

el diario

REVOLUTION BOOKS
\$100

Nº 2.

August-September 1991

INTERNACIONAL

Brussels, Belgium

***El Diario* in the Peruvian Jungle**

REPORT ON MAOIST GUERRILLAS



- THE CAPITULATION OF THE FMLN
- HOLY CRUSADE AGAINST THE MAOISTS
- FREE JANET TALAVERA!

**El Diario
Internacional**

Published in the
service of the
oppressed masses
of Peru

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A monthly
publication
distributed in
Europe
United States
Canada
Latin America

English Edition:
Committee to
Support the
Revolution in Peru
P.O. Box 1246
Berkeley, CA 94701
USA

**International Campaign
For Freedom of
Expression**

**FREE
JANET TALAVERA!**

- **Journalist and Assistant Editor of *El Diario***
- **Detained and imprisoned during the fascist regime of Alan García Pérez**
- **In prison for over 2 years (June 1989)**
- **Accused by the Government of "Apology for Terrorism"**
- **The repression against Janet Talavera and *El Diario* is proof that the Fujimori regime doesn't respect freedom of expression**
- **We demand the immediate release of Janet Talavera, and that the persecution against *El Diario* and its journalists be stopped.**



Who does the Peruvian Church serve?

HOLY CRUSADE AGAINST THE REVOLUTION

The clergy and the counterrevolutionary plans of the government

From Year II, No. 8 (Sept. 1991)

Maoist forces have executed three priests. On August 9 Michel Tomasek and Zbigniew died. Both of Polish nationality, they were members of the diocese of Huaraz whose bishop is Father José Ramón Gurruchaga, of Basque origin and known as an active organizer of the peasant patrols in the region. The Polish priests were sent by Pope John Paul II himself. On the 25th of this same month, the Italian priest Alessandro Dordi was found riddled with bullets. He was a member of the bishopric of El Santa, which is led by Luis Bambarén. In the wake of these events, the Church and the government have unleashed a frenzied campaign which, in precisely the style of the holy crusades of antiquity, attempts to accuse the guerrillas of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) of targeting the Church as a military objective. This immense and extravagant campaign hides, says nothing about, the real activities of those executed, which as is well known were not at all holy. They, like their religious higher-ups, were taking part in the anti-subversive struggle designed by the government and the armed forces. With the *Bible* and the cross, as the Church itself admits, they tried to create a barrier to the advance of subversion. We would like to take a thorough look at this phenomenon and analyze the role of the religious hierarchy in the war of liberation that exists in Peru. We will show how it tries to take advantage of the religious faith of the people to shore up the system of oppression in the country.



The religious feelings of the people are used by the reactionary Church hierarchy

With the character of a holy crusade, the government has initiated a lavish campaign to deal with the supposed anticlerical nature of the people's war led by the PCP. It is calling on the people's religious sentiments to distort Peruvian reality. The intention is to counterpose religion and guerrilla warfare, Maoism and Gospel. This is an old political trick. Its originators can be found in the earliest stages of human history. The great movements of history all had to fight against a church linked with the powers of their day. Medieval obscurantism used all the influence and power of religion to maintain the serf system and defend the lands of the feudal lords. The bourgeois revolution in France was carried through in fierce contention with the reactionary clergy. Hitler and Mussolini allied themselves with the high religious bureaucracy. In Spain in 1936, the fascist clergy applauded and supported the murdering bands of General Franco. In the conquest of Peru, in the name of God and the kings of Spain, 80 percent of the indigenous population was exterminated. Religion was imposed by blood and fire. Soldiers and missionaries divided up the land and wealth of ancient Peru. Even today, Pope John Paul II himself, seated on the soft throne of the Vatican, stirs up rebellions in favor of North American imperialism.

In Peru, the top ecclesiastical hierarchy has never stood apart from the existing political power. Nominally, the current constitution separates church and state, but in practice the holy office is involved in the political decisions of the rulers. Civil and military governments have always had the higher religious bureaucracy at their side. On the historical plane, religion—permeated by idealist, metaphysical ideology—confronts the advanced ideas of the country. Its struggle is primarily against those currents and doctrines that aim to destroy capitalism and all forms of exploitation. Ideologically, the church, which takes advantage of the religious sentiments

of the populace, plays a role of prime importance in sustaining the philosophical currents of the bourgeoisie.

It is true that the Latin American church has had to change the content of its doctrine and discourse. José Carlos Mariátegui sharply focuses on this problem: "If Christianity had to conquer the world, it could not do so without relaxing somewhat the very rigid principles of its founder." "Liberation Theology" is the advanced expression of this adaptation. This trend appeared in 1971, exactly when the social and political crisis in Latin America sharpened up. Father Gustavo Gutierrez tried to rejuvenate Catholic religion, but did not go any further than announcing a "God that loves the poor," and speaking from parish pulpits about misery and "social justice." "Liberation Theology," accepted by reactionary rulers, has never questioned the reigning order. It has not gone beyond simplifying, through faith and religion, the problem of hunger and misery. This doctrine corresponds to a social and historical stage in

which the starving population rebels against the exploiters and against the cult of religion itself. The church is preoccupied with not perishing in these storms.

Gustavo Gutierrez, principal promoter of "Liberation Theology," is highly eloquent in clarifying the influence of this interpretative innovation of the Gospels. He notes: "I believe that this poverty, this misery, and the injustice that exists in Latin America is the great challenge to evangelism and to the life of the whole church." "That is to say that God, in whom we believe, is a God who defends the poor." In this theology, as Gutierrez himself says, the rich and powerful are not excluded; he admits, "We are not saying that the poor are the only repositories of faith. It is not that . . . We are not saying that no one besides the poor has the right or possibility of practicing the faith." The expression of Gutierrez and of all those who have raised this religious theology as an argument for social justice, is situated in a sociopolitical context in which the traditional political parties

themselves, whether of the official left or right, replace their antagonisms with demagogic electoral discourse, which contributes to breathing life and viability to the system of oppression.

"Liberation Theology" and other religious forms try to suffocate the social explosion of the poor, leading the oppressed masses to conditions of extreme destitution. Parishes are converted into run-of-the-mill state offices of food distribution and promotion of a submissive faith in the laws imposed by corrupt regimes. The food, donated by rich and powerful countries, comes loaded with a reactionary, counterrevolutionary ideological position. In August of 1990, the Peruvian Church supported the brutal package of economic measures imposed by the Fujimori government. Millions of Peruvians were plunged into brutal misery, but the church hierarchy, which calls itself the "defender" of the poor, did not have any hesitation in publicizing its approval of these ill-fated measures. Monsignor Ricardo Durand, president of the Episcopal Conference and Archbishop of Callao, took this opportunity to point out: "I think the economic policy that the new government intends to execute is realistic, I believe that adjustment is the only viable method of overcoming the crisis we are going through." At the same time, he indicated that the Catholic Church would "directly attend to the two million people of scarce means within the framework of the emergency social program which the government will be implementing."

The Episcopate that unites the Peruvian bishops, including the "leftist" Luis Bambarén, published a communique in which they declare: "The current economic situation demands of each and every one of us that we accomplish our tasks with honesty and efficiency." "We should know how to accept legitimate expressions of protest but we should banish insurgent violence that unleashes repressive violence." "Faith in God, love for one's suffering brother, and the force of the Spirit renew the hopes of our people, because God sees the pain of his children and listens to their pleas." No word of rejection to the policies of Fujimori. On the contrary, their opposition was emphatically against any expression of rebellion by the people. To placate the people's rage, the church higher-ups ordered their priests to give a mass of reflection and solitude. Immediately after this communique the Church, together with the political parties and functionaries of the regime, initiated a big international campaign called "WITH YOU, PERU," which turned the Peruvian people into international beggars, and covered up the real

(Continued on Page 15)



Archbishop Vargas Alzamora first supported the candidacy of Vargas Llosa, and later hopped on the Fujimori bandwagon.



Column of the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) in the Upper Huallaga (Photo: El Diario – Lima)

A Report from the Base Areas

THE PGA: BACKBONE OF THE NEW STATE

(Complete text of article from *El Diario* in Lima)

From Year II, No. 7 (Aug. 1991)

Getting to the lush jungle paradise of the Upper Huallaga, bursting bonfire of the people's war and lofty citadel of the new power, built from nearly nothing by the Communist Party of Peru leading the masses—for journalism, this is a great event.

For more than a year, none of the media, domestic or foreign, have crossed the threshold of this war zone. The greatest "feat" for many of the pencil-pushers of the servile press has been to follow the reactionary army into villages after they have been razed to the ground and/or in "operations" against the people's committees that are made for TV under the pretext of combatting "narco-terrorism."

But *El Diario* went beyond that, seeing firsthand for nearly three weeks the undeniable advances made by the New Power in the zone.

Nevertheless, in this article, for obvious reasons, the names of places and/or the identities of the fighting masses from the open and clandestine people's committees to which we had access have been maintained in secrecy.

There is no doubt that the harassment and persecution carried out by the reactionary forces in defense of the decrepit Peruvian society is being dashed to pieces here, on the many ports on the banks of the Huallaga River.

On this side of the river, members of the countersubversive forces and their snitches still move around, eyeing all the new arrivals. But even though they still infest the streets of the towns on one side of the Marginal Highway, further on, where only the rushing of the river's waters can be heard, are the clandestine, or

parallel, people's committees, where the system of government of the New State under the leadership of the PCP has eliminated all these undesirables.

Lately, the reactionary troops have limited themselves to leaving their headquarters on patrols and arrest raids, disappearing and assassinating peasants and other workers who resist the blackmail on their freedom or who chance to be on the Marginal at the moment the troops go by.

Recently, with the arrival in the city of Tingo María of reinforcements from the Marines and the so-called Police Special Operations Division (DOES), these vermin persist in frightening the populace, moving about on the highway at battalion strength during the early dawn hours.

The officers in charge of these groups put on a display, sending the new contingent, just arrived from Lima, for "battle-hardening" through assaults on unarmed settlements, as in Pueblo Nuevo, 15 minutes away from the Santa Lucía headquarters, where they kidnapped and disappeared several peasants.

Other troops were sent to posts located on the right bank of the Huallaga by the port of Venenillo, where they constantly attacked everyone leaving or arriving at the port, at the same time firing shots in the air to harass the peasants who travelled along the opposite bank.

IN THE GUERRILLA ZONES AND THE BASE AREAS

On the other side of the river are the territories of the New State, some more developed than others, but all of them aiming to join together as the people's war develops.

It's been a long time since the counterinsurgency forces have dared to take on the emerging New State which governs the destinies of hundreds of Open People's Committees (OPC) on the banks of the Huallaga. The few times that the homicidal hordes have penetrated the territory, they have been met with fierce armed resistance from the People's Guerrilla Army of the area, and with the strategic retreat of the population so as to avoid genocide.

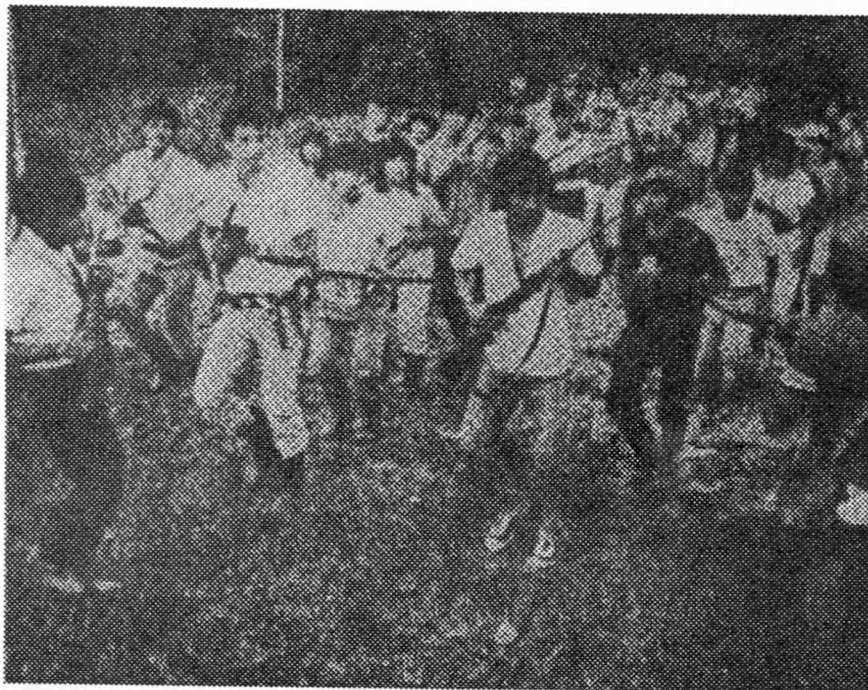
But the reporters of this weekly did reach the Maoists, at a port, much like the others, closely watched by heavily-armed fighters. They carry out their responsibilities with precision and with revolutionary zeal.

All visitors must identify themselves and reveal their intentions. The watch is carried out by guerrillas clad in camouflage gear, rubber boots, and belts confiscated from the reactionary army. They have weapons and bullets dangling at their sides.

It was the changing of the guard, and they had received the order to take us inland with them. As dusk turned into night, the lanterns of our chance guides showed the way, a winding path, towards the place where we would meet the responsible leaders of the People's Guerrilla Army of that area. Along the way, about every 200 meters or so, there would be a firm order called out: "STOP!"; and the password would be fired back instantly. Later on we would find out that those disciplined lookouts belong to the base force of the People's Guerrilla Army from the *Bolsón*. *Bolsón* is the name given to groupings of Open People's Committees that have grown together strategically. Due to the extent and the unevenness of the countryside, the sum total of all the *Bolsones* throughout the Upper Huallaga make up the Huallaga Base Areas. The base force of the People's Guerrilla Army of each Open People's Committee plays the role of a new type of police. It guards against enemy ambushes, takes precautions against reactionary infiltrations, and struggles to provide the masses with the necessary protection. In case of enemy attack, this force, which is made up of people who live in the area, must provide cover while the villagers retreat so that they are not wiped out. They also carry out rearguard tasks for the local force of the People's



The troops of the old Peruvian State are being defeated by the Maoists



The PGA prepares intensively for war

Guerrilla Army in case of counterattack or retreat, in order to reestablish the base area at a later date.

PLAIN LIVING DEDICATED TO THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION

When the rain had just started coming down, the guerrillas let us know that we had arrived at our destination—a small dwelling surrounded by dozens of armed youths (other guerrillas) who greeted us warmly.

The austere flames of a few lighters lit our welcome. A stocky woman fighter with short hair came up to us, shook our hands and asked us to sit down. When she was told of our intentions, she offered all her help. Ignoring her fatigue, she expressed joy and a sincere interest in talking with *El Diario* which “just like those who have taken up arms, fights daily for the people.” Those were her exact words.

She told us that they had just completed a month of very arduous military tasks. Going back in time, she remembered comrade Nelson, who fell in combat and whose body was yanked away from the reactionaries (since they refused to give the body back). He was buried in the midst of a massive mobilization, to pay homage to one of the most loved heroes of the people of that area.

She also remembered her brother with tenderness. He gave his life for the revolution. She spoke of his firm decision to persevere and how, despite all his responsibilities, he took on the task of raising his children. She also spoke of the

experience gained fighting against the reactionary army, and of the time her life was saved during a recent campaign in the mountains of the department of Huánuco—thanks to a string of batteries which she carried in her knapsack and served as a lucky shield. Finally she spoke of her desire, which is the desire of thousands of women to fight and give her life for the Party and the Revolution.

A frugal dinner of rice and beans ended the talk for that night. The watch was doubled. Every night we were there we would hear the command: Keep sharp!

Next morning, all were in formation, cleaned up and with their weapon slung over their shoulder, their plate and spoon in hand and ready to eat. Everybody's ration is the same, be they leaders or fighters.

The two-line struggle would follow. On this day the debate centered on correct and incorrect ways to resolve the problems that came up the day before. Later on each squad went out, machete in hand, to engage in production in the communally cultivated lands. There is not a single minute in a 24-hour period where the watch is not in effect. The guard is changed every hour in the points closest to the main body of the base. The watch is relieved less frequently in places further away from where the base force is carrying out its duties, but with just as much punctuality.

The campaign marches—simulating retreats or coming when the enemy really is lying in wait or is preparing an incursion on the Open People's Committees (OPC)—are constant. *El Diario* took part in several of these displacements,

following the Maoists.

The first one was a strategic retreat prepared by the commanders of the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) in light of the fact that the reactionary troops had unleashed a large-scale attack on the entry point to the OPC and the *Bolsón*.

The retreat was made around 9 p.m., using a muddy road covered with underbrush. After half an hour, the contingent saw a dwelling that looked as if it had been uninhabited for a long time. That would be our shelter until the next day. Carrying pots and pans, medicine and provisions, in addition to weapons and sleeping gear, everyone settled in for the night.

PEOPLE'S JUSTICE IN THE OPEN PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

The political and military commanders and the members of the People's Assembly of the village had called for a mass meeting the evening of the following day, when a people's trial would be held for three people, one of them a woman.

This is what happened: the woman and two men were led in front of the Popular Assembly. The charges against them were serious: she had been sexually tempting fighters of the PGA in order to extract information for transmittal to the reactionary forces. The two men had belonged to the People's Guerrilla Army and had been discovered raping a woman and stealing Party property. The three were executed. Those present at the trial agreed that it was a just punishment for those who use the trust of the masses, betraying it and trafficking in their interests, trying to tarnish the role carried out by the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) under the leadership of the PCP.



Maoist fighter in the Upper Huallaga

There were other even more exhausting retreats, whose result was the forging of the new fighters in a hard life of sacrifice and simplicity. One of these marches lasted for six hours and another for four. At the end of this, the political and military commanders detail the contingent which has best adapted to this life into the local forces.

LOCAL FORCE AND MAIN FORCE OF THE PEOPLE'S GUERRILLA ARMY

Contact with three companies of the local forces of the People's Guerrilla Army came about by chance. Around that time they had just finished a political/military campaign in the area and were now getting ready for new actions to commemorate the eleventh anniversary of the people's war. The visit to their camp, although brief, allowed us to see how the fighters live, to take photographs and talk to their responsible leaders.

Later we were told that several companies of this force would join companies of the main force of the People's Guerrilla Army to wage large-scale military operations.

We heard news later of the attack on the ENDEPALMA police base where four commanders, four captains and numerous thugs were taken out of commission.

Accompanied by an escort (always ready for any encounter with the reactionaries), we arrived after several hours of walking at a place in the department of Huánuco. Around that time we heard that the thugs were secretly, but desperately, looking for us. And they were not too far from where we were.

CELEBRATION OF THE 11TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

Upon arriving at the People's Committee where part of the main force of the People's Guerrilla Army camped, the responsible leaders offered us all kinds of facilities so that we might carry out our journalistic work.

It was May 17, and an entire program had been planned to commemorate the 11th Anniversary of the people's war. Its main purpose was to further strengthen their ties with the masses from several of the People's Committees.

The main event was the rereading of a report to the Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru. The majority of the masses listened intently to the report.

A play about the 1980 boycott, led by the Communist Party of Peru, against



The People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) is the military force that sustains and defends itself—from the army and police of the old Peruvian State

the elections in the district of Chuschi in Ayacucho was performed.

HOW THE NEW ECONOMY FUNCTIONS

The new economy that is being developed in the People's Committees and revolutionary base areas casts aside the old and rotten relations of production and exchange controlled by the big landowners and drug traffickers.

Even though there is still a monopoly on the marketing of food products like cacao (which is controlled by Italian oligopolies and the old-fashioned "Naranjillo"-style agro-industrial cooperative), the new economy is also based on the principle of self-sufficiency and collective labor in accordance with the necessities of the people's war.

In the so-called cocaine zones (where in recent years only coca has been grown because the land has not been fertile enough to grow other products), the Communist Party of Peru has promoted the cultivation of food products like yucca, plantains, pituca (a type of giant potato from the east) and cacao, among others, with the aim that the People's Committees do not have to depend on the marketing of coca. The PCP also puts important emphasis on supporting the cultivation of food products for the market, which makes it possible for the Open People's Committees to import fertilizers at minimum surcharge. For example, the commissioner of economy and production in a People's Committee is charged with ensuring that the small businessmen who come in to sell fertilizer are limited to a 30 percent profit rate. Before, these



the New Power in Peru. It takes its powerful arms from the enemy



Peruvian women are involved in the PGA and the people's war

missioner of economy, who makes sure a fair price is had by both parties. Often, there are exchanges or bartering of fruits, garden vegetables or legumes for processed products from the cities like oil, pasta, spices, etc. There are also frequent exchanges of products in the zone for potatoes and onions from the sierra region.

As for commerce, prices are regulated once products enter the Open People's Committee. The maximum rate of profit allowed is 30 percent. Control of the sale of alcohol is even more rigorous. To discourage the sale of alcohol (and thus its consumption), the maximum rate of profit allowed is 5 percent. Consumption in public areas is limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

COCA

The Upper Huallaga region is known worldwide as a center of coca production. The poor peasantry of this extensive tropical valley dedicate a part of their time to the harvesting of coca leaves.

A problem which causes a dilemma for the peasants, is the low market value of their food products in comparison with that of the coca leaf. While plantains, cacao and yucca are bought by businessmen and intermediary monopolies at low price (which doesn't even cover expense of planting and harvesting), coca is bought by intermediary businessmen (traqueteris) at prices that roughly cover the cost the peasants have invested in their food crops.

There are areas controlled, organized and administered by the Communist Party of Peru in which excellent quality rice is produced; they also oversee chicken and other animal farms on a scale never before seen in this region. In sum, the economy of the New State is developing steadily despite great difficulties and obstacles put in place by the old society and its representatives.

In the Open People's Committees one can sense the determination of the people led by the Communist Party of Peru to develop a self-sufficient economic system that no longer depends on dollars from the sale of coca leaves. Therefore, in addition to promoting the cultivation of food products, the raising of livestock such as hogs, chickens, ducks, sheep and work animals is also promoted. One of the principal goals of the commissioners of production in the Open People's Committees is to bring about steady commerce and exchange of products with the villages and Open People's Committees of the sierra region, in order to balance people's diet with geese, potatoes, garden vegetables and other products that the Upper Huallaga region lacks. ■

products were marketed at a profit rate of up to 300 percent, which made it impossible for the peasants to plant anything other than coca.

The new economy that has been set in motion has come to be exemplary and effective in advancing toward resolving the question of how to meet the needs of the populace.

The peasants and their families are guaranteed housing and a parcel of cultivable land. The land in the Open Committees is for those who till it; subleasing or hereditary lands are not allowed. Everyone who is willing to work under the system of leadership and organization of the Open People's Committees has the opportunity, which under the old society was denied to them.

There is frequent exchange of products, but it is controlled by the com-

El Diario in the Guerrilla Zone

THE NEW STATE

IS SUPPORTED

BY THE PGA

(From *El Diario*, Lima, Number 606)

Part II

From Year II, No. 8 (Sept. 1991)

To spend a few days with the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) is an honor.

This is so because this army is a living example of revolutionary morale, courage, class conviction and serving the people. It is totally different from the decrepit and vile police forces and military of the reactionary state, many of whom are murderers, alcoholics, thieves, mercenaries, and so forth.

Among the soldiers of the PGA, neither physical traits nor skin color count. There are mestizos, whites, blacks, Asians, men and women of all ages: the elderly, adults, youth, and children. Everybody looks after one another. They walk, talk, eat and live together.

The masses treat them with endearment and respect and say, "they are righteous." Wherever they go they are armed with rifles, machetes, food, and knapsacks slung over their shoulders. They march through villages and small communities singing their song, which goes like this: "Throughout the valleys and the Andes/ guerrilla troops freely go/ the best fighters/ to the city from the countryside . . ."

Thus begins the second and last part of this exclusive from the base areas of the Hullaqa.

At 6:30 in the morning, after doing their daily exercises, the guerrilla soldiers proceed in an orderly fashion to their respective squads for roll call before breakfast.

As the political commander of the Base Force—a peasant of average height and body build, approximately thirty-eight years of age—makes his entrance, the soldiers take off their hats as a sign of respect. Saluting the soldiers with his fist held high, the commander says, "To our wise leadership, the center of Party unification, guarantee of victory and of the advance to communism. Who is he? Chairman Gonzalo, the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, great military

and political strategist, philosopher, teacher of communists, and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru, the heroic combatant and to all the comrades present." In a disciplined manner, the soldiers thank the commander.

The day has dawned. Amidst the singing of the animals and the stirring of the plants in the morning breeze there is a profound silence on the half of the clearing occupied by the base force due to the words of the political commander.

He continues talking, haltingly but with a steady voice: "Our task is to become even stronger, to better understand the needs of the masses so that the great majority will march with us—showing that

the Party leads the masses in the people's war, whose greatest achievements are the Open People's Committees. This is an undeniable achievement, a victory of the First Campaign and development of the people's war, which at the same time is helping to propel forward mobile warfare."

With the same tone of voice, the commander declares: "The enemy wants to wipe us out, but he will not succeed because our war is a war of the masses, and here we are all united for our people's revolution. And the fact is that throughout the country, it is we who are wiping them out. Chairman Mao tells us that in difficult times we must keep in mind our ac-



Members of the Main Force of the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA). These guerrillas are the PCP's finest soldiers (Photo El Diario)

accomplishments, keep our sights on our objectives, and build up our courage."

The political commander continues his inspiring talk for several minutes, which further unifies the soldiers. And then with strong emotion he breaks the silence of the soldiers who join him in chanting several times, "Long Live Chairman Gonzalo! Long Live Eleven Years of People's War! Long Live the Communist Party of Peru (PCP)!"

A SIMPLE BREAKFAST

It's almost 7:00 a.m. The sun delicately reflects its reddish light in the faces of each soldier, now in units of ten. Filled with enthusiasm, they shout: "Nothing is difficult/ if you dare to scale the heights" - a lovely verse by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. "Our main task is/ to fight/ for the people's war" - a quote from the PCP. And, "Our main principle is that the Party commands the gun and the gun must never command the Party."

The more than 200 soldiers of the Base Force receive the order to break for breakfast. They head for the kitchen, rifles over the shoulder, rocket-propelled grenades at the waist, carrying their plates in the left hand and a machete in the right hand held high. They chant, "With the masses, with the Party and the people's war, all miracles are possible!"

The soldiers in charge of the kitchen wholeheartedly greet their comrades and serve them oats with rice, cacao with steaming hot milk, seasoned fried bananas and a piece of toast.

A DAY OF COLLECTIVE WORK

The day has begun, and after breakfast the soldiers rendezvous with their respective units. The campesinos (peasants) on their way to work are greeted warmly by the soldiers. Some of the peasants carry knapsacks in their hands, others carry a machete or shovel. Meanwhile, the sun slowly dries the wet earth from the previous night's rain. A boy passes by with a herd of goats on the way to pasture. A peasant has placed his book rack on the side of a small store and exhibits magazines and *El Diario*. This is a strategic location since the soldiers and peasants from the various People's Committees of this area must pass through here.

In spite of shortages, there is no price speculation in the small store and the profits are minimal and approved by the masses. Food is sold at 30 percent above the producer's cost, fertilizers at 20 percent, and alcoholic beverages at no more than 5 percent.

Once again the political commander and the military commander stand in front of the Base Force. It's now the military commander's turn to speak. A fighter of medium build and wide-set eyes, a penetrating look and broad forehead, he gives a respectful and warm salute to Chairman Gonzalo and the Party. Then he adds, "Comrades, this is another beautiful day in our approach to the final assault and seizure of power, towards which we are advancing like a hurricane, guided by the light of Chairman Gonzalo, inspired by Marx, Lenin and Mao. Adhering to and fully carrying out the tasks of the PGA-to fight, mobilize and produce - today we will participate in production so as to not be a burden on the masses but rather help them."

Then the person in charge of logistics for the Base Force speaks. He receives reports from the military commanders of each unit about the health of the soldiers and then asks for volunteers for the day's work, which includes first aid, cooking and buying food and medical supplies.

After the commanders consult, everything is ready. Guard duty and logistics come next. The military commander calls out the names of the soldiers chosen for the ENCOUNTERS detachment - those will be in charge of opening the path for the comrades engaged in produc-

tion and acting as the rearguard of the guerrillas.

The soldiers on GUARD DUTY receive orders to leave for their assigned look out posts. As they leave, they hear the military commander say, "Be vigilant, comrades."

The Base Force marches off to carry out its production tasks. They are equipped with machetes, rope, and the ever-present weapon slung over their shoulders. The soldiers march in file and their faces show an overflowing enthusiasm. In good spirits, they sing about the people's war, Marx, and Chairman Gonzalo. They also sing one of their huayno [traditional Andean song-trans.] which goes, "We lay ambushes/ against the mercenaries, assassins of the people/ we are guerrilla fighters, children of the storm/ tempered in 11 years of fierce struggle . . ."

Peasants passing by warmly greet the fighters. They walk by several checkpoints located at key junctures of the jungle and camouflaged by the dense vegetation; others are situated high in the mountains. The soldiers who stand guard are armed with grenades, rocket-propelled grenades, anti-tank and anti-helicopter weapons and the all-important binoculars.

On this particular day each member of the PGA, upon hearing the command to "Stop!" must immediately respond with "Long Live Maoism!" If the masses receive the order to stop, they must respond, "Down with revisionism!" Every zone has its password.

Whoever doesn't know the pass-

word is detained. The soldiers say, "It may be easy to get in, but it's difficult to get out; there are many comrades who specialize in tracking down infiltrators."

About an hour later, they receive the order from their military commander to halt.

Thick vegetation covers both sides of the road. A little farther ahead they can see an irrigation ditch to the side of the path. The remains of tree posts and barbed wire which probably surrounded a home or a little cultivated land of some peasant are visible. Several guerrilla fighters explain that the government had a military base here, but after suffering defeats at the hands of the Party, they abandoned the area. Later they found several mass graves with human skeletons, all with signs that the victims had been tortured before being shot.

They hear voices approaching. Several peasants with their wives and children come out of the vegetation onto the road. The soldiers warmly welcome them. The peasants point out various landmarks on the horizon to the military commander. Further ahead, a wooden house can be seen where the chickens, hogs and other animals walk about freely in the family garden they are bred in.

The military commander leaves the peasants who are also going to work and tells the fighters, "Comrades, the collective work for today is cutting down all the trees and clearing out an open field, so that we can give new plots of land to the masses of this Open People's Committee, who will build homes and grow cereals as well as

rice, corn, yucca, fruits and vegetables."

. . . The PGA fights, organizes and produces . . .

With their machetes, the soldiers begin to work on opening a path. Nobody puts down his or her weapon. Whoever does will be strongly criticized when the time comes for criticism and self-criticism. Some soldiers have spread out to reinforce the guard. Other comrades, men and women, together with the masses, are preparing the irrigation canal.

Thus the best sons and daughters of the people are working to clear the dense foliage and vegetation to allow the sun to reach the earth. They work with "clear mind, determination and with inextinguishable passion," as Chairman Gonzalo says. And, as Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out, "As the army and the people exchange labor and help each other in production, the friendship between them is strengthened."

In the camp, some soldiers arrive carrying firewood over their shoulders for the kitchen. The country kitchen has been constructed with the long bark of the coco trees, and the walls, which cover three sides, are made of tree trunks and sugar cane. Several soldiers have the responsibility of preparing one or two modest meals, sometimes soup or stew.

The soldiers in the fields stop working at one in the afternoon. With



A Maoist guerrilla column ready to leave for combat

firm steps they leave the work area, wiping the sweat from their faces with their hands or shirt sleeves. They are tired but their eyes radiate optimism and courage.

Each one goes back to his or her squad. They sit in the shade of the shrubs. Peasants come over excitedly to offer small gifts of appreciation, like oranges and pacays.

Later they return to the base. In the following days they will continue the work until it is finished. With the help of a few sunny days, the trunks and shrubs that have been cleared will dry out and be burned. The rains will turn the ashes into fertilizer to better prepare the land for cultivation by peasant members of the Open People's Committee, which is growing as thousands of the local residents join it.

The guards rapidly report the return of the soldiers to the base. Those in charge of the kitchen lay down tree trunks that serve as seating for the soldiers. Inside the kitchen they have made a table out of long pieces of wood where they will serve the food. It's two o'clock in the afternoon, and as the squads arrive they are greeted with fresh drinks.

First the commanders' table is served, and then the Base Force. A woman comrade serves the rice and a man adds the stew. All the soldiers sit together along the tree trunk. Some stick their machete in the ground near them or lay it down against their boots.

UNITY IN THE RANKS OF THE PGA

After lunch, at around 3:30, the soldiers receive orders to tend to their personal affairs until 6:30 in the evening. The soldiers take care of their daily chores. Before washing their clothes or bathing, some of the men play soccer while the women play volleyball.

At night, as the lanterns light the base, the soldiers sit in a circle. This is a gathering to strengthen camaraderie and unity. The commander calls on everybody to stand and sing the *Internationale*. Afterwards each soldier who participates first salutes Chairman Gonzalo and the Party. They sing, dance or recite poetry. Later some soldiers perform a play entitled "Boycott the Elections." They end the



Ideological preparation is fundamental in strengthening the People's Guerrilla Army



Peruvian women play an important role in the struggle for liberation

meeting by singing the guerrilla hymn.

RESTORATION AND COUNTER-RESTORATION

The Base Force is the third force of the People's Guerrilla Army. The second is the Local Force. The first is the Main Force, which is made up mainly of proven communists, steered in the people's war and the ideology of the proletariat. Many of the Main Force soldiers were initiators of the armed struggle which began in

May 1980. They are cadre and members trained in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Gonzalo Thought. They have many years of political and ideological experience. And they guarantee the application of the political-military line of the Communist Party of Peru guided by the wise leadership of Chairman Gonzalo.

They are the ones who retake areas where the old order has been restored. This means places where the Party had organized the New Power but the government had taken over again through genocide and massacres. For tactical reasons the People's Guerrilla Army had retreated, while the reactionaries had built new fortifications modeled after fascist concentration camps and imposed curfews and other repressive measures.

The Party leadership in these localities continues operating underground and prepares the resistance and future battles. From Open People's Committees they become Parallel People's Committees. While the reactionaries win the scorn and hatred of the people, the Party prepares the conditions to retake control of the zone. It will not be easy for the reactionaries, the police, the military, and other forces of the counterrevolution to stay in power. They will be attacked and continuously harassed by the Maoist forces. Fear and desperation will grow in the ranks of the government's troops.

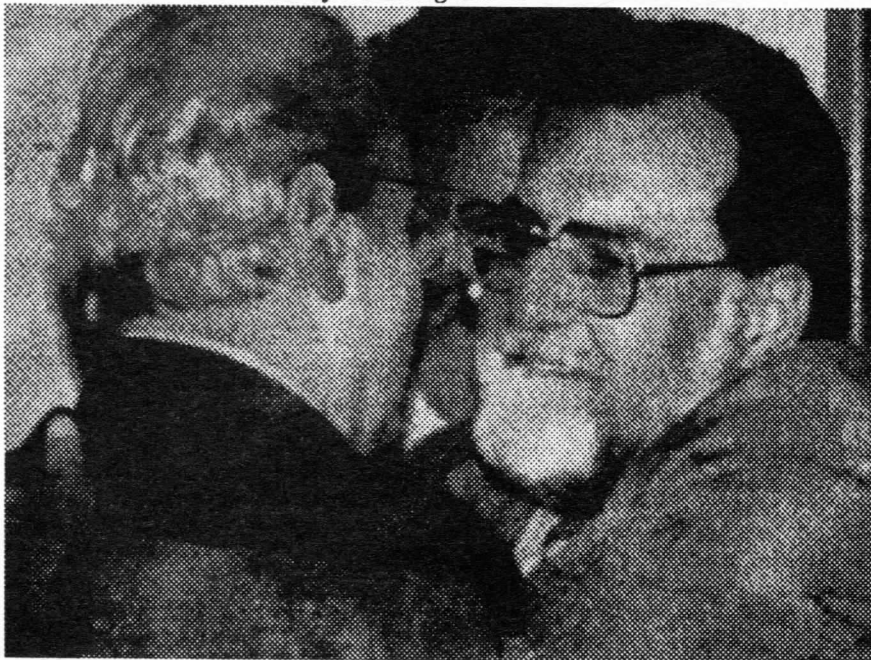
The communists are guided by their experience and by historical lessons. One of them was summarized by Chairman Mao: "The enemy advances, we retreat; they camp, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack." (Cont'd. on page 15)

"Peace Agreement" with Imperialism FMLN: FROM DIALOGUE TO CAPITULATION

40 Thousand Died for this Infamous Betrayal

From Year II, No. 8 (Sept. 1991)

The Salvadoran guerrillas have taken a giant step towards capitulating to the reactionary regime in El Salvador and to North American imperialism. On Wednesday September 25th, in New York, the five commanders of the Faribundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), signed a "peace agreement" with the presidential envoy of the government of Alfredo Cristiani. The initiator of and witness to this agreement was the ubiquitous Pérez de Cuellar, general secretary of the United Nations and errand boy for George Bush.



Pérez de Cuellar and FMLN Commander Shafick Handal share the embrace of treason and capitulation

The commanders of the FMLN have declared that the New York agreements "have made the road to reconciliation and peace in El Salvador irreversible." Embraced by Pérez de Cuellar, they have asked the U.S. government to channel economic aid "towards the country's reconstruction." For his part, President Cristiani has joyfully indicated that "1991 will be the year of peace." In the same gleeful tone, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Bernard Aronson stated, "If the guerrillas abide by the stipulations in these agreements, the war will be over."

This "historic agreement," as it has been called by the right-wing press and the signatories of the sell-out treaty, goes no further than the meager electoral programs of any of the political parties or organizations of the Latin American bourgeoisie. The FMLN is asking for the creation of, and its integration into, a civil

police force. It requests a reduction in and a purge of the Armed Forces. It demands the formation of an "Investigative Commission for Human Rights Violations." It proposes a reform of the current constitution and that something be done about agricultural problems. At the same time, it calls for the United States to "cancel its military aid to El Salvador." According to the agreement, the surrendering of arms by the guerrillas will be left for the final phase of the "peace process."

The more than eleven years of bloody civil war and the 40 thousand dead are facts that weigh heavily in the history of the Salvadoran people. The masses sacrificed everything. Their heroic undertaking aimed at attaining a new society, a new nation which would represent them and resolve their demands. Their struggle has been cut short for the moment. It is not the first time that the

revolutionary people of Latin America have been betrayed. It happened recently in Nicaragua. And the same thing is happening in Colombia. The capitulationist conduct of the leaders of the FMLN is rooted in ideological and political problems. It is related to its links with international revisionism and opportunism, principally to its relations with Soviet social-imperialism, which has used this guerrilla movement as an instrument of political negotiation with North American imperialism. It was foreseeable that a Salvadoran guerrilla movement contaminated with a revisionist political line and lacking a revolutionary plan for the seizure of power would conclude by selling out the historic efforts of the people. A guerrilla movement subject to and manipulated by the dictates of Moscow could not go far. The betrayal of the FMLN leaders is a natural act in this kind of process when the leadership of the struggle is not in the hands of the proletariat, much less a revolutionary party of the working class. For many years now, the FMLN has tried to negotiate the armed struggle. In 1984, when there was talk of Perestroika, the FMLN initiated a "dialogue" with the pro-imperialist government of El Salvador. The theme was "to create conditions leading to a definite end of the war." From that time on, there were several dialogues and "cease fires."

In March 1989 María Marta Villadares, representing the FMLN, presented the United Nations with a document whose contents reflected a candid proposal by this front to make official its intention to integrate itself into the bourgeois political system in El Salvador. This document precisely marked the halting steps being taken by the leaders of the Salvadoran guerrillas. One of its paragraphs points out: "The significance of this new proposal is that for the first time the FMLN proposes a dialogue with the government, the Armed Forces, the Legislative Assembly and all political parties, with the objective of creating conditions whereby the next elections will lead to the conclusion of the war." In this document, they requested that eight conditions be met by the existing government in order to "guarantee free and democratic elections." None of these conditions ques-

tioned the reactionary power, let alone searching for real solutions to the historic demands of the masses. In the proposals, the FMLN vowed to "call for all of its social base to participate in the elections by supporting the platform and candidates of the political coalition of the Democratic Convergence, and to accept the legitimacy of the electoral results." The document asserts that under the conditions that are proposed, the electoral process "would be an instrument for national reconciliation."

However, the FMLN proposals in the 1989 document go much further than merely granting legitimacy to the electoral process. They also indicate that if the negotiations for the implementation of elections were brought to a successful conclusion, the FMLN would pledge to immediately end the armed struggle in a definitive manner; "to incorporate itself into the political life of the country and to recognize the existence of only one army." In other words, to validate the Armed Forces who assassinated, kidnapped and tortured thousands of innocent citizens, and to recognize as legitimate a corrupt and repressive state.

Within the revolutionary process which spans Latin America and other parts of the world, the capitulation of the FMLN will be very useful for the political and military plans of the United States. It strengthens, although only temporarily, the forces of counterrevolution in the continent. Yankee imperialism is now left with a freer hand in attacking other armed liberation movements. From an economic perspective, it is advantageous for the Bush administration which, foundering in an acute economic crisis and a terrifying recession, will save the two million dollars a day it was costing to sustain the war in El Salvador. These resources will now be used to support and finance other armies in Latin America, mainly in cases such as that of Peru where revolutions for genuine liberation are developing.

But this event, like any other contradiction, unveils once more the sinister political countenance of revisionism, and the ominous role that it plays. It shows how these forces, by means of a thousand sophistries and numerous tactics, use the masses for their counterrevolutionary goals. Through bitter experience, the masses learn that it is impossible to carry out a successful revolution without energetically and decisively combatting the revisionism and opportunism that have infiltrated the ranks of the people. It has now been proven that the struggle for liberation must of necessity combat Yankee imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and other imperialist powers. ■

HOLY CRUSADE

(Continued From Page 4)

causes of the misery and suffering of millions of Peruvian citizens.

The coexistence of the Catholic Church with political and economic groups has not been reduced solely to the preaching of "faith and spiritual patience," and still less to relief activities. Its political participation strengthens the mechanisms of oppression of the old Peruvian State. Mario Vargas Llosa, representative of one of the factions of the Peruvian big bourgeoisie, carried out his electoral campaign with the support of the country's high clergy. Monsignor Augusto Vargas Alzamora, Archbishop of Lima, played the role of "spiritual counselor" to the FRE-DEMO candidate. The United Left (IU), in alliance with religious personages, trafficks in the needs of the poor. Since 1980 the Catholic Church has backed the various "pacification committees" promoted by successive governments. During the regime of the fascist Alan García Pérez, cardinal Juan Landázuri blessed the combat vehicles that left for Ayacucho "to fight subversion."

Even today, various representatives of the church coordinate actions with political military commands to suppress the people rising up in arms. The bishop of Huaraz, Ramón Gurruchaga, known for organizing peasant patrols, has said: "The cross and the Bible are the weapons that the peasants use to defeat the subversives of Sendero Luminoso." So it is not too strange to read in the magazine CARETAS, voice of the Peruvian anti-terrorist police: "Hundreds of monks in the most distant areas of Peru are leaving no room for Sendero Luminoso, thus converting themselves from spiritual leaders into ideological leaders..." And, the DIRCOTE magazine fails to add, into military leaders.

One of the logical results of the process of liberation that Peru is going through is a phenomenon whereby the bourgeoisie, the landlords and U.S. imperialism use the power and influence of the Catholic Church in an attempt to check the advance of the armed struggle led by the Maoists. They try to manipulate the religious faith of the people. The opposition of the Church hierarchy to the liberation struggle is quite sharp. In a recent document they state the following: "Sendero promises the people the illusory future of which they dream, but the people live for today, share today, work today. Christ said: Why worry about tomorrow if we already have enough problems." In other words, renounce everything, live in hunger and misery. Why fight, if heaven belongs to the poor? It does not matter that the earth belongs to the rich. ■

... THE PEOPLE JOIN THE RANKS OF THE REVOLUTION ...

(Continued From Page 13)

Take for example the recent case of an army base which was surrounded by a minefield. The soldiers of the Local Force and the Base Force had prepared a joint attack. The attack began with the firing of rocket-propelled grenades against the fortified metal gate and intense automatic weapons fire from FAL rifles and MAG machine guns. The base commander was so terrified he didn't know what to do. Upon seeing shadows climbing the walls he thought they were guerrillas and immediately activated the security system. The explosion was awful, blowing fifty soldiers to pieces. What had happened? It turned out that the shadows that scared the officer so much were those of his own soldiers and officers who were fleeing the Maoist guerrillas' fierce attack. To cover up the atrocious death of fifty soldiers, the government reported that "fifty terrorists were killed."

The Main Force studies the conditions and seizes new areas. Its powerful military force razes and destroys the counterrevolution and restores the New Power. The Local Force and Base Force work jointly to organize the new system. When the Main Force moves on, the Local Force stays. It is responsible for the security of the New Power and, with the active participation of the masses, of establishing the new economic, political and social system.

In this way people become one with the revolution. The teachings of Mao Tsetung are creatively applied. "The tasks of the broad masses in the course of this movement are to free themselves, to organize themselves and to become conscious masters of the liberated areas." The masses understand that this requires them to participate in the people's war so as to further strengthen it. They understand the need to organize under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru, to struggle and make sacrifices for the New Power, and to offer their lives if necessary to prevent the restoration of the old order.

In this intense struggle for liberation, the people organize and form the Base Force to defend their Open People's Committees. To meet this goal, they carry out campaigns of three, six or twelve months. After completing this voluntary military service, the fighters then become members of the Local Force and later of the Main Force. ■

Interview with Chairman Gonzalo

Interview with the Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Peru

Conducted by the editors of *El Diario* newspaper

New English Translation! Now Available!

In July 1988 the Lima daily newspaper *El Diario* hit the streets with a very special feature—an exclusive interview with Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Communist Party of Peru (called Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path in the press). In this 12-hour interview, conducted by *El Diario* co-editors Luis Arce Borja and Janet Talavera, the leader of the Maoist people's war that has been shaking Peruvian society from top to bottom emerged and put forward in his own words his vision and insights for hundreds of thousands of Peruvians to read for themselves.

News of this historic interview hit the wires all over the world. For years the Peruvian government had been floating out stories that Chairman Gonzalo was dead and that the revolution was being defeated. Here was living proof that Gonzalo was alive and well and powerfully leading the movement forward. Two editions of 100,000 copies each were sold out quickly. Then the government moved to put a stop to this, confiscating the third printing, destroying *El Diario's* presses and incarcerating co-editor Janet Talavera and other members of the

newspaper staff. (Janet Talavera is still in prison, and an international campaign is being waged for her release; Luis Arce Borja, after being attacked and hounded by the Peruvian government, is now putting out this international edition of *El Diario* from Belgium; *El Diario* itself is still being published in Lima, in the face of continued government repression.) The interview has been published in pamphlet form and is currently being distributed in countries around the world. This new English edition makes this important document available to a broad audience just at a time when the international spotlight is increasingly focused on the people's war in Peru.

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