

On the Program of the PCP:

8. To Complete the Formation of the Peruvian Nation*

Peru People's Movement

July 2020

As Mariátegui established; we are a nation in formation like other Latin American countries. Do we have a formation and development like China? No. Have we come to form a nation like China? No. Moreover, we believe that it is the revolution through the people's war that will vertebrate the Peruvian nation. We also believe that we should not give room to the old dispute over nationalities. Harmful ideas are expressed that from time to time return, as in the 1960s and 1970s that speak of Quechua nationality, of Aymara nationality, and those of the coast? and those of the jungle? This does not serve the integrity of the nation, it goes against the formation of the nation.

In summary, taking into account our situation as a nation in formation, it is the people's war that will structure the Peruvian nation. This will be possible by considering the Quechua, Aymara, etc., as the base. What we propose is to see our own country; here, what exists is precisely that: a country with a State in which a nation is developing, and it cannot be achieved without that Quechua and Aymara base.

*<https://vnd-peru.blogspot.com/2020/07/mpp-sobre-el-programa-del-pcp-8.html>

8. To complete the formation of the Peruvian nation, truly unifying the country to defend it from all reactionary and imperialist aggression, safeguarding the rights of the minorities.

Why do you think so? Because the Peruvian nation is a nation in formation and this national formation is being developed over long years, centuries, and it cannot be broken down into a Quechua nation, an Aymara nation, or nations by dozens of silvicultures.

(...)

A nation in formation, what corresponds is to culminate the formation of the Peruvian nation, that is either we disintegrate, or there is no Peruvian nation in concrete. He says in turn, really unifying the country, because it is not unified, only we will be able to do it, both to complete the formation of the nation and to really unify the country. He also says to defend it from all imperialist and reactionary aggression, very important; therein lies our “anti-patriotism.” Who raises like this, who speaks of the Peruvian nation, takes it as already consecrated, as established, and in that way they are following a fascist like Víctor Andrés Belaúnde because he began with that chant that the Peruvian nation already exists, in his “famous refutation” of the *7 Essays*, refutation in dreams, an empty shell that could never refute anything, comrades. It has a deep content and has reality. I reiterate: we are a nation in formation, the country is not unified, we have to unify it, why? To defend it, we have to defend it, why? It is going to be attacked or is exposed to aggressions at different times, imperialist or reactionary. Of course, this country is one of the most easily divisible, we must be careful, comrades. This is because they can take advantage of the development of the revolution, of the collapse of the old State, of the fact that we do not take over the whole country to try to divide it: Ecuador in collusion with Chile, Brazil with its bastard appetites to go out to the Pacific and the United States, imperialism, behind, seeking to use them.

Here we are expressing an authentic patriotic sense and this can only unite those who have a sense of fatherland, of the soil of this, that this is fatherland, fatherland is nothing more than the place of the fathers of which we were born, nothing more is meant; it is a Marxist patriotism that is not opposed — it complements — with proletarian internationalism. The revisionists, those who understand neither fatherland nor nation, are dreaming, if they

wanted to understand what the Manifesto says. I believe that this is going to be to see the sense we have of nation, its unification of the country in defense of our fatherland and there are elements that have that national spirit, of unification of the country, of patriotism, they have it, comrades, that also serves to unite.

And the final part says “safeguarding the rights of the minorities,” of course, because in this way unifying the nation, unifying the country, there are minority differences that must be safeguarded; they demand that it is necessary to satisfy. For example, are we going to prohibit the Quechua language? How are we going to do it, comrades, are we going to prohibit the Aymara language or the multitude of silvicultural languages? We could not comrades, we could not: that is what is being referring to.

This is the way in which we can see the national problem, the problem of the Peruvian nation.

The First Congress of the PCP, in the Military Line, analyzes the historical process of our people and demonstrates that it has always struggled, that “it ‘has been nurtured and advanced through revolutionary violence. It is through this violence, in its diverse forms and degrees, that our people have seized their economic gains, rights, and freedoms, since nothing fell from the sky, nor was it handed out. ‘Damn the words of traitors’; everything was won in fact through revolutionary violence, in ardent battles against the reactionary violence; that is how the eight hour day was won, our lands were seized and defended, our rights were won and tyrants were overthrown. Revolutionary violence is, therefore, the very essence of our historical process... it is easy to understand that the development and victory of the Peruvian revolution, of our democratic revolution, the emancipation of the people and the class, will be achieved solely through the greatest revolutionary war of our people, raising the masses in arms through the People’s War.”

It draws the lesson that the political and military events are the ones that have defined the great changes in the country, it tells us that the military event comes first and then the political change. Thus it reaffirms that war is the continuation of politics by other means. It teaches us how the masses of our people have fought against the exploiters, so since the 7th century in which the State arises in Peru, the masses have fought against oppression and exploitation. That the Inca empire established its domination through wars of conquest and defined its predominance in the battle of Yahuarpampa against the Chancas and then expanded through wars; this was a political and military fact.

The conquest by the Spanish crown was another political and military fact that was imposed by crushing the resistance of the indigenous people and using the internal struggles within the conquered; however, the struggle of Manco Inca, who led a rebellion against the Spaniards, should be highlighted among others.

The imposition of the Viceroyalty was another political and military fact that crushed the conquistadors themselves and to maintain itself had to face large peasant uprisings such as that of Juan Santos Atahualpa; and in 1780 the powerful movement of Túpac Amaru that raised 100 thousand men and spread from Cusco and Puno to Bolivia, and put at serious risk the viceroyalty domain, having repercussions in Argentina, Colombia and Mexico and stirred America; a defeated movement but one that removed and undermined the Viceroyalty, thus preparing conditions for the Emancipation; but remember that Túpac Amaru was a chieftan¹ to see his class character.

The Emancipation is another political and military fact and it has three moments: first, in the 18th century peasant uprisings, Túpac Amaru for example; second, uprisings in cities, like that of Zela in Tacna and the guerillas, standing out those of Cangallo and Yauyos in addition to many others; third, confrontation of great armies that finish off the libertarian deeds with San Martín and Bolívar, being defined in the battle of Ayacucho of 1824. To understand that although the Emancipation was led by the Creoles, it had the merit of breaking with the dominion of the Spanish crown; that San Martín was a great military strategist and Bolívar demonstrated conditions of political and military strategist, both fought to emancipate several countries of America without seeking any benefit, showing that to serve a great cause one must always put the general interest first and never the personal interest; this was the case without even being communists.

In the Republic the landowners continued to rule, but they faced great peasant struggles with blood and fire, among them the Atusparia and Uscho Pedro or the Llacolla in Ocros. Here we have the black chapter of the war with Chile where both countries confronted each other moved by the interests of the English and the French who were looking for our riches of Guano and Salitre²; war that stopped the incipient capitalist development of the country and showed the dirty role of the dominant classes, part of which capitulated to Chile; But we must highlight the heroic resistance of the masses against

¹RedLibrary: The original word used in this document was *cacique*.

²RedLibrary: Also referred to as saltpeter.

the invader in defense of the people and territorial integrity, resistance that had special strength in the highlands of the center-south of the country where the guerrillas were formed; Caceres, who was a military landowner, played an important role in that circumstance.

The war with Chile from 1879 to 1883, led to the collapse of the Peruvian economy; to enter only in 1895 to the beginning of bureaucrat-capitalism that initiates the development of contemporary Peruvian society. The 19th century will let us pass from being a colony to being a semi-colony and from being feudal to being semi-feudal and bureaucrat-capitalism begins to develop linked to Yankee imperialism that will displace the English. The modern proletariat arises and changes the terms of the political struggle.

From this whole historical process the following lessons emerge: that the people have always fought, are not peaceful and apply revolutionary violence with the means at their disposal; that the peasant struggles are the ones that have most shaken the foundations of society and that these have not been able to triumph because they lacked the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Communist Party; and that the political and military events define the great social changes.

From the position of the military line, contemporary Peru has three moments linked to the emergence of the proletariat that founds its Party to take power through revolutionary violence, specifying its path, which is synthesized in the process of the military line of the Party.