaction. This is why their spirits are broken, their hearts tremble, their thoughts forsake them, their nerves are destroyed, and their actions disturbed.

This has to be uprooted, it can not nest among us. It is unacceptable, inadmissible, let us burn it and blast it. This cannot be allowed in the Party, much less prevail. What have we seen in this moment? Leaders with these positions and attitudes. It is despicable. Never again should this happen. And precisely today, when we need to unfurl optimism and enthusiasm, now?



That is unacceptable. It is corrosion, pure gangrene, and it should never have taken place, today it is much more unacceptable.

If the comrades don't uproot these weaknesses what type of cadres are they going to form? What kind of militants are they going to form? Apply the following: a company always reflects its leadership. To lead a company without optimism results in a company without optimism. A pusillanimous leadership makes a pusillanimous company. It will be defeated and broken before it engages in battle.

We need to unfurl optimism and overflow enthusiasm. Our powerful ideology, incisive line and Communist will must be manifested above all in the leaders.

The order of the day is: Unfurl optimism and overflow enthusiasm! May it be shared with others, with our cadres and bases not present in this meeting. May this enthusiasm manifest itself in action and motivate us in order to eliminate the crust that impedes our advance and serve to others as an example to uproot these weaknesses. May the optimism shine, and manifest in us a powerful enthusiasm. It is practical and necessary in as much as we carry it out.

No one can deny that this is a struggle between positions. We have recorded right here and the summary will be the expression of what we have seen. But in the first place, what was important in our Party? What is important now? What will be important tomorrow? It is the Left. Who cries about its defeat? The Right. They should understand that its cry is useless. They must burn their old idols, burn the old and decrepit, and place their spirits up to the these times.

The spirit of the times is owned by the Left. It is consistent with the needs of our country, our people clamor for revolution. We cannot fail. If our blood and lives are claimed, our response is: we carry our lives in our hands to give them up, we put them at the service of the greatest and most just cause.

Our death for the good cause should be the seal of our revolutionary action. The constant and firm actions for our cause will be the hallmark of our lives as Communist combatants. This is what we have understood the best. That is why the positive weighs so much more in us.

We have advanced, but some think that their weaknesses have been overcome. That is a loss of vigilance, there could be a thousand "reasons," but it is only sewage. Elevate your vigilance and sweep away the errors with determination, destroy the old and decrepit through armed actions which will

be the real and effective seal.

Perhaps some people think that we should only speak about the positive, but there exists light and shadow, a contradiction. We should summarize and learn lessons. This meeting is a great lesson. We will not forget it. We have an obligation to preserve the Left so that the Party can meet its objective. With the actions we are undertaking and with this excellent meeting, we begin to topple the walls and unfurl a new dawn.

We can summarize this in four voices, in order:

1. The masses clamor to organize the rebellion.
2. Let the actions speak.
3. We begin the toppling of the walls.
4. Unfurl optimism and display enthusiasm.

This Central Committee is strong and will become more stronger if we all carry out our responsibilities, mainly the “Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions.”

Let the comrades speak and express their optimism and enthusiasm. It will be a sign of their determination. Do not let my words become a pretext to some comrades for losing optimism and a retreating of enthusiasm. I believe we have reached the moment of overcoming the old defects of 50 years.

Another world is opening up for us. We have begun to define it ourselves, this meeting is one of definition. Let every thought, word, action, feeling, and will of ours affirms this. It is feasible, indispensable and necessary. We can and must do it. And we will, because we know what we want.

This meeting is very good, it has united and bonded us even more. We have unanimously agreed to uphold the military line and its realization: “Develop the Militarization of the Party through actions.” From now on, let everything express our taught willingness to carry out what we have agreed upon.

“In the history of the world there have been no wars that began and ended with a continuous victorious offensive. If there were, they were an exception. That is true even in common wars. But when the fate of a class is at stake, when the alternative is capitalism or socialism, is there a basis or logic to suppose that a

nation which confronts this problem for the first time can immediately discover the correct method, free of errors? What reasons are there to suppose this? None! Experience teach us the contrary. None of the problems we faced could be resolved at once, but only after repeated attempts. To suffer a defeat, commence anew, redoing everything. To discover the method for the approximate solution—a definitive solution or at least a satisfactory one—that is how we have been working and should continue to do so. Given the challenges that are presented to us, if there were no unanimity in our ranks, it would be a sad indicator of a weak and very dangerous spirit that had penetrated the Party. On the contrary, if we do not fear speaking the truth, no matter how hard and bitter it is, we will learn. And it is entirely certain that we will learn to overcome each and every difficulty.”

- *Lenin.*