

Contribution of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay to the book in commemoration of the 40^o anniversary of the Cultural Proletarian Chinese Revolution

PART ONE

I - Brief History of Uruguay

a) From the origins until half-filled of the XX century.

The “Banda Oriental” (oriental fringe) of the Río Uruguay, was part of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata that embraced the whole south part of the conquered America and colonized by the Spaniards.

...Uruguay, as the other countries of Latin America, began the process of their capitalist development belatedly. And this process was, from the beginning, deformed and contained by the peculiarities of its historical development.

Of the several centuries of Spanish dominance and, then, of the brief period of Portuguese and Brazilian occupation, the Uruguay received as inheritance a feudal economy, modeled under the hard conditions of the colonial period.

From Spain were transferred to America the relationships of feudal land property: the monarchy granted vast possessions to be exploited by the conquerors or for the gentlemen feudal Spaniards, and with this gave them in servitude to hundreds of Indians (“mitas”, “encomiendas”, “yanaconas”).

In Uruguay, the resistance of the natives, not deposed until their total extermination carried out finally by local landowners, determined the importation of black slaves.

The typically feudal relationships of property, united this way to the use of slaves, not only exploded in cattle ranches, but also in craftsmen workshops, in which the medieval corporate forms were intertwined with the enslaved work of the black ones. In 1805, on a total of 9.539 inhabitants of Montevideo, 2.786 were black slaves.

...Landowners that exploited the cattle raising primitively, mainly for the sale of leathers and subsidiarily of horns and fatty and a commercial bourgeoisie installed in the port of Montevideo that enriched by the help of the monopoly of the external trade imposed by Spain, they constituted the supports of the strong Spanish dominance in the called Oriental Band.

...The war of independence, headed by the landowners and local merchants, descending in their majority of the Spanish settlers, didn't modify the property lands regime, based on the great inherited feudal property lands regime of the colony. The big deprived masses of the countryside, -the “gauchos”, the black ones and inclusive, some caciques and indigenous tribes - intervened decisively in the wars of the independence; but native landowners classes arise fortified, so feudal and semi-feudal property over lands.

Our national hero, José Gervasio Artigas, unites to the fight of anti-Spanish independence bending, in 1810, to the first revolutionary bastion of the Río de la Plata, the Meeting of Buenos Aires that was formed in the capital city of Viceroyalty.

Artigas conceived the independence fight undissolvable joined to the social and economic problems of the region that was liberated of the Spanish empire. It was so he outline, in 1815 the distribution of the lands among the slaves, the poor natives, the widows with children, in way such “the most unhappy will be the most privileged.” Likewise he outlines the Federal Union of United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, respecting the particularities of each one of them, but pointing the necessity of the conformation of a big American homeland. Combated by hegemonics landowners

pretentious and merchants from Buenos Aires in connivance with natives ones, as well as for the empire of Portugal and the English empire, he was defeated; then retreated to Paraguay where then he should remain until his death. The independence revolution brought, nevertheless, the rupture with the monopoly of the Spanish empire, linking these provinces, to the commercial world circuit hegemony carried mainly for England. The local landowners –exporters-, and a incipient port commercial bourgeoisie -importers- they coincide in their interests with the most important empires at that time, not only in maintaining an agriculture-exporter economy (in principle hardly of leather), inherited of the colony, but also in the balkanization of the continent for their best exploitation.

The first half of the XIX century was characterized by hard wars led by presidents-political bosses-militaries, (feudal) crisscross with its allies of the region, and the permanent interference of the dominant empires. The call “Guerra Grande” (Big War) almost carried to the disappearance of our country.

These factions in dispute for the power will give origin then to the two “traditional” parties of the dominant classes: the “Blanco” party (called Nacional) and the “Colorado” party.

They disputed the power by means of the weapons, or regular elections punctually done, which were from the beginnings manipulated by force and fraud, also during the XIX century were restricted to the proprietor and financier sector.

In the second half the XIX century begins a process of pacification, recovery of the economy and beginning of a process of “modernization” that means the installation of the private and foreign banking, the diversification of the cattle production with the introduction of the sheep livestock, and the installation of a precarious industry. This was in the framework of a response to the necessities of the imperialism and their industries and applying an ultra liberal politics that leads quickly to sharp financial and bank crisis.

In 1865, after a severely and bloody internal war, was imposed in the country the government of the Gral. Venancio Flores who serves to the imperialism, mainly English, allied with the Argentinean President Mitre and Pedro II of the Empire of Brazil, and with the Triple Alliance they invaded and raze the brother Paraguay, first South American country with an important independent development.

... Colonel Lorenzo Latorre's dictatorship, arisen of a military blow in 1875, expressed the will of the landowners of “put in order” in the country, to impel this dependence course to the British capitalism. Two facts of great economic and political importance characterize the government of Latorre: a) the ordinance of having wired the fields that consolidates the property of the earth in hands of the landowners and hurtles to the roads and pursues cruelly to hundreds of workers that were busy as caretakers of livestock that punish hardly ever transgression to landowners property with the excuse of concluding with the vagrancy and believe a mass of unemployed; b) the arrival of the first British capitals which acquire in 1876 the first existent railroad in the country, according to a leonine contract that guarantees their earnings for the State.

The initiation of the English investments in the country, points out the bases of the future dependence of the country to the imperialism.

Toward 1880 another great migratory wave takes place and by this time was that the first labor unions were created.

The last third of the XIX century and the first years of the XX century were furrowed by rural rising led by Nacional party –the Timoteo Aparicio revolutions and the one’s led by Aparicio Saravia-, opposed to hegemony of the capital and of the Colorado party, claiming the copartnership of the minorities in the governments and the electoral “transparency”. The misery and the great unemployment in the country favored the

masses support necessary for this uprising was extended. "Free air and fat meat", against the wire fence field imposition and for the basic meal, it was the agglutinative watchword.

The Colorado party should grant the peace to landowners and merchants that demanded it, therefore they granted to the National party the possibility to govern in six districts. Although this was not legal and it was a secret pact, it assured the peace, these facts speak clearly of the relativity of the weight of the State, because until beginnings of the XX century our country continued divided, although the party Colorado governed from 1865 up to 1958 in an uninterrupted form.

President José Batlle and Ordóñez, in 1904, finish by blood and fire, using all the power of the State and it's army, with the division of the country defeating to the last great rising of Saravia and consolidating the unification of the state and the invigoration of the bonds with the USA.

At the end of the XIX century and beginnings of the XX one, a new power, the North American imperialism began to dispute for positions vividly to the English imperialists in the whole Latin America. The decade of 1890 it points out a decisive stage in the development of the North American capitalism. The export of capitals, the domination of raw materials sources and markets, with this must face off the rising and avid yankees monopolies. with this must face off the rising and avid yankees monopolies.

...At to begin the century, the national bourgeoisie, allied to certain layers of landowners that yearned a change in the situation of the country with the objective of placing their production more advantageously in the external market, passed to dispute government's positions and it achieves their first victory with the coming to the power in 1903 of José Batlle y Ordóñez. With the governments of Batlle (1903-1907, 1911-1914) the bourgeois class strengthens and the capitalist development of the country is accentuated.

The bourgeoisie was forced to carry out, -under the impulse of the fights of the labour class, of the active urban small-bourgeoisie and of the native intellectuality - diverse reformations of liberal character: statism administration of key services (electricity, railroads, water service, insurances), certain industrial protectionism, masculine universal vote and social legislation.

The bourgeoisie didn't assume, however, being able to take the full power, but rather, after the flags of the Colorado party, it passed to share it with certain layers of landowners.

...From 1905, United States role grows in the external trade of the country. In 1911, under the second presidency of Batlle y Ordóñez the first great north american investment takes place, in the Republic, with the installation of the Swift cold-storage plant.

The cold-storage plants industry and the growing necessities of the international market of wools, demanded new investments of capitals in the country, for the improvement of the races ovine and bovine and a certain improvement of the exploitation technique, with the consequent cattle raising valuation and the elevation of the lands rent. These investments that harnessed a capitalist development in the countryside, take place in the mark of the great territorial property and with a view to welding even more the national economy to the external market dominated by the imperialism. This way, instead of being diversified the production, this consolidate the monoculture deformation of the national economy and strengthens the great property landowner's role, allied to the imperialism, in the economic and politic life of the country.

The 1929 crisis effects registered belatedly in the most reactionary sectors of dominant classes allied and represented by the two traditional parties, sum up in a coup in 1933

led by them, finishing at the same time with the first batllista¹ stage at the same time they allied with the Europeans especially with the Germans after the politics of “buy to who buys us.”

The influence of the II World War, the end of the crisis in USA and their fight to recapture their influence in this area, support the accession of other periods (the most important) of industrialization on the base of the substitution of imports and a new push of states services and industries administration. It is the called “neobatllismo”, impelled by José Batlle Ordoñez nephew (and father of the last Batlle -2000-2005 -). This industrialization, on the bases of supplis dependence and the settle of huge imperialistic monopolies, without interfere with the great latifundium and their interests, was fragile and ephemeral. As the extreme conditions of post-war period ceased, and the United States decided to put control to this development, the country falls –from 1955 - in a deep crisis and was signed the first “intention letter” by means of which were explicitly conditioned loans to the fulfilment of it’s economic rules. The economic crisis and the popular struggle carried out more and more reactionary governments that prepare the ulterior coup of 1973.

(the boldfaces correspond to texts of the book History of the Communist Party of the Uruguay, up to 1951, published by the comrade Eugenio Gómez)

b) Extract of Declaration of the PCR for 30 years of the GENERAL STRIKE and of the Fascist Military Blow. Of June 27 2003.

Thirty years ago, on 27 June of 1973, through a coup, a bloody Fascist Military Dictatorship was established for 12 years in our country. That same day the labour class putting on to the front of the antifascist fight begins, according to the decisions settled down by successive congresses of the CNT (Workers National Convencion) and to their role of vanguard in this society, a heroic and glorious General Strike of 15 days.

Antecedents

The oligarchy, the great latifundium, the banking and the great bourgeoisie, and the imperialism, fundamentally the yankee, had to appeal to the Fascist Military Dictatorship, in Uruguay as in many of the countries of the continent in that period. In the national level, the reasons are in the worsening of the exploitation, the economic crisis and the revolutionary peak of the working class, student and popular fight. In the labour movement, in the large factories fundamentally, with thousands workers, like in the large textile ones, FUNSA, the drink, paper plants, were developed with great weight, and many times were hegemonic the classist groupings of Tendency. The same thing happened with students. These were linked politic and in organization aspects to the diverse revolutionary movement arisen at the beginning of the decade as a reaction to the reformism, there the origin of the MIR (Left Revolutionary Movement), antecedent of the PCR. A great development had the MLN and other groups that take the armed fight ahead and in 1971 the development of the Frente Amplio (Wide Front), a popular front that reached for their integration and for the back of masses, a great weight in the political scenario at national level in spite of the limitations of being the hegemony the PCU (revisionist party, to our understand from 1955).

In the international level, the yankee imperialism lived a very difficult period, in this one, the development of the economic capitalist crisis, already on the blow, the crisis of the petroleum. The increase of the contradictions and antagonism, on one hand with the other superpower, the soviet socialimperialism, of the Breznev period, in wich this one

become more aggressive and it was willing to thoroughly dispute with the yankees. On the other hand China, revolutionary and communist, with Mao Tse-tung and the PCCH, impelled to the internal the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution, stayed firm and also developed strongly the internationalism and the support to the revolutionary movement in general. In Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the yankees were already on the edge of the defeat.

In Latin America the yankees, besides Cuba, faced processes like Allende's government in Chile, and some governments headed for military with anti-yankees nationalist tendencies, like in Peru and Bolivia. Besides the peak of the working class and popular fight and of the existence of the guerrilla movement in many countries.

1968-1973

As a result of the peak of revolutionary fight a permanent process of repression of the struggle of the working class, of the student body and also of the guerilla movement is given. This was took ahead by the government with the permanent application of the Prompt Security Measures. Of 1541 days in the Presidency, Pacheco made it 1117, under these conditions. During their command newspapers and radios were closed, illegalised political left groups, was interventioned the Entities, the militarization is applied in several important strikes. With Liber, Hugo, Susana, they begin a long series of student martyrs of that time. In 1972 our comrades Santiago Rodríguez Muela and Joaquín Klüver fall. In the breast of the working class and people the fundamental weakness of that whole period was due to the revolutionary and classist forces as we, could not overcome the hegemony on time that had the reformism in the CNT, the FEUU (Universitary Students Federation of Uruguay), although already in 1973 a strong combative majority was reflected in its Federal, and in the Frente Amplio. This prevented to impel any fight in a revolutionary strategy and adapted it, to follows as it makes today the reformism in general, to an electoral way. It is necessary to remember all the lay outs of Arismendi about the possibility of the peaceful way and also the general strategy arisen in the 20° Congress of the PCUS. In their 16° Congress the PCU eliminates of its fundamental thesis the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the inevitable Violent Revolution. Starting from there it is logical, and it is it until today's that it is veiled the true essence of the bourgeois oligarchical state and especially the fundamental role in the repression of the people, to defend the established Order, of the FF.AA. (Armed Forces), in this system. On one hand the theory of the revolution by “pacífic way” gets up as it was applied in Chile, and that become in the bloodiest, and lingering Fascist Dictatorship in Latin America, and in Uruguay, one of the longest dictatorships. Also was the theory of the revolutionary processes headed by progressive military (peruanistas) and that the life has taken charge of demonstrating up to where they can arrive.

The prevalence of these positions in the breast of the people, in this period, means the main weakness to be able to face the advance of the fascism on time.

The STATEMEN 4 and 7

February 9 1973 was a decisive moment in this process. The military ones, in principle the Army and the Aviation carried out a phase of the coup ahead, for some a Blow or “the true Blow”, like for the own admiral Zorrilla (according to their declarations to the weekly publication Búsqueda on 24/6 of 1993) and rush the known official statements 4

and 7 where they make reference to the necessity of solve problems like that of the lands, the debt, the corruption (great demagogic flag of the military ones). They affirmed “that the FFAA is not and neither will be the armed arm of economic or political groups.” In this situation the PCU of Arismendi that already ignored the problem of the fascism, and mainly that of the Fascist Military Controls (they restricted it, in the best of the cases, to the Fascist bands that acted fundamentally in high schools), and they outlined the contradiction oligarchy-people that in fact is the strategic contradiction that embraces a historical stage, opposing it and denying in the facts that the Fascism had become the main enemy and that it represented the most reactionary part of the same Oligarchy.

Our Party defined clearly the necessity of the widest workers and popular mobilization against this military movement. It considered that the process of repression and permanent advance of the fascism through reactionary laws and other aspects of the national and international level, took the dominant classes and the imperialism to the necessity of the Fascist blow. The official statements expressed a lukewarm demagoguery so that the Fascist sectors of the Army fundamentally, could neutralize, to nationalist sectors of the officialdom and of the troop which sympathized with the people, and also to the worker class and the popular movement, as regrettably it happened, to be able to unify to the groups of the FF.AA. and to the most reactionary sectors in the bourgeois parties behind an exit toward the Fascist Military Dictatorship. There was lost one of the last possibilities of facing fascism with their forces relatively still disorganized.

The comrade Nebio Melo said in 1974, leader and founder of our party disappeared in 1976 that ***“Still in the cases of domain of nationalist currents in the FF.AA. the workers and popular movement should maintain its independence and its fight. The non execution in February of that resolved in 1964, was not worth for none of the possibilities. The putsches, the coup, are access forms to the power unaware to the people. In principle we oppose ourselves to them, because the popular masses are at the margin of the same ones.***

And if those who carry out the coup has progressive intentions and they try to take an anti-imperialistic program ahead what better than being in positions of force, for “stimulate” the good content of the wrong formal step (the putsch) of our possible friends! The independent fight of the worker class and the popular movement was, therefore, for an entire period, nonexistent.”

Another fact of great importance was the question of senator –mate Enrique Erro-, outlined by the Fascists to give the final blow against the parliament. This fact that “agreed with them” to close the parliament, era considered by the PCU of Arismendi like a “curtain of smoke.”

The Blow and the General Strike

At first hours of the morning, hardly informed of the blow, the worker’s class occupies the work places, especially the big factories and the fundamental companies of the State. The university students also made the own thing occupying four faculties and the Clinical Hospital. The occupation was massive and immediate, what didn’t leave many time to the hesitations of who tried from the direction of the CNT of negotiating feverishly with the military ones. These occupations were, partly spontaneous, but they were also given by the organizational weight of the groupings that you/they responded to the diverse expressions of the Classist Tendency and of the revolutionary movement. This was given mainly in big factories and concentration centers. After the occupations were given official statements of the CNT confirming the actions and the claims. The General Strike was massive and overwhelming, it even paralyzed the transport in the

first days, then it started to decay. There were very large manifestations for the partners Ramón Peré and Walter Medina, murdered by the repression. There were important acts in front of ANCAP and in front of the Clinical Hospital and the great mobilization of Monday 9 of July, in spite of their heroism and masividad, it could no longer revitalize the strike. It must have been necessary several days before. In the strike the occupation prevailed in the work places and not the street mobilization, also had different degrees of tension and resistance in the fight. Very strong points were FUNSA, ALPARGATAS, ANCAP, where there were very hard confrontations with the repression. As well as actions of masses in the neighborhoods. This didn't happen in all places, neither in intensity nor in duration. The question of the transport was key and there was a permanent fight in this sense. The University Students, played a very important role in this fight to stop the transport, besides their occupations, propagandistic street actions and the solidarity with the workers occupations.

The General Strike was already a political strike that treated to brake the installation of the Fascist Military Dictatorship, due to the limitations analyzed, it was not able to attract to the peasant and important sectors from the layers stockings to the fight. On the other hand and together to this it was not achieved, at that time of the events the breaking of the unit of the FF.AA., but the nascent dictatorship was isolated and hit.

The Strike has been in our history like the most important fight liberated by our working class and the people and a rehearsal toward the workers and popular revolution, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist in uninterrupted march toward the socialism.

II Y III

OVER THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY AND THE DECISIVE INFLUENCE OF THE MAOISM AND THE CULTURAL PROLETARIAN CHINESE REVOLUTION.

THE APPLICATION OF “MASS LINE”.

a) Published in “IN PARTY LIFE”, May 30 of 1975.,extract.

INFORM at the II Plenum of the CC, over the history of the MIR-PCR, of the CAMARADA NEBIO MELO (ZANABRIA), Member of the Permanent Table of the CC, disappeared in Buenos Aires, Argentina, February 8 of 1976.

FIRST PERIOD

- It embraces from the year 1963 until principles of 1968. In this was throw the fundamental bases on those which today the construction of our Party continues.
- defense of the Marxism-Leninism, break with the revisionism.
- recognition of the role of vanguard of the proletariat and the importance of the workers of the countryside.
- propaganda about the necessity of undertaking the way of the armed fight to take the power.
- differentiation with the foquism.
- fights against the left infantilism.
- defense of China and Albania in their fight against the imperialism the revisionism and for taking the revolution ahead.

- defense of the fight of the peoples of the world against the imperialism (especially the Vietnamese's people fight and of the Cuban one's).

In 1967 the Party responding to the call of the fight of classes that goes growing in extension and depth, tries to organize their lines and to unite to the different groups and left parties. Was carried out that year the First one and Second Convention. In the Second Convention a fraction of trotskista inspiration is expelled. At the end of 1967 they culminate the unitary efforts successfully when being summed up the publication of the daily ÉPOCA with the back of six left organizations.

The government's answer is the closing of ÉPOCA and the ilegalización of our Party and the other five organizations.

SECOND PERIOD

Period of the knowledge and propaganda of the Marxism-Leninism-thought Mao Tse-Tung (1968-1971).

It was starting from the Cultural Revolution in China that our Party began to study the comrade's Mao Tsé-Tung works in organized form. The formation of study and propaganda groups became one of the axes of our activity.

In what has to do with the ideological bases of the Party they are not possible the hesitations. What position is it adopted over the Mao Tse-Tung Thought? There is a clear dividing line that distinguishes to the true Marxist-Leninist, of the revisionistas, trotskists, foquists, etc.

THIRD PERIOD

Period in wich begins to be applied the Marxism-Leninism-thought from Mao Tse-Tung to the reality of our country, to the relationship of the Party with the masses and to the history of the Party.

Was made the best efforts in a constant fight to tie the Party with the masses and to correct the errors of the past, especially those of the Second Period. The results were not made wait, a series of successes began been harvest:

- In the political line: Especially when pointing out from April of 1972 the Fascist danger, to denounce the fascism like the main enemy and calling for the formation of a Great Antifascist Front.
- In the bond with the masses: Creation of the Red Groupings and the workers sector of Montevideo. Emergence in Mercedes of the S.U.R. and turn to the Plenary one Union (this work had given away in absurd form in the period of acme of the "Red Line") (refers to the fraction echeniquista, right academician with left phraseology that finished being integrated to the traditional parties, Note of R).
- In the consolidation of the Party: that demonstrated it's strength in the Conventions for sectors, discussing the general line and elaborating specific lines rectifying and electing the leaders of each place by means of a serious and planned work, in the mark of a great exchange of opinions.

The enemy, surely advised from the foreigner, noticed that there was puting the fundamental stones of a great Party. With an ideology of vanguard, the Marxism-Leninism-thought of Mao. With an outstanding team of leaders foqued toward the basic masses and began to commit with success.

Firm in the program of the revolution for stages; facing the tasks of the national-democratic revolution, taking the necessary steps to arrive to this goal and through it open the road toward the socialist revolution. A Party willing to made the popular war to take the power; aware of the necessity of building an army. A Party that gets ready for the task of uniting to the whole people and elaborates for this a series of concrete politics. A posse of vanguard that begins to dominate the revolutionary tactics and strategy.

b) "16 points Over the Current Political Situation", Document of the Permanent Table of the CC of the PCR of December of 1977, extract. Job carried out by the COMRADE CARLOS CABEZUDO, member of this Table, disappeared that same month in Buenos Aires ,Argentina.

1. the time and it's changes. Lenin and Mao Tse Tung.

We live in the time of the imperialism and the proletarian revolution.. This time was defined by Lenin and inaugurated with the Revolution of October. From the death of Lenin the world situation has experienced big changes, but it has not changed the time. The fundamental principles defined by Lenin applying and developing the Marxism to the new situation created by the transformation from capitalism pre-monopolist to capitalism monopolist (imperialistic) at world level continue effective.

Among the big changes taken place inside the time of the imperialism and the proletarian revolution stand out the victory of the Great Chinese Revolution, the degeneration of the USSR in imperialistic and the awakening and development of the fight of the people and oppressed nations of the world.

The setting-up of the Popular Republic of China under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most transcendent event in the humanity's history after the Great October Revolution in Russia. On one hand, the most populous country in the world is liberated and for other, is made reality the socialist revolution in an oppressed country, solving for the first time in the practice the three big tasks of the revolution in the colonial, semi-colonial countries and dependent: the national revolution, the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, in uninterrupted form and through two big stages, the Revolution of New Democracy and the Socialist Revolution.

The coup counterrevolutionary of Krushev and other renegades leaders, transforming to the PCUS on a revisionist party and to the USSR in the internal in a dictatorship of fascist type and in the external in an imperialistic country, of social-imperialistic type (Socialist by word of mouth and imperialistic in the facts).

The characteristic feature of the time of the imperialism is that the world is divided in a handful of world power oppressors and a great number of oppressed nations. In so far in the century this oppression has not made more than to be increased at the same time that decrease the rich powers and the abyss that exists between the wealth of these powers and the poverty and oppression of the rest of the world no-socialist increases. The oppression of the imperialistic powers generates the awakening of the revolution and the appetency of liberation of millions of the masses exploded from all over the world, exploded by a handful of magnates of the financial capital and the monopolies. This awakening of the peoples and oppressed nations of the world, of which the Chinese Revolución is the first great victory, it constitutes an event of decisive importance in the contemporary world. Today "the countries want the independence, the nations want the emancipation and the people want the revolution. This has ended up being a current, historical irresistible." There is no force able to contain this current that grows and strengthens day by day.

These events of the fight of classes that give to the world their current physiognomy were interpreted and high at theory level for Mao Tse Tung, the biggest Marxist-Leninist contemporary, who inherited, defended and developed creatively the scientific theory of the proletariat. Their teachings have universal validity and they constitute a contribution invaluable for the international proletariat and for the revolutionary towns and oppressed nations from all over the world. In particular their development on the revolution of New Democracy, the theory of the popular and lingering war and decisive taxes in the plane do the dialectical materialistic philosophy. You had special importance the integral creation of the great theory of the continuation of the revolution it lowered the dictatorship of the proletariat. This theory elaborated it the comrade Mao analyzing the causes of the degeneramieto of the USSR and analyzing the development of the Chinese society under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Against the fallacies and " theories " invented by the contemporary revisionistas as the theory of the extinction of the fight of classes and the party of the whole town or the state of the whole town the comrade Mao Tse Tung, being been worth of the dialectical-materialistic law of the unit of the contrary ones, it indicated that the socialist society covers a historical stage where they exist the fight of classes between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and it becomes necessary to persist in the fight of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and in the dictatorship of the proletariat. Formulated explicitly in three fundamental principles to distinguish to the directing revisionists infiltrated in the party and to unite to the leaders, activists and communist masses, that is: "to practice the Marxism and not the revisionism, to work for the unit and not for the division and to act in frank and honest form and not to concoct intrigues and machinations."

Leaning on in the theory of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party of China, headed by President Mao unchained the First Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution, for the first time in the history of the Marxism-Leninism and it solved the problem of avoiding that revisionism appropriated the power and China became a degenerate country and the capitalism was restored, like it is the tragic experience of the USSR. The comrade Mao pointed out that revolutions as this they will be necessary many in the future to assure the advance of the revolution and that China doesn't change color.

All these contributions of those which we point out some of the most outstanding, make necessary for the authentic communists to study with dedication the comrade's works Mao Tse Tung, together with the works of the other, big teachers: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and to apply them in a creator form to the revolution of the different countries. The attitude before the thought of Mao Tse Tung is a touch stone to distinguish the reinforcements and the true communists. Our Party is guided by the Marxism-Leninism-thought Mao.

6. The character of the Latin American Revolution. (summari)

The National and Democratic Revolution in Latin America already takes more than 150 years of existence and its character is democratic-bourgeois. It is the continuation of the fight of emancipation initiated at the beginning of the XIX century and it will take until the end the tasks faced by their more consequent leaders and radicals of that time like Artigas. Because it our revolution has character artiguista and each Latin American peoples takes in its current fight the best in its national, democratic traditions and revolutionaries.

However, when changing the time, of the capitalism of free competition, of the national revolutions directed by the bourgeoisie to the time of the imperialism and the proletarian revolution, this revolution democratic bourgeois becomes into a new type

(New Democracy) since it belongs to the world proletarian revolution and it can only be directed by the proletariat (and its party of vanguard) to be able to culminate it and to transform it in socialist revolution.

The motor forces of this revolution is the proletariat, the peasant and the small urban bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie (as unstable ally). The national bourgeoisie has double character: on one hand it is oppressed by the imperialism and the oligarchy landowner and for another it explodes to the proletariat and it spreads, for their weakness, to surrender before the imperialism and the internal dominant classes.

c) THE REVISIONISM IN URUGUAY. Summari of a part of Ricardo Cohen's pamphlet, published when being commemorated the 100 years of the birth of Mao Tsé Tung, 1993.

Referring to this history that we published in 1990, the history of the PC up to 1951, and that was hidden for many years, while it is published another history, on that Gómez says which has been the procedure continued by Pintos (revisionist historian) (it points out that E. Gómez was the last general secretary of the PC and founder of the same one, he militated 42 years to the vanguard of this party) he took the history that will be read next, he suppressed the substantial parts as regards principles, he eliminated important facts, he erased people's names that play a paper in this history, he calumniated with full conscience that he calumniated, transcribed the revisionists concepts of Krushev, and was prompt the history that is not really of the labor movement neither of the Communist Party."

Gómez says that *"the fight that we see develop to the interior of the Party along the whole history was that of the communism against the Trotskism and the Opportunism, one and another time it was defeated in the USSR until the death of Stalin opened a possibility of success that took advantage of Krushev and its group to surround the direcction of the PCUS, to impose the Revisionism and to extend it to the world. Eternal this situation will be? No, the forces that will reestablish the principles will already appear like during the war of 1914 at the 18."*

This foreword is of 1960, E. Gómez made a process that coincided with a fight that began to in that same period 1959-60 to the interior of the UJC (Young Comunist Union) that is where our Party is born later.

In the 16° Congress was where begins the process which take the main theses of the 20° Congress of the PCUS, on the base of the fight against the "cult to the personality", in this case of Gómez, and on the base of an infamy and a provocation that mount around another leader of the party that was son of Gómez, they involve him, and on that base that is a seemingly personal question they change the fundamental theses of the Party, the violent Revolution, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat disappears from the Program of the party. In the 17° Congress of 1958, these Revisionistas, tells the following thing "a wide development of fights of class of masses is impelled, under these conditions it is possible to conquer the political power for the peaceful way and to transform the Parliament into an authentic executioner organ of the popular will."

In the 18° Congress, referring to the 20° Congress of the PCUS, says: "everything is claiming to pass to a new stage in the fertile theoretical work and of elaboration undertaken by the party from the 16° Congress and stimulated by the whole peak of the Marxist-Leninist thought that inaugurates the 20o. Congress of the PCUS and their accusation of all dogmatic sclerosamient or antimarxista formalism."

In the 20° Congress of the P"C"U, 1970, that is already a congress that is given in a new period of the revisionism in the USSR, the Breznev ones, the lapse in the course between one and another congress of our party, confirms once again that the

international reality is processed like a hard fight in world scale between the Capitalism and the Socialism.

The essence of this antagonism is the international translation of the fight of classes between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie". That means, in the practice in our countries that our revolutionary processes got tied up to what was the fight interimperialist between the Socialimperialism and the North American imperialism.

In 1969-70, also in this period appears one of the bigger "contributions" of Arismendi, the theory that "the most probable way for the revolution is the armed way in Latin A." There Arismendi that is an important character in the Revisionism of our continent, and was advertised for his big intellectual gifts and his great development in this sense, he has been honored by the different revisionist countries and for the socialimperialism. It outlines in their book "Lenin and the revolution in Latin America", sew as this. When outlines the problem of "the most probable way", and this is says to prove the method used, that of the falsification, or the use of the appointments outside of context. The well-known appointment of "The State and the Revolution", of Lenin, in which referring to the Bourgeois State says that, this cannot be substituted by the Proletarian State, for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat by means of the extinction, but only, like general rule, by means of the violent revolution". Then taking this, Arismendi, appointment and transforms it into the following thing, "notice you that in the first of the appointments, Lenin writes, only as general rule, by means of the violent revolution". This would be also, one of the brilliant contributions of Arismendi, of which one a lot has been spoken, in the one which, in less than a page, it really shows what had of Marxist, of theoretical it can be, but evidently very little of Marxist.

PART 2

PERSPECTIVE ON THE IMPACT OF CHINA'S CULTURAL REVOLUTION ON THE INTERNACIONAL COMUNIST MOVEMENT

In 1973, when beginning the 12 year-old period of Dictatorship, our party lasted had more than 200 activists in the whole country and some thousands of militant in its groupings of masses. In those years we had 16 heroic, murdered or missing martyrs, more than 100 prisoners and another number of exiles. We maintained, in that whole period, secret activities in the country, but in spite of it the different expressions of the liquidacionism that were arising, especially in the exile and with the stimulus of the Tensiaopinism, they were able to disorganize it at the end of the Dictatorship. Starting from the fall of the Fascist Military Dictatorship, in 1985, it was necessary to begin a hard reconstruction process that already takes 20 years in which our party has persisted and it has been nurtured of new combatants, continuators, arisen of the labor, student and popular fight.

In every those years we have sustained that:

- 1) the Maoism is the Third Stage of the Marxism, because their big contributions in the most diverse stages are indispensable and fundamental part of the Theory of the current Proletarian Revolution.
- 2) that the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution resisted firmly, for 10 years to the Revisionism and the Capitalist Restoration, but finally it was defeated after having taken to the maximum the experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
- 3) that starting from their defeat after the death of Mao Tze Tung, the PCCH under the direction of Teng Siao Ping becomes a Revisionist party and China a capitalist country

that today is already a power that disputes the allotment from the world to the imperialistic yankis, european, russian and japanese

The book "History of the PC of Uruguay", and other materials that we mention, are in our web page, www.pcru.org.uy - our mail is: internacional_pcru@hotmail.com