

La Nueva Bandera

(The New Flag)



Vol. 1, Number 1



Women POWs march in Canto Grande prison.

Statement of Purpose

Not long ago, we were told by the mainstream media that the people's war in Peru was no longer "hot." Such a temperature measurement was based on two incidents in the ongoing civil war in that country: The first was a real one (the capture of Dr. Guzman), and the second was obviously fraudulent (Guzman's "peace" letters from prison.) The press didn't care much that such letters/video montages were denounced as forgeries by the people and the PCP leadership in Peru. Since the foreign correspondents in Peru still refused to report the truth, the PCP spoke up loud and clear, with hundreds of actions against military targets that continued to shake up the old state. This will remind the propagandists of U.S. imperialism everywhere that our people will never surrender to the forces of reaction. A genuine and lasting peace will be achieved only by the seizure of power by the Peruvian people lead by our heroic CP (PCP).

Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi chief propagandist, cynically contended that a huge lie repeated often enough would be accepted

as the truth. That's the logic followed by the media in countries like Peru where all the press is under government control. In the midst of civil war, "the free press" plays a key role in the campaign of psychological warfare against the people. The sources of information, almost entirely are one-sided, pro-government, or at most a mild loyal-opposition (*La Republica, Caretas, Desco, Que Hacer, Si, Expresso, Nacional, Comercio*. All the TV stations among more than 200 outlets.) But there is one light that shines for the oppressed: *El Diario*. It circulates widely in the shantytowns, peasant communities, unions, and student organizations. Even the *New York Times* praised the diffusion of *El Diario*, "It uses words like bullets" stated the imperialist paper. Although the regime has imposed a brutal censorship that condemns to 15 years in jail about 40 professional journalists of *El Diario* so far, who are now languishing in several prisons in the country, it also assassinated its editor Janet Talavera, bombed its installations, and imposes jail sentences of up to three years on anyone caught reading it. Nevertheless, *El Diario* continues to publish.

New Flag (La Nueva Bandera) fills an informational vacuum in the progressive movement in the U.S. We want you to hear the other side of the story. It is true balanced information that you can make your own judgment on the development of the people's war in Peru. Through 14 years of revolutionary war the support for the revolution has grown tremendously in the entire globe, especially here in the U.S. and Canada where so far, more

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that 100 progressive organizations have pledged support to the PCP, and that support continues to grow.

The demand for information is pressing. We have no financial backers (grants, salaries, embassies, etc.) We will survive here just like *El Diario* exists in our country, with the support of

the masses. Our pages are open to anyone interested in contemporary and Latin American politics, including the apologists of the regime should they want to engage in a healthy debate.

The Editors

The Malaise of the Old Left

A handful of U.S. supporters of the minuscule revisionist group United Left of Peru (Deborah Poole, Martin Kopel, Spalding) along with other pro-Fujimori activists (Jose and Gerardo Renique, Robin Kirk, Orrin Stern, Morales) have launched a well orchestrated campaign of slanders against the young revolutionaries of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). To these U.S. "leftists" who have effectively abandoned the struggle for socialism or have reduced the commitment to socialism to a whisper, revolution is a sinister force. It is particularly disturbing that their well financed disinformation campaign in the United States is being spread by Monthly Review Press.

This shows that the satanization of revolutionaries is not the prerogative of the ruling class(es) but it is more effective if its dirty job is done by pseudo-leftists. These are the same people whose practice of varnishing reality in the tradition of "democratization," and "human rights," have cheered and applauded the capitulation and treachery of several revolutions in Latin America. In some cases, they have trafficked or profited themselves from the effects of civil war such as the plea of refugees coming to this country (the case of Robin Kirk with the plea of Salvadoran refugees in the U.S.).

The teachings of Lenin on phony "leftists" must not be forgotten: "The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution, who in peaceful times carry on their bourgeois work in secret, concealing themselves within the workers' parties, while in times of crisis, they immediately prove to be open allies of the entire united bourgeoisie, from the conservative to the most radical and democratic part of the latter, from the freethinkers to the religious and clerical sections. Anyone who has failed to understand this truth after the events we have gone through is hopelessly deceiving both himself and the workers." [Lenin, *What is Next?*, Collected Works, Vol. 21] This fits like a glove to Kopel and his Trotskyite group and all those who falsify Marxism, first to become allies of all exploiters, and later, exploiters themselves. The latter tendency is most common in the U.S., where phony "communists" are running big businesses themselves. What moral right do they have to criticize the PCP?

With respect to Peru, the message Kirk and Poole try to sell is clear: the PCP has destroyed grassroots working for social change. Apparently they are referring to the peasant and urban paramilitary groups (reminiscent of the Phoenix Pacification Program of Vietnam days, also in Guatemala in the 80's) that were organized by the Army that indeed were crippled by the actions of the PCP's People's Liberation Army. However, they

admit (they couldn't hide it!) the PCP commands a vast organizational network among the poor as a real alternative to state power. Also they can't deny that the formation of the new power that is being concretized in thousands of people's committees (some of them open) and support bases countrywide, are the nuclei of New Democracy and legitimate representatives of Peru's disenfranchised and poor majority.

What do they say about land distribution and self-sustaining agricultural production by the people's committees in PCP dominated territory? They are unable to explain it. Instead of recognizing the benefits of the New Power in the countryside, they overlook or denounce it. They repeat the fiction told by Degregori (one of the regime's Sendero watchers) that young people use revolutionary authority to "take reprisals against their parent's enemies." And the forced resignation of local authorities linked to the national police and subordinated to the Peruvian Armed Forces is presented as a PCP plot to destroy "democracy."

Poole and Kirk, for example, "inform us" that all development agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Peru have come under direct central government control in order to foster export fueled growth. Nevertheless, they don't say the fact that many political parties, including most of the tiny revisionist groups they support, exist almost entirely thanks to aid from such development agencies and NGOs, diverting popular struggle into patronage politics, in service to foreign capitalist interests. The PCP is accused of "creating tensions" in Peruvian society, of "infiltrating unions" and opposing efforts of conciliation with the state. Strikes and demonstrations that go beyond single issue concerns are considered "ultra-left." The failure of irrelevant Left Unity electoral parties (the loyal opposition) to retain popular support, according to them, is a result of unfortunate internal splits. Readers must be informed about the real causes of the collapse of the United Left in Peru: corruption, political opportunism/cooptation (United Left supported and joined the regimes of Garcia and Fujimori), ideological confusion (some of their leaders, legislators and mayors were brazenly reactionary), negation of class struggle, the abandonment of virtually everything Leftists except the name.

They call "provocateurs" the victims of massacres perpetrated by the regime against political prisoners and against villagers accused of supporting the revolution. In 1990 Kirk said that most of the PCP leaders were women because the Army has killed their husbands! In 1991 she falsely claimed that the offensive in Lima was because the PCP had already been de-

feated by the paramilitary peasant rondas in the countryside (psychological warfare used by the Peruvian Army at the time,) and after the capture of PCP's Chairman Gonzalo, Kirk wrote in the *Nation*, "Sendero is defeated." None of these assertions are true. The reality has buried her wishes. Poole invents her own rationale to justify the genocide(s) of political prisoners in the jails of Canto Grande and Santa Monica: "They (the prisoners) provoke it to gain support among family members of the dead and disappeared."

PCP military actions in the early 1980's focused on securing arms from military installations with few fatalities. The first military contingent of the PCP was an army of unarmed youngsters. Yet Poole criticizes the Belaunde government for not sending troops into the central sierra immediately to stop the "spread of violence."

Armed actions of the PCP are presented as acts of "banditry" against innocent civilians. They imagine the existence of a "middle" ground in which innocent people are caught between the violence of the PCP and the Army and the only solution is "democracy" and "elections," and thus maintain the status quo of the rotten state. They implore the PCP to sell the revolution for the empty promise of "human rights," and a "plate of beans" for its leaders, just as it was done in Central America. Thus, Poole attempts to misinform on this hard reality: the existence of a powerful communist Party of Peru and People's Liberation Army with the overwhelming support of the masses. How about the revolutionary justice claimed by the people? The liberals can't understand the existence of a popular demand for punishment (even executions) in a society as rotten to the core such as Peru, especially in the case of selected executions of municipal officials working hand-in-hand with the Army, after advance warning by the guerrillas, and who may have been grassroots leaders at one time (even vocal leftists) but who went over to the aide of the government as civil war escalated, engaging in fraud, corruption, repression and betrayal of constituents. The process is well known through which village rondas (self-defense patrols against landlord's thieves) became converted by the government (with the consent of United Left leaders) into counterinsurgency forces or into paramilitary forces controlled by drug traffickers. In fact, Peru's General Arceniaga is vigorously defended by Poole, against U.S. accusations that he was soft on drugs, and after he was caught red-handed delivering cocaine while going relentlessly against subversives, even though General Arceniaga and troops under his command systematically killed, "disappeared" raped, and bombed villages (where is Poole/Kirk's hypocritical call for respect for human rights?).

In general, the apologists of the Peruvian government are adamantly opposed to a systematic restructuring of Peru's political system, and accuse the current leadership of the PCP of misrepresenting the teachings of its founder, Jose Carlos Mariategui, in their call for a peasant/worker alliance in the development of armed struggle to overthrow the state. There is no factual

basis behind any of their characterization of the people's war in Peru, since they ignore the ideology of the Party, the organizational and educational efforts of the PCP (recognized even by U.S. counterintelligence as the principal strength of the Peruvian revolutionists.) State violence, according to them, is regarded as necessary to contain the "evil violence" of revolution, and to insulate the murderers' "democratic" regime of Fujimori, — the Army is on its own to kill — they scream, "the people are caught in the middle." Moreover, on the two factions of the Peruvian military that compete with each other in the business of murdering people with death squads, Kirk and Poole maintain, "These are the good generals (democrats) vs. the bad generals (authoritarians)." The crimes against hundreds of political prisoners murdered by Fujimori and his predecessor Garcia are only "excesses of democracy" that were provoked by the victims! *Ad nauseam.*

Finally, to answer this claim that the PCP is defeated, let us refer to someone who is no friend at all of the PCP, the Director of the low intensity warfare program at the Naval Military Postgraduate School in Monterey, CA, Gordon McCormick. "They (PCP) have lost Guzman, but they are still active in about 90 out of 183 provinces," and "the PCP has been so effective at infiltrating the police and military in Peru, it even planted key aids to the chief of Army Intelligence... the PCP turned out to have an effective organization, especially within Peru's massive interior... all its seven regional directors are still active. They are operating openly within a mile of Lima." (Intelligence Report, *Parade Magazine*, March 6th, 1994) The malaise of the old left doesn't hold ground.

Reader Critiques "Marxist" Attack on PCP

Editor's Note: this is a copy of a letter sent by Paul Wright, the editor of Prison Legal News, to Culture Concrete in response to an article in the Winter 93/94 issue written by "Simon Morales"

Culture Concrete, San Francisco, CA

Dear Friends,

I recently received the latest issue of *Culture Concrete* and I'm writing with some comments about it. I found it interesting that you dedicate the issue to the question of Marxism's relevance today and include an obituary as it were of the Trotskyites and then go on to slam the PCP of Peru.

The reason I'm writing has to do with Simon Morales' article on the PCP. While it is a collection of half truths, partial quotes and slander, the worst thing is that it purports to be from a Leninist perspective. The article is extensively based on assertions of Deborah Poole, a supporter of IU (Left Unity) in the US, who Morales calls "an impressive researcher." She repeatedly

goes on with “Sendero says”, “Guzman says”, etc., yet at no point are these alleged quotes attributed. The same goes for the other “sources” Morales claims.

The article does mention the horrible conditions endured by Peruvians. But what solution does it propose? The IU is of no significant consequence in Peru. The government is, and has been, a brutal failure unable to meet the needs of its people. Does Morales really think that by running and perhaps even winning an election anyone is going to significantly change anything? Allende tried the “historic compromise” in Chile and even that modest effort was unacceptable to the ruling class and US imperialism. Lenin said that “without state power everything is an illusion.” State power means the police and military forces of the state, among others. Leaving those undisturbed will lead to a repeat of the Chilean experience. Does anyone think the military of any Latin American, or European country for that matter, will show allegiance to even a nominally socialist, much less communist regime? Get real.

In an analysis of the PCP’s tactics and strategy conducted for the RAND Corporation, Gordon McCormick, no friend of the PCP’s, states that their use of violence is selective and done for maximum political effect. I think most people familiar with counterinsurgency campaigns know that wars are not solely a military affair with soldiers shooting at guerrillas and vice versa. Revolutionary war is a political war with force being used to achieve political goals. The militaries and the PCP realize this. It’s in this context that civilian officials, NGO’s and other elements that prop up the Peruvian regime are attacked. In a polarized wartime setting it comes down to what objectively advances the revolution and what objectively aids the government. What is the IU and company doing to advance revolution in Peru?

I am curious as to the sources of Morales’ statistics on PCP casualties and victims. Are these by chance Peruvian government statistics? The account on armed strikes differs from accounts I have read in pro-government Peruvian papers like *Oiga* which state the PCP will announce an armed strike and the pro-government unions and such will call a general strike a few days before, which have not been that effective. The PCP sees its tactics of the armed strike as dress rehearsals for the final insurrections in the cities.

Whatever anyone wants to say about the PCP, and not being on the scene ourselves it is difficult to know what is or is not actually happening, the fact remains that they have grown and expanded over the past 14 years and have made progress in their war despite enormous repression. As a practical matter, I don’t believe any movement can gain, much less hold, popular support in the face of government repression on the sole basis of terror or murder. It seems apparent that they have something going for them to hold this degree of support. Having read PCP documents it is readily apparent that they are a political party with a coherent, well thought out political line with the goal of seizing state power

in Peru. The fact is that no openly Communist movement has come this far in Latin America in the past (Castro denied being a Communist until after seizing state power, the Sandinistas never made such a claim). Are we to believe then that the PCP has been able to recruit cadre and build popular support just by gunning down everyone that Morales likes? I think not.

Morales’ selective use of quotes about the Moyano execution is interesting. Moyano had asked that the government arm slum dwellers into urban “civil patrols” to fight the PCP and boasted that the government would need the help of the “left” to defeat the PCP. Generals and government ministers went to her funeral; if she were indeed an opponent of the government, that seems odd. The PCP does not permit the formation of the armed groups controlled and directed by the Peruvian military to attack PCP members and challenge its organizations. In Vietnam, Guatemala, Colombia, etc., the governments have used “civil defense patrols” to battle guerrillas, and Moyano was calling for similar units in the slums as well as attacking the PCP. This is not a neutral act. I was surprised by Morales’ purported indignation about Moyano’s being denied “due process” and a trial, etc. Rather than go into the alleged PCP members murdered by the government without trial (Amnesty International cites Peru as the world leader in the “disappeared”, or the military show trials before hooded military judges) it would seem that Moyano knew or should have known that by acting as a supporter of the government’s counterinsurgency war she might be held accountable for her actions.

The quotations of Lenin on elections is grotesque. To participate in elections to educate the masses is one thing yet Lenin never considered elections to be a serious means by which to seize state power and smash the armed might of the bourgeoisie. When the time came the Bolsheviks were not in the Duma with Kerensky’s government but instead stormed the Winter Palace. The Bolsheviks also seized state power with 80,000 members in a country of 150 million. What is unreasonable about the PCP seizing state power in Peru by means of a prolonged people’s war? Should Mao have sought an election against Chiang Kai-Shek in 1949? The PCP is indeed building a revolutionary alternative to the reformist and defeatist politics of both the “left” and the ruling class. It’s the revolutionary practice of struggle and administration of the liberated areas under their control. What does the IU offer?

Fortunately, the victory or defeat of the PCP will not depend upon the lefties in the U.S. or other imperialist countries, it will be won or lost on the ground in Peru by the PCP and its supporters there. I think that Morales does an overall disservice to the anti-imperialist movement. The future of Peru should be decided by Peruvians. We should do what we can to prevent or limit U.S. intervention on the government’s behalf. If the Peruvian people think the PCP is worth supporting with their blood, lives and sacrifices, that is their decision. No good has or will come from supporting U.S. intervention in Peru or anywhere else.

“ALLEGED LETTERS FROM CHAIRMAN GONZALO TO FUJIMORI”: CRUDE SLANDER OF MONTAGES AND FALSIFICATIONS OF THE YANKEES AND THE PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT!

“When you find yourself in an unfortunate situation, the representatives of the exploiting classes use offensive tactics as a means of defense. Today, with the goal of preserving the status quo and facilitating their future development, they invent things out of nothing, and fabricate rumors under the noses of the people or somehow get their hands on some affair to launch attacks... ‘opening some breach’ to put us in a difficult position. We, as militant revolutionaries, must recognize their traps and study their tactics with the goal of beating them. We must not act like naive scholars bordering on a simplistic handling of the class struggle. ” Chairman Mao

From the analysis of the letters of September 15 and October 6, 1993 that Alberto Fujimori has tried to present as “letters sent” or “video tape by Chairman Gonzalo”, requesting talks for a peace accord, and paving the way for his “surrender,” the following can be concluded:

It is a slander whose authors are Fujimori and Montesinos, who, acting under Yankee advice, and have fabricated using information technology of image and sound processing. The contents are self serving political absurdities. The objectives of this maneuver are:

A vain attempt to split the leadership of the PCP, to isolate, sow confusion and undermine the morale of the masses under the false pretense of “peace talks” to open a breach and divide the revolutionary movement and in the short term use their apparent “gain” to bring their referendum along and possibly the reelection of the tyrant.

The cynicism and effrontery has no limits when it comes to applying psychological warfare in their dream to annihilate the Peruvian revolution. Fujimori presented his fabrication as truth at the annual Assembly of the U.N., seeking the manipulation of public opinion, counting on the unconditional aid of the imperialist press. They attempted to present Chairman Gonzalo in a position of really lecturing. They actually used his actual voice and phrases taken from various interrogations and torture sessions, presented along with “a witness” that apparently is present at the lecture. The content does not mention Yankee imperialism, it tries to “legitimize” vermin Fujimori calling him “head of state,” his disastrous economic policy is called “coherent, developed and systematic strategy,” and panegyrics are offered to the “objective advances of his measures... especially after the coup d’état of April 5.” And naturally, “especially in the field of intelligence” for which CIA man Montesinos also wanted recognition. But this self serving statement reveals

less about the leader of the revolution (who remains in total isolation, perhaps unaware of the letters) than the poor imagination of its authors. The truth of this is in the phrase: Tell me who is served by the story and I will tell you who wrote it!

The communiqué of “Sleeping Lion” — a faction in the armed forces opposed to Fujimori — released on July 14, 1993 states: “A self-criticism by Abimael Guzmán, filmed and recorded where he declares the end of the war declared by the PCP, and that Montesinos will try to make him sign a confession, (if not a false one,) with this objective Montesinos will meet in the Navy Base of Callao with Abimael Guzmán. He was interrogated 13 times to date, on one occasion four times in a row; they go to Guzman’s cell: Montesinos, the Director of Naval Intelligence and a Naval officer that films everything, later this is analyzed by the Navy’s and Montesinos’s specialists and the material is taken to the offices of National Intelligence Service by Montesinos himself. The meetings last approximately from 11 AM to 5 PM, ... with the declaration of Guzman (real or false) Fujimori is assured of reelection and Montesinos of power.”

Isn’t it clear then, their farce, their objectives and their authors? Why did they take everything filmed to the Navy’s and Montesinos’s specialists? The other part of the farce is done by the yellow press in Peru and the world wire services. The news of the century: “Abimael declares an end to the war”.

But there is more. Their fraud can be exposed best in the contents of the letters, the logic, the theses, or the style, which are not of Chairman Gonzalo. Some examples follow:

1) On Fujimori, Chairman Gonzalo said: “He accuses us of being the principal obstacle to the economic development of the country, excusing himself, his government, the old State and his genocidal Armed Forces; and with the same cynical technique, cunning but impotent before the rolling advance of the Third Campaign they say that they see the first signs of a process of involution... Vain dreams of Peruvian reaction and part of the psychological campaigns designed to defame us, and rhetoric that the rest qualify as genocidal and treacherous... What criteria is Fujimori unfolding? In the first place he has supported the genocide... in the second place he has pursued the politics of genocide... from July 1990 to September 1991, in little over a year there were 3,761 deaths... which show him to be largely more genocidal than his predecessors...”

2) On the new strategy claimed by Fujimori: “... is based on: praising and giving more power to the genocidal and corrupt armed forces and police, his support base: developing intelligence activities and civil action; arming civil patrols and organizing them as countersubversive forces complementing the regu-

lar forces; also seeking military control over the students and shanty town population; aiming to change the image of Peru, they accuse us of 'genocide and human rights violations', and classify us as narcoterrorists to justify the crumbs received from imperialism, mainly the Yankees. All of this implies that they act within the Yankee strategy of so-called low intensity warfare, pointing to a more developed counterinsurgency... they over value the military and down play their own reactionary parties and pretend to submit to the popular organizations... ”

3) On the legitimization of Fujimori: “it is reduced to respecting in words the much proclaimed human rights, a mere publicity campaign that covers up major genocide; and preparing conditions for a major Yankee intervention with the objective of annihilating the people’s war...”

4) On state system and government, Chairman Gonzalo explained, “In reality the problem refers simply to the position that various social classes occupy within the State. The bourgeoisie always hides the position they occupy and exercise their dictatorship of one class under the “national” flag. This subterfuge does not benefit the revolutionary people in the least and to them we must explain this issue with clarity... In reference to the question of a ‘system of government,’ it refers to the form in which power is organized, the form that one specified social class imposes itself on the organs of power, a struggle against their enemies and protect the same.” Chairman Gonzalo, in talking about the growing reaction in the “democratic-liberal” system of government says that, “a counterrevolution cannot be lead by a democracy and that the government of Fujimori, follows the path of its predecessors to an absolute centralism, expressed in the presidential absolutism based on more power for the armed forces.”

5) On the problem of leadership it is worth remembering, “The leadership could be exterminated, in part not all, but the leaders that remain should and could continue the plans, the struggle, the people’s war. We are forged in the class struggle, the revolution won’t be detained, it won’t be paralyzed. Chairman Mao taught us, ‘we pick up our dead, heal the wounded and keep on fighting.’” This means that a genuine revolutionary Party is capable of solving leadership problems. Chairman Gonzalo used to say “The peasant fixes his/her *lliclla* (a knapsack carried on the back) while walking. ”

6) To state that peace has become a necessity of the people, the nation and the entire country, is to say that the interests of the popular classes are the same as those of bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords. That is a big lie. That the people demand life is a half-truth. They demand life with justice, without inequalities. They don’t want simple survival, per se, they prefer to die fighting than starve. (*Two Hills*, 1991).

7) The alleged call to “talks leading to a peace accord” to bring the people’s war to an end was clearly unmasked by the same Chairman Gonzalo. He denounced it as an element of the counterinsurgency strategy, a part of the psychological opera-

tions of the low intensity war of Yankee imperialism that has among its non-military components: intelligence, psychological operations, civil actions, and control of the population and resources, whose objective is to dismantle the support infrastructure of the revolutionary movement and avoid new recruits to their cause. In the interview with Chairman Gonzalo in *El Diario* in 1989, when the genocidal Alan García launched a similar campaign of psychological warfare, and always with Yankee advisors, there were rumors of “talks with Sendero,” Chairman Gonzalo said: “The dialogue is a sinister fraud, because for me, the chit-chat about the dialogue is no more than. I repeat, it seeks to undermine the people’s war, but it doesn’t fit reality. When the necessary time comes the people’s war will have to make diplomatic treaties; but our diplomacy will point to the seizure of power nationwide, genuine and complete. This is our condition: their total surrender, complete and absolute surrender. Are they ready for it? No. Now, their plan is our destruction.” Evidently someone already told him: Vallejo (a Communist), don’t write like Chocano (a conservative.)!

The true message to the PCP and the people made by Chairman Gonzalo is contained in the following statements: “Peruvian people! The armed struggle has begun! Workers, peasants, women workers, youth, children of the people, popular masses, let us march together into combat and with weapons in our hands we will build the future, the great future of our people! Develop the armed struggle! (*To Our Heroic Fighting People*, 1981).” “What should we do? We should push forward the popular movement of liberation and develop the people’s war. This calls for forming a National Liberation Front. This calls for organizing and developing from the People’s Guerrilla Army a People’s Liberation Army” “... Maoism marches unstopably to forge the new wave of world proletarian revolution. Listen well and understand. Those that have ears, use them, those who have understanding — and we all do — use it. Enough foolish talk!” (DINCOTE prison, September 1992)

Today the life of Chairman Gonzalo is in grave danger, he is in complete isolation. In trying to force him to go along with the criminal plans of the regime and Yankee advisors, he is being subjected to torture and made to take drugs. We alert public opinion about the fate of prisoners of war concentrated in the Navy base of Callao under pretext of being “in agreement with the conversations leading to a peace accord. ”

We make an appeal to the revolutionaries and people of good will and in particular to the journalists and democratic press in the service of truth and defense of the rights of the people, to denounce to the world the blatant violation of international law, especially the defense of the well being of Chairman Gonzalo and to expose the lies of the unscrupulous government of Fujimori.

Paris, October 1993

AEFP

CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC) OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU (PCP)

ACCORDS:

I. The CC of the PCP with profound Communist fervor sends greetings to our heroic and respected Chairman Gonzalo, head of the Party and the revolution, continuer of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. In a sincere, consciencious, voluntary and unconditional pledge, we reaffirm his just, correct and masterful leadership and firmly push for the call made in his glorious, historic and transcendental speech of September 24, 1992. That speech was a great political, military and moral triumph of the Party and the Revolution that dealt a bruising blow to Yankee imperialism and the dictatorship of Fujimori. The CC takes the following Decision:

“Before Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, before Chairman Gonzalo, before the international proletariat and the peoples of the world; before the proletariat and the Peruvian people, we take, with Communist firmness and resolution, the decision to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, with the strength of our ideology, valor and courage. We pledging with our lives to undertake that task, holding up high our red and invincible banners, marching towards our unalterable goal, Communism. ”

II. Approve the information presented with the contributions to the debate.

III. The CC reaffirms itself in its Third Plenum personally lead by Chairman Gonzalo. Its glorious, historic and transcendental implementation; a landmark importance only second to the Congress, in the historical process of our Party and of the People's War that serves the future birth of the People's Republic of Peru, passing uninterruptedly to Socialist revolution, and through many successive Cultural Revolutions until reaching Communism, thereby more and better serving the World Proletarian Revolution.

IV. Develop the second campaign of Building the Conquest of Power under the slogan: In Defense of the Leadership, Against the Genocidal Dictatorship! based on the successful unfolding of the First Campaign, a success with which we salute the Peruvian people, the fighters of the People's Liberation Army and all the militants that armed with powerful Gonzalo Thought have applied it through storm and tide.

V. Firmly pressing forward the task established by Chairman Gonzalo, the CC resolves to continue developing the grand process of celebrating the centennial of Chairman Mao under the slogan: Long Live Maoism!

The PCP expresses its profound recognition and appreciation to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement for the Campaign to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo unbreakably linked to the celebration of the Centennial of Chairman Mao.

Central Committee
Communist Party of Peru
August 1993

Proletarians of the world, unite!

DECLARATION

The Communist Party of Peru, organized vanguard of the proletariat, has reconstituted in more than 15 years of hard-fought struggle by Chairman Gonzalo as a new type of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Party. Assuming its historical role of seizing power on behalf of the people and the proletariat, in May of 1980 has unleashed the invincible People's War. Since 1991 it unfolds in the strategic equilibrium which today develops in its unstoppable march to seize power and the installation of the People's Republic of Peru.

In more that 13 years of battles and victories, the People's War has firmly rooted itself in our country and is the torchbearer of the world proletarian revolution. The People's War is also the living expression of the validity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, which has been creatively applied to the conditions of the Peruvian revolution by Chairman Gonzalo.

We are now successfully applying the Fourth Strategic Plan of Development of the People's War to Conquer Power and the Sixth, and next to last, military plan to achieve the conquest of power. We have completed the first campaign and are initiating the Second Campaign, In Defense of the Leadership, against the Genocidal Dictatorship!, thus further developing the democratic and popular path to liberation.

On the other hand, the bureaucratic path of the old state headed by the genocidal, the most obedient lackey of Yankee imperialism, the sell-out puppet Fujimori is traversing the greatest crises in the history of the republic. The measures which he adopts do not achieve anything but illusory gains leading to general bankruptcy. Each time it confronts greater difficulty in applying its three counter-revolutionary tasks: reviving bureaucrat capitalism, restructuring the old state and annihilating the People's War. Of these, restructuring is the most fundamental. Reality has shown that accomplishing these goals is a historical

and political impossibility. The April 5th coup took a step towards absolute centralization, just recently they carried out their farcical and fraudulent “referendum” which they need to approve, by any means. This travesty of “constitution” is one step further in the reactionarization of the state, one more action toward Fujimori’s presidential absolutism.

In order to carry out this counter-revolutionary plan, and in its desperation and impotence before the advance of the People’s War, and as part of its psychological war within the “low intensity conflict,” it has mounted a sinister allegation. This vile falsehood has two purposes: 1) first, it seeks to defame Chairman Gonzalo prior to its premeditated, treacherous plan to annihilate him, and 2) second, it is nothing than proclaiming its dark dream of “Sendero’s capitulation.” It is one of the many lies against the PCP that the forces of reaction periodically spread since the beginning of the People’s War. Today, it is done by the genocidal traitor, a puppet hooked on the bayonets of the armed forces, Fujimori. He is being advised by the traitor Montesinos and the murderer Luza under the guidance of Yankee imperialism, principally the sinister CIA. It is a ridiculous lie that no one with two ounces of brain can take seriously and which, like its predecessors shall be unmasked by the People’s War.

The wave of strikes and massive demonstrations stirs the class struggle and shows that the revolutionary situation continues to grow and shall unfold as a revolutionary crisis.

Today, one year after Chairman Gonzalo’s historic and masterful discourse of defiance before the world, his timely and wise words encourage the people and fill the reactionaries with fear. The reactionaries seek to conceal the fact that they are rotten to the core and their end is near, and hence, we, the revolutionaries, are getting close to victory. We say this because the word of the Party is a word that is met. As Chairman Gonzalo stated: “Once we solemnly promise not to lay down our weapons until Communism, to persist in the struggle for Communism even if the superpowers or other powers armed to the teeth come with their powerful weapons. We Communists know what we want and why we struggle. Nothing should nor can stop us in meeting the objectives of the Party to serve the people, the proletariat and the world revolution.” In celebrating the 65th anniversary of our glorious Party, we reaffirm our unbreakable decision to guide ourselves by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, to continue the People’s War, serving the world revolution, and we vow to give our lives for Chairman Gonzalo, the Party and the revolution. The People’s War will inevitably win and will decisively support the development of the world proletarian revolution. The People’s Republic of Peru will become a trench of combat for the working class and the peoples of the world. We shall develop the socialist revolution and through successive cultural revolutions we shall march to our final goal: Commu -

nism. The Communist Party of Peru assumes its Communist responsibility in being the torchbearer and example, but it is Chairman Gonzalo with his unmatched light and all-powerful Thought, who has brought us to this point and who leads us to the golden, shining Communism with a sure and firm hand in his role of continuer of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, which decisively contributes brings a new development to Marxism.

We have the firm conviction that our heroic people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru, will reach a total victory. We take as our own the profound words of our respected and heroic Chairman Gonzalo, the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist on earth: “We, based firmly on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism are sure and convinced of the triumph of the world proletarian revolution, and of the unstoppable march of humanity to Communism. We should assume each time with greater decisiveness the conquest of power in the entire country and dauntlessly and unbendably fight for the complete and total triumph of the new social order: Socialism until Communism. We should take into account all the experiences of the world revolution, and principally our own. The Party accords on the ‘Eight Possibilities’ and the intervention of imperialism, mainly Yankee, be it direct or indirect, alone or joint, and prepare ourselves on all levels to confront it at any moment under any conditions. We should brandish our unconquered proletarian ideology and developing the invincible People’s War, always under the leadership of the Party. We should always resolved to oppose imperialism and reaction with an armed sea the of masses for the conquest of power, for the People’s Republic of Peru and its defense and for the future inevitable goal of Communism... As Chairman Mao said: The road is winding but the future is bright. We should, then, dare to conquer power and dare to defend it; we must assume our destiny with our own hands. ”

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO; LEADER OF THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION!

DOWN WITH THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TREACHERY!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

THE PEOPLE’S WAR WILL INEVITABLY WIN!

FROM HERE WE GREET THE FUTURE BIRTH OF THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF PERU!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU
Peru, October 7, 1993

INTERNATIONAL DIRECTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU (PCP)

Editor's Note: This document will clarify the legitimate concern of the international supporters of the People's War about the position of the PCP, MPPs, Sol Peru Committees, and solidarity groups with respect to the current political situation. Specifically, we want to clear out the confusion deliberately planted in the progressive movement in Europe and the U.S. by the sudden treachery of a couple of turncoats recently uncovered in Paris. The claims of success in "intelligence" work by the agents of Fujimori overseas is in reality a complete failure. The treason has been exposed and crushed. The effects of their actions are minimal, but we must remain alert and denounce them. While Chairman Gonzalo is in prison, the Central Committee leads the People's War in Peru.

TO THE MPP:

1. We send you fervent greetings, making you participants in our jubilation over the brilliant and successful application of what has passed of the 2nd Campaign of the 4th and penultimate Military Plan under the slogan "In Defense of the Leadership, Against the Genocidal Dictatorship!", a victory of Chairman Gonzalo, the Party and the Revolution, that has met the principal objective of defending the life of Chairman Gonzalo and dealt demolishing and forceful blows to Yankee imperialism and to the treacherous and genocidal dictatorship, crushing the counter-revolutionary slander of the phony "peace accord" letters and video montages, whose objective is a major genocide against our people, principally their plan to assassinate Chairman Gonzalo, plot capitulation, liquidate the Party and annihilate the people's war.

We send you our recognition of your efforts to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, celebrate the Mao centennial and crush the counter-revolutionary slander.

2. We reaffirm, and pledge support for the accords of the Central Committee of August 1993, from where we derive the resolution "Long Live Maoism." The study of the Speech of Chairman Gonzalo from prison, and especially the Declaration of October 7, 1993. We reaffirm our full, unconditional, conscious and voluntary commitment to our Chairman Gonzalo, head of the Party and the Revolution, to our 1st Marxist Congress, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Congress that established the Basis of Party Unity; the PCP, its Central Committee and all its leadership system; our 3rd Plenum and masterful speech of Chairman Gonzalo that summarizes it and calls on us to put out every effort to continue applying the 4th Strategic Plan of development of the people's war to seize power nationwide, and the 6th and penultimate military plan to build the conquest of power, and it demands we celebrate the centennial of Chairman Mao Tse-tung to see that Maoism, embodied in the peoples of the world, commands the new great wave of the

World Proletarian Revolution that began with the launching of the people's war in 1980. As Chairman Gonzalo taught us, revolution is the principal historical and political tendency in the world.

3. The MPPs are pledged to:

- * Be guided by the Basis of Party Unity whose point is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, principally Gonzalo thought.
- * Democratic Centralism.
- * Support the development and triumph of the people's war.

Today, according to the directives of September-October, the MPPs must muster all its forces to complete the two inseparably linked tasks: I. Defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo; II. Celebrate the Mao Centennial, whose basis is contained in the speech by Chairman Gonzalo, the Resolution and Declaration of 10/7/93.

4. We reject and condemn the communiqué of 12/10/93 of the person who spreads the slander in Europe. We ask this gentleman: are you going to submit to the principles established by Chairman Gonzalo or to the dictates of Yankee imperialism and the dictatorship? Lenin taught us that he who abandons principles splits, and in this case this gentleman is capable of selling the revolution for a plate of beans. He must stop trafficking with the name of Chairman Gonzalo and no one should permit this.

We reject the slander staged by Yankee imperialism and the genocidal and treacherous dictatorship. Here the Party leading the people's war under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo states the following:

- * The counter-revolutionary slander was crushed. Imperialism, the reptile Fujimori, Belaunde, Alan García, all the reactionaries, capitulating revisionists, informers, repentants, have shredded their clothing by affirming the authenticity, while their genocidal armed forces developed a major offensive against the bases of support, cruelly repressing the prisoners of war and plotting the assassination of Chairman Gonzalo.
- * The slander has been smashed, as a result the old state and the dictatorship are in deep problems that they cannot resolve. The Party has fortified itself and become more cohesive around Chairman Gonzalo, the Basis of Party Unity, and the People's War. The people have

taken up even higher the task of seizing power country - wide and the revolution has developed to a higher degree the task of defending the life of Chairman Gonzalo and preparing the strategic counteroffensive that we will inevitably reach with the application of the sixth military plan.

- * The individuals that persist in the slander are a handful of dupes of Yankee imperialism and the murderous dictatorship. They are spreading propaganda that the intelligence service has been circulating since last July as part of the psychological war. Today they treacher - ously ascribe it to Chairman Gonzalo who is in the most complete isolation and cut off from communication. The regime persists in its insane plan of assassinating him and calling in desperation to hold back the sixth military plan, and thus exchange the just and correct slogan we have established "In Defense of the Leader - ship, Against the Genocidal Dictatorship!" for one of "peace accord" by which they show their wicked mo - rale and hate against Chairman Gonzalo, the Party, the people's war and our people.

They negate Gonzalo thought, the people's war, the world revolution, the new era and the great campaign to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, that are unbreakably linked to the celebra - tion of Mao's centennial. They deny the development of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the Marxist-Len - inist-Maoist Communist Parties in the world. In essence, they defend the rotten feudal-imperialist ideology.

5. We convey our greetings to the international supporters of the people's war, and encourage the MPPs the accomplishment of all the tasks that serve the people's war, the Peruvian revolu - tion and the world revolution.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU

December 1, 1993

THE REVOLUTION KEEPS ADVANCING

All growth creates disequilibrium. We must learn to master it.

What does this mean? We should discover and understand its laws.

Whether simple or complex; these laws should be applied to change reality, to benefit the proletariat and the people in the service of the revolution.

The making of the revolution will bring profound disequilibrium.

There will be sorrows and stormy winds. Times like these will temper us. Disturbances and difficulties, never at peace. In difficult times we must remember our victories to bolster our courage.

Today the revolution is being attacked by imperialism and its lackeys.

What we face is part of the disequilibrium. We must be prepared for more critical moments. We should even be prepared for defeats. Those who don't know victories and defeats don't know war.

After two defeats and two victories, we know the laws of the revolution.

This moment is part of more complex circumstances that we will yet live to see.

It is part of the disequilibrium and is testing our responsibility.

The Party has known how to create leaders, it forged us.

We fear no risk, no danger stops us.

This difficulty is only one more test!

It is part of the revolutionary process and we must learn from it.

Our difficulties can be overcome because we are a new force with a brilliant future.

We face the struggle collectively, fortified, united by our ideology.

We are the most advanced of our class, the vanguard of the proletariat.

We have the responsibility of reaching our goals, giving all that the revolution demands from us.

Our ideology not only lets us understand a situation but to use it to full advantage, turning a bad situation into a good one.

We are stronger when we act collectively. United we are unbeatable.

Our discipline was acquired not only on the battlefield, but also in our daily lives.

What the Party asks, it needs and demands, it must be achieved, and that's what we are doing.

The reactionaries aim to destroy leadership, to destroy the Party and crush the revolution.

We must always come up front, whatever the circumstances.

We will face any danger with firmness and resolution, sure of mastering it to complete our tasks.

We must not curse or decry our circumstances but see reality objectively, look for causes,

find the root of problems, find solutions and solve them responsibly,

make firm decisions that will change things.

The Party will never be paralyzed again. It is united and follows its course.

We emphasize strategic centralization and tactical decentralization.

A united party as such is strong, revolution will not tarry.

Chairman Mao taught us: "We pick up our dead, heal our wounded, and keep on fighting."

We must always see the positive in the negative because there are

contradictions and struggle in everything.

We will develop new forms of struggle, debating the key questions of organizing.

We will develop organizations better than the reactionaries.

We will incorporate the masses broadly.

Without a sea of armed masses there is no guarantee of the conquest and defense of power.

We will arm the minds and hands of the masses.

What will we gain with a million loose stalks? They are fragile,

but 100,000 united by the Party can not be broken.

Don't let anyone take away your conquests. Fight the enemy and his rotten ideas.

Learn from the ideology of the proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, from revolutionary violence.

Learn the laws that rule the universe, apply them and change the world,

taking the future into our own hands.

Let us educate and forge ourselves in the Marxist tactic:

revolutionary violence by relentlessly fighting

imperialism and revisionism together;

we will never lose our way.

Given the nature of our revolution, the reactionaries seek to annihilate the people's war and the Party.

We are on the stage of transition and in the hardest period,

that will mark the turning point of the whole war.

The enemy seeks to regain positions to save his system.

We must prepare the strategic offensive towards building the conquest of power.

For the reactionaries, annihilating the people's war and the Party is an urgent necessity.

For us, it is developing the conquest of power.

This task is not just the task of the Party but of the people.

The war against subversives moves within the law of war without prisoners.

If they don't kill us we will kill them.

The main thing is to support oneself on the right forces, seize power,

and serve the development of the world revolution.

We sow anti-imperialism.

May our actions echo in the thoughts of the masses, politicize them so they will take their destiny consciously in their own hands.

We must educate them politically, proving in action the ideas we sow.

The act of going to the masses and acting with them is decisive.

We base ourselves on our ideology not on weapons.

Ideas are weapons in our hands, ideology is the weapon of victory.

That is what the great teachers of Marxism taught us. We must hold the initiative against the campaigns of encirclement and annihilation;

we must apply our political and military plans.

Who leads this? The Party.

Who sustains all this? The masses.

Arrayed against the rotten bourgeois systems rooted in money,

we unleash the proletarian revolution.

It is of greatest urgency that we fortify ourselves ideologically and politically

as much and as well as possible and be ready on all levels.

We know what we want and why we fight: to accomplish the objectives of the Party to serve the people,

the proletariat and the world revolution.

Every revolution implies successes and reversals. As the revolution grows, counterrevolution learns lessons too.

Do not fear imperialism, but be prepared ideologically and militarily.

Recover lost ground, get tougher than before, and more experienced.

This loss is only partial, only relative. We must hold our strategy with a firm grasp

and apply it flexibly, according to specific conditions.

Every counterrevolutionary action by imperialism generates an anti-imperialist action

by the proletariat and the people of the world.

We develop an ideological and political line that is right and just.

We will carry out our plan of development, constructing and conquering power!

We will develop every committee and organism, implacably fighting the enemy,

destroying his programs, plans, and reactionary politics.

Demolish the old and build the new, oppose counter-revolution with revolution.

We should launch our offensives according to the specific circumstances.

We must strive to complete them well, not staying in the superficial, but

deepening and perfecting the fundamentals of our politics.

We must not reduce Marxism, the masses aren't educated from soapboxes.

We always need to raise the political level of the Party,

all the organs it leads, and of the masses as well.

"Sow public opinion towards the conquest of Power!"

Spread the Party's documents. Fight so that all militants have them;

there are many ways to copy them without changing them, by machine or by hand.

All documents should be in the hands of friends who can criticize them.

We lose nothing by bringing them to the media.

We must create schools for cadres without forgetting that cadres must be forged in the heat of struggle, in people's war, never on the sidelines.

We distinguish between rectification campaigns, and the political development of our forces: beginning, intermediate and advanced.

A rectification campaign (a form of the two-line struggle) is not the same as regular schools for new activists, who have just begun to know the politics of the Party. These are important but different tasks, and should be done in a disciplined way. We must elaborate plans of study, expositions and debates on the basics of party unity for the people's schools.

Lectures should be clear and on solid principles giving priority to the principal part and debating every part.

The bases must ask questions, discuss, express opinions, if the ideas don't clash, cohesion in the group will not be attained.

We insist on the Maoist principle that the ideological/political decides everything and it must be applied firmly.

We are building the conquest of power and must always think in perspective. Always put politics in command, to solve the complex problems we face.

Selfishness, the source of revisionism, must be banished.

Our ideology must be transformed into politics, into class struggle as a guideline that we should never abandon.

Further, let us create and build new forms of organizations.

The goal of the rectification campaign is to unite, differentiate and guide always keeping in mind the basis of party unity.

We must handle the Party documents without interpreting them too liberally or studying what is irrelevant.

In all our work we must apply strategic centralization and tactical decentralization.

Avoid opposing armed action to study, that is rightism which nourishes revisionism.

Our center is combat, our base the proletariat and people, our path is people's war, our objective the People's Republic of Peru, our ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, our final goal is proletarian revolution and communism,

the axis of all is the Communist Party of Peru, its direction and leadership.

For a firm and correct political orientation, a simple style of life and hard work, flexibility in strategy and practice. Unity, dynamism, seriousness and vivaciousness.

We are against the infamies and adulterations of the enemy.

Reactionaries and their governments will never truly meet the needs of the people.

They are against the people's class interests, against their every gain.

And the civic action of the reformist Left and of the Catholic Church

can not be achieved without the "help" of imperialism; it is indispensable in the war against subversion.

Against the rotten bourgeois democracy, that is no more than the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie we must apply revolutionary violence to build a new State,

a new society and a new democracy.

The road is difficult but the future is bright.

We must dare to seize power, dare to defend it.

The principal part of war is people.

We must take our destiny into our own hands!

Develop the ideological/political construction of the Party as a basis for organizing in the midst of the two-line struggle and people's war. We must build organizations superior to those of the enemy:

more flexible, of a higher calibre, with more tempered cadres.

Every militant must act as a bastion of the fortress which is the Party.

The task of building the conquest of power develops by applying

the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism,

Gonzalo Thought, which guides this construction, becoming concrete in the growth of the revolution.

Agitate and propagandize. Shape public opinion to conquer power in Peru and the world.

We must expand our mass work, using every form of struggle, creating new ones.

We must study the main actions and those which are most complex to extract lessons,

strengthening ourselves by studying and applying the revolutionary line of the Party.

Based on the document:

Building the Conquest of Power in the Midst of the People's War!

Communist Party of Peru, February 1991.